

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 5 PAŹDZIERNIKA 2022 R.**

(2023/C 147/03)

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 5 PAŹDZIERNIKA 2022 R.

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

*(The sitting opened at 9.01)*

### 2. Eskalowanie przez Rosję wojny napastniczej przeciwko Ukrainie (debata)

**President.** – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on Russia’s escalation of its war of aggression against Ukraine (2022/2851(RSP)).

Dear colleagues, today’s key debate is on Russia’s escalation of its war of aggression against Ukraine.

On 30 September, after Russia staged a series of sham referenda, it illegally annexed the occupied territories of Ukraine in what is a blatant violation of Ukraine’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and international law.

On behalf of the European Parliament, as we open this debate, let me reiterate: Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia, just like Crimea, are – and will remain – part of independent and sovereign Ukraine.

No sham referenda can ever change this.

**Josep Borrell Fontelles**, *vicepresidente de la Comisión / alto representante de la Unión para Asuntos Exteriores y Política de Seguridad, en nombre del Consejo.* – Señora presidenta del Parlamento, señora presidenta de la Comisión, señor vicepresidente, señorías, intervengo en este Pleno representando al Consejo de la Unión Europea, para explicarles que desde que, conjuntamente, el alto representante y la Comisión presentamos un nuevo paquete de sanciones sectoriales y sanciones personales, el Coreper y nuestros embajadores han estado trabajando intensamente ayer por la noche —siguen esta mañana también—, y espero que antes de que acabe este Pleno podamos tener un acuerdo del Consejo por el que se apruebe la propuesta conjunta que ha presentado la Comisión y que, sin duda, la presidenta detallará.

Quiero agradecerle a la señora presidenta de la Comisión y a todos mis colegas el esfuerzo y el liderazgo que han mostrado para seguir preparando, proponiendo, debatiendo propuestas de sanciones sectoriales, junto con las personales. De esta manera se limita todavía más la capacidad de exportación de Rusia y se limitan todavía más las importaciones que puede recibir para seguir manteniendo viva su industria, especialmente en su dimensión tecnológica y alimentar, así, la guerra.

Está claro que nos estamos liberando de la dependencia energética de Rusia. En agosto del año pasado importamos doce mil millones de metros cúbicos. Este año importamos en agosto solo cuatro, una división por tres. En realidad, las importaciones de Rusia han caído en las treinta y seis semanas de este año en cincuenta y cuatro mil millones de metros cúbicos.

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Es algo extraordinario que nos va a conducir a liberarnos de la dependencia energética de Rusia, que era un gran condicionante de nuestra política exterior hacia Rusia y, en consecuencia, de nuestra política exterior, que incluía a Ucrania. En realidad, no hemos tenido una política exterior con respecto a Ucrania, porque era subsidiaria de nuestra política con respecto a Rusia y esta era, a su vez, subsidiaria de nuestra dependencia energética —y estaba condicionada por ella—. Ahora sí tendremos una política clara con respecto a Ucrania, que está dominada por la voluntad y el deseo de que Ucrania sea miembro de la Unión Europea. Una política con un objetivo claro, que será posible porque ya no adolecemos de esta dependencia de Rusia.

La guerra continúa y las noticias del campo de batalla son buenas para Ucrania. Ucrania está retomando la ofensiva. La guerra ha entrado en una nueva fase; una fase sin duda peligrosa, porque estamos ante un escenario temible ante el que no tenemos que cerrar los ojos. Es el escenario de una guerra convencional que envuelve a una potencia nuclear. Una potencia nuclear que en este momento está retrocediendo en el escenario convencional y que amenaza con utilizar el arma nuclear. Es un escenario ciertamente preocupante en el que tenemos que demostrar que nuestro apoyo a Ucrania no flaquea.

Ucrania está avanzando en tres frentes: en el Dombás, después de haber tomado Lyman, en el centro sur, al sur de Zaporíyia, avanzando hacia Mariúpol, y finalmente en Jersón. Rusia sigue teniendo la superioridad numérica y la superioridad armamentística. Y por eso, las fuerzas ucranianas están desarrollando una táctica de combate extraordinariamente ágil, utilizando una inteligencia muy potente, rodeando las plazas fuertes rusas, creando bolsas que acaban siendo destruidas por la propia retirada del ejército ruso. Así, limitan sus pérdidas y avanzan en el terreno de una forma que nadie había podido prever.

La situación del ejército ruso es muy mala, entre otras cosas porque los soldados rusos no saben para qué es esta guerra. Y los trescientos mil que serán sacados de sus casas para ser llevados al frente lo van a entender menos todavía. Por lo tanto, la guerra se puede ganar en el campo de batalla, pero hay que ganarla sobre todo en el campo de las ideas. Porque, además de la guerra en sí, hay otra guerra: la guerra por la supremacía de los valores.

Rusia está desarrollando una intensa campaña en el mundo para explicar que las consecuencias de esta guerra no derivan de la guerra, sino de las sanciones que hemos aplicado contra Rusia. Esa batalla hay que librarla en la discusión con nuestros colegas en todo el mundo para continuar aislando a Rusia —recientemente ha vuelto a ocurrir, un organismo internacional de gran importancia, la Organización de Aviación Civil Internacional—. Y esa batalla hay que librarla de forma continuada y permanente, porque hay mucho sentimiento en el mundo acerca de las causas de esta guerra y, sobre todo, de sus consecuencias. Y las consecuencias para muchos países ciertamente son malas en términos de precios, de energía y de alimentos.

Tenemos que comprometernos mucho con el resto del mundo para ayudarles a superar las consecuencias de esta guerra. Tenemos que hacer un gran esfuerzo diplomático de explicación para que el mundo entienda el porqué de esta guerra y cómo puede acabar. La guerra no puede acabar por cansancio del mundo occidental, que es lo que espera Putin.

Putin cree que las democracias son débiles, que los sistemas de opinión pública no soportarán un invierno frío. Está esperando la llegada del «general Invierno», que siempre ha salvado en última instancia al ejército ruso. Está esperando que el frío, que los cortes en el suministro de gas, que los altos precios y las bajas temperaturas minen nuestra voluntad de seguir apoyando a Ucrania. Y este es el lugar para pedir a los europeos que entiendan lo que está en juego. Porque nuestro apoyo a Ucrania no es solamente una cuestión de generosidad. Nuestro apoyo a Ucrania tiene que ser indefectible, porque la seguridad de Ucrania está intrínsecamente ligada con la nuestra. Lo que allí se decide es también nuestro futuro.

(Aplausos)

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Sí, señoras y señores diputados, lo que allí se decide es también nuestro futuro. Por eso es tan importante conseguir que, como hemos hecho otros en Europa renunciando a nuestras viejas ambiciones imperiales Rusia también renuncie a ellas. Esta guerra solo puede acabar de una manera que asegure la paz. Y para que asegure la paz, hace falta que Ucrania recupere su integridad territorial y su plena soberanía; que Rusia asuma sus responsabilidades políticas y morales en la guerra y pague por la reconstrucción; y que se exijan responsabilidades por los crímenes humanos que allí se han producido.

Este, y no otro, tiene que ser nuestro objetivo. Y es la razón de las sanciones, y de la ayuda militar y de la acción diplomática. En esos tres frentes tenemos que seguir trabajando sin desfallecer; no es el momento de dudar. La sociedad europea tiene que ser capaz de continuar esta lucha, apoyando a Ucrania con los procedimientos de que disponemos.

Hoy la presidenta de la Comisión presentará en detalle las sanciones que el Consejo va a aprobar. Pero, por encima de las sanciones concretas, lo que es realmente importante es que los europeos entiendan que, si hay un precio que pagar, ese precio merece la pena, porque si no pagamos este acabaremos pagando uno mucho mayor. Es una batalla por la libertad de los ucranianos y la nuestra; el esfuerzo que tengamos que hacer será inscrito en las páginas de la historia como un momento en que la Unión Europea, unida, fue capaz de resistir la agresión de un modo de vida y de organización política radicalmente distinto y contrapuesto al nuestro.

(Aplausos)

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *President of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Roberta, Minister, HR/VP, dear Josep, honourable Members, it's just four weeks ago that we met here in the Hemicycle for the State of the Union. But in those four weeks, the Kremlin has escalated its aggression to a new level.

Putin has launched Russia's first mobilisation since World War II, treating hundreds of thousands of young Russians as cannon fodder. He uses sham referenda in an illegal attempt to change international borders by force. And since many months, he is using energy as a weapon.

Now, of course, we feel that the Russian war causes economic and social hardship and it places a heavy burden on our citizens and on the economy in our single market. We see in particular the rising energy prices and gas and electricity prices that are leading to reduced purchasing power, and they are leading to a loss of competitiveness for our business in the international market. But our resilience in all these difficult times is remarkable. And what we have to do is work steadily on our resilience, mainly on the field of energy. And that's where I want to focus today.

If you look at the course of the last seven months together with our Member States, we have already taken important steps. We have diminished our gas consumption by around 10%. That's good. It's not enough. We have to do more, but it's a big step forward.

I want to give you two figures where the Russian supplies of gas are concerned. At the beginning of the war, if you look at all the imports of gas, the Russian share was 41%. Within seven months we have gone down to 7.5%. That's good. And we have compensated this decrease in Russian supplies by a massive increase by our trusted suppliers, for example, the United States, for example, Norway. Let's look at gas storage. This is almost at 90% by now. This is 15% higher than on the same day last year.

Three weeks ago in this Hemicycle, I announced that we will skim the exceptional profits that electricity producing companies have these days to make them available for Member States to support vulnerable citizens and businesses. Now, last week already we have enshrined that in law, EU law. We achieved that in lightning speed and I really want to thank the Czech Presidency for this outstanding deliverable in really a very, very short time. And yesterday the Council reached agreement on REPowerEU.

So, we will have key instruments in place to make it through the winter – that's storage and saving – to jointly purchase gas. This is our platform to get rid of the grip the Russians have on us through their fossil fuels, these are our agreements with other friends. To redistribute the windfall profits to support those in need and to invest in the future of a sustainable energy supply, and that is REPowerEU.

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The measures we have put in place provide us with a first buffer of protection. And, thanks to these, we can and we will now step up to the next level. I will lay out a road map in a letter to leaders in view of our meeting in Prague in two days this week. And I want to discuss with you first-hand the key components of this letter. Of course, it's all about energy prices.

So, we will step up our negotiations with trusted partners, for example, with Norway, to dampen the price we pay for gas imports. The talks have already started. I think as a European Union, we have a considerable market power and many of our suppliers want to conclude deals with us which are beneficial for both sides.

So I really think it is necessary that we come to an agreed corridor of prices to stop this crazy peaks we have partially in the import of gas prices. We will strengthen our energy platform. And let me be very clear: it is in our collective interest.

After the winter, we will have to refill the gas storages and if we then see that we have again a scenario where Member States are outbidding each other on the global market and thus raising the prices here in the European Union, this is not sustainable. So we have to have a joint procurement of all Member States. This is much better than the way we have it.

My next point is on gas prices. As you know, we use gas in three different domains: for industry, for heating and for the production of electricity. Let me start with the electricity. Our market for electricity is built in a way that high gas prices are driving electricity prices. We have now to limit this inflationary impact of gas on electricity, and everywhere in Europe. This is why we are ready to discuss a cap on the price of gas that is used to generate electricity. This cap would also be a first step on the way to a structural reform and overall reform of our electricity market.

But I think we also have to have a look at gas prices beyond the electricity market. So, where industry is concerned, where heating is also concerned, the general approach of gas, and here we will work together with Member States to reduce gas prices and to limit volatility, and thus to limit the impact of price manipulation by Russia. Because if you look at the fever curve of gas and gas prices, the whole gas price, you can see the manipulation that Russia has on the gas prices, and this has to stop.

We have already offered this mechanism in March. At that time, we have said that it can give an important signal that the EU will not pay any price for gas any more. We have qualified such a price cap as having an immediate impact on price levels, but that it entails drawbacks in terms of security of supply. This is still true today. So it's a fine line to walk. It's not trivial to do that. But the situation since March has critically evolved since then.

And today, compared to March, more Member States are open for it and we are better prepared. Such a cap on gas prices must be designed properly to ensure security of supply. And it is a temporary solution to cater for the fact that the TTF, that is our main price benchmark, is no longer representative for our market. This TTF benchmark reflects or mirrors a lot pipeline gas.

But in the last seven months, because we wanted to get rid of the dependency on Russian gas, we have increased a lot the LNG market and this LNG market is not properly reflected in the TTF. So, introducing a cap on gas overall is a temporary solution until we will have a new EU price index developed that ensures a better functioning of the market. And the Commission has already started to work on this.

Honourable Members, these are far-reaching measures and I wholeheartedly agree with you when you say in the resolution you will vote on today that exceptional times require exceptional measures where the Union needs to act as jointly and as united as ever.

In pursuing our action, two things remain paramount: that is action in unity and action in solidarity. If I look at our single market, we really need to protect the fundamentals of our economy and, in particular, our single market. The single market is the strength of our European Union, and this is where the wealth of the European Union comes from.

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Without a common European solution we risk fragmentation. If every Member State goes on its own, we have fragmentation we don't want, and we have to do something against it. And, therefore, it is so paramount that we preserve a level playing field within the European Union and our single market. Every Member State is benefiting from it. As I said, the wealth comes from our single market.

Now, what does that mean? With REPowerEU we have developed a crucial instrument to accelerate the transition in the energy independence. That's what we're working on since seven months and REPowerEU will allow, it's the governance structure, it will allow the investment in infrastructure, for example, pipelines, for example, interconnectors, for example, renewables.

But it also allows – and that's important – to support businesses or households to invest in energy efficiency, for example, insulating houses or installing heat pumps or installing new technology for the companies, the businesses that have to do the transition.

Now, here's my proposal: I think we should further boost REPowerEU with additional funding, common European funding. This way, all European states can accelerate the necessary investment, all European Member States. We modernise our infrastructure, the energy infrastructure. We preserve the level playing field and we secure our European competitiveness on the global market. So we have to do this investment. We have to do this funding together as Europeans, jointly, with a common solution.

And, honourable Members, allow me to speak about another pressing issue which we have to address today. The acts of sabotage against Nord Stream pipelines have shown how vulnerable our energy infrastructure is. For the first time in recent history, it has become a target. Pipelines and underwater cables connect European citizens and companies to the world. They are the lifeline of data and energy. It is in the interests of all Europeans to better protect this critical infrastructure.

And for this, I will present a five-point plan. First, we must be better prepared. We have very recently agreed new legislation – that's good – which will strengthen the resilience of critical EU entities. The responsible Parliament committee will be voting on it next week. That's good too. So we are absolutely on time and I think we can, and we should, already now be working on this basis.

Second, we need to stress-test our infrastructure. We don't have to wait till something happens, but we need to make sure that we are prepared and therefore we need those stress tests. We need to identify whether we have weak points and where these weak points are. And of course, we have to prepare our reaction to sudden disruption.

What are we doing then? Are all the information chains in place? Is everybody informed? Does this emergency scenario really work then in our single market? We will work with Member States to ensure effective stress tests in the energy sector. And this then should be followed by other high-risk sectors, such as the offshore digital and the electricity infrastructure.

My third point, we will increase our capacity to respond through our civil protection mechanism well known to you in the European Union. With this, we can support Member States in addressing the disruption of critical infrastructure, for example, with fuel, with generators, with necessary shelter capacity.

My fourth point, we will make best use of our satellite surveillance capacity. We have these satellites in place. We have the capacity to do the surveillance to detect potential threats. So, this is also a matter of prevention and awareness. And finally, we will strengthen our cooperation with NATO and with key partners like the United States on this critical issue.

Honourable Members, this war has entered in a new phase. The Ukrainian army keeps reporting impressive successes in its fight against the aggressor. We all saw the images of deeply relieved people welcoming Ukrainian soldiers. And I could see with my own eyes when I was three weeks ago in Kyiv that life has come back to Kyiv. Of course, it is the bravery of the Ukrainian people that made it possible.

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But I think Europe's contribution also has made a huge difference. And now it's the time to keep track to help the Ukrainians to face down the invader. A strong and steadfast Europe, that will be the only way to stop Putin. This is the moment to stay the course and to signal again to our Ukrainian friends, we stay by your side as long as it takes.

Thank you and long live Europe.

(applause)

**Manfred Weber**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Madam President of the Commission, High Representative, Minister, dear colleagues, more than 220 days have passed since Putin started his invasion in Ukraine on 24 February — more than 220 days of tremendous suffering, bloodshed and destruction of Ukraine, people and the whole country. By the end of last month, we have seen 13 million people fleeing Ukraine, crossing the borders to neighbouring countries. Six thousand Ukrainians have died. Three hundred and seventy-nine children have lost their lives in the Russian war.

Putin is a war criminal and, like all war criminals, he doesn't stop. But not weapons or money are winning a war – people, the will of people, the determination of people, and most of all of free people defending their freedom, are winning a war. As Europeans, we can only admire what the Ukraine troops are doing every day in Lyman, in Kherson. Congratulations to President Zelensky and the Ukraine troops – you're great.

Obviously, even among the autocrats of this world, Russia is losing ground. We saw this in Samarkand, where even the Prime Minister of India, Modi, said publicly it's not the right moment to go to war. Fake referenda in occupied Ukraine territories, mobilising now 300 000 Russian reservists and threatening to use nuclear weapons. This is obviously a signal of weakness. So the Ukrainians are doing their job. And Europe?

First of all, the upcoming winter is a big test for us and we have to win it. First of all, we have to be strong against the populists inside the European Union. Just look at Marine Le Pen. In the presidential election race this year, she proposed to seek an alliance with Russia without fear of US sanctions. Back in 2014, the Front National found no better supporter than Russian banks to finance its campaign. Anyone, dear friends, who loves his country would never ask for money from Putin. That is what Le Pen is doing.

Dear colleagues, in Spain, just after the start of the war, Podemos stated that the heart of the Ukraine conflict lies in the NATO policy of enlargement towards Eastern Europe – unbelievable lies! Or in Slovakia, the former president and party leader Robert Fico from the SMER Party described the war as a conflict between the United States and Russia. He called the strengthening of NATO forces in Slovakia by German soldiers 'the welcoming of the Wehrmacht in our country'. That is the wording of leaders in Europe of today. And these populists, dear friends, have only one idea. They have the idea to weaken Europe and we have to stand up to defend Europe.

Now, more than ever, it is time to show that we are standing together, and the EPP will never accept to rewrite the history. Our EPP parties in Finland and Sweden, for example, fought always, argued always, for NATO membership. Only recently, the Socialists changed their mind and also supported the NATO membership of Sweden and Finland. NATO defends freedom and peace and security in Europe and Putin wants to destroy our Europe. That's why, again, we have to show unity.

At the same time, Putin's threats must not determine our actions. That's why we have to support our Ukrainian friends more than ever before. Now, more than ever before, it's time for European leadership. Without weapons from the West, Putin would have won long ago already. Ukraine urgently needs more weapons, including tanks – and dare I ask France and Germany to lead Europe and to present a proposal to deliver all the tanks? We support another action, a package of sanctions and financial assistance to Ukraine. If we want this war to end, we need actions but not any more excuses. Europe needs leadership. Now, more than ever before, it's time for this winter of solidarity.



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On Friday, the European Council must find a common understanding on energy solidarity, and Madam Commission President we fully support your initiatives in this field. A continuation of uncertainty costs each and every European currency. Uncertainty is driving speculation on the market. So we need a binding solidarity mechanism. We need common procurement, and we need a price cap as proposed by the Commission, and we need this now, this clarity.

Let me also add that on Thursday we have this first meeting of the political union. President Erdoğan will be there, and let me also underline that we should not forget next to the Ukraine war that we have other challenges in our neighbourhood. I think that someone who is not practising our solidarity with Ukraine in the same way, who is not implementing the same sanctions in a way like we do as Europeans, cannot have candidate status for the European Union, cannot be a reliable partner for us. That's why I hope that we also have a clear wording towards President Erdoğan that he has to show his European commitment.

With Putin escalating the war, it is now, even more, time to firmly stand by Ukraine. We as the EPP always did so, and we always will do so – now more than ever before. Without a free Ukraine, there will be not a fully free Europe.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, señora presidenta Von der Leyen, señor alto representante, señor ministro, en los últimos días el mundo ha vuelto a vivir un nuevo episodio de acciones temerarias e insensatas de Putin: la movilización militar rusa, los falsos referendos de anexión y una peligrosa retórica sobre el uso de armas nucleares. Pero, además, por primera vez, serios y preocupantes acontecimientos han ocurrido fuera de territorio ucraniano: me refiero al sabotaje de infraestructuras de energía en el Báltico. El mundo está siguiendo con temor y con preocupación esta escalada. También, la pasada semana, un convoy civil fue atacado por las fuerzas rusas cerca de Zaporizhzhia con víctimas mortales y heridos.

Señorías, más allá de la puesta en escena diaria de Putin, esta es la realidad de su maquinaria de guerra. Esta es una guerra ilegal y cruel contra la inocente población de Ucrania. Civiles que pierden sus vidas, civiles desplazados, civiles que han dejado sus casas huyendo de la atrocidad.

La anexión de la semana pasada de Putin es ilegítima y una violación clara de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Cambiar las fronteras de Ucrania por la fuerza y anexionar territorios que ni tan siquiera controla es pura propaganda. Estas acciones proyectan lo que Putin es: un hombre desesperado, cuyo liderazgo y autoridad está cada día más en duda.

Ante esta peligrosa escalada, debemos apoyar más a Ucrania y a su ciudadanía. Debemos reforzar nuestro apoyo para contener las acciones ilegales de Rusia y debemos aumentar la presión con sanciones adicionales para acabar con esta guerra. ¿Saben también para qué? Para acabar llevando a Putin a donde le toca: al Tribunal de Justicia de La Haya.

Por eso debemos mantener la unidad en nuestra respuesta. Por eso hay que aislar lo máximo posible a aquellos líderes europeos que flirtean con Putin. Porque los hay, claro que los hay. Mi familia política está muy preocupada. Sabemos de la posición aislada de Orbán sobre las sanciones a Rusia. Pero intentar tejer alianzas con Meloni realmente es un problema que nos puede llevar a todos a una deriva preocupante. Conocemos el convenio de colaboración entre la Liga de Salvini y Putin y nos preocupan las alarmantes declaraciones de Berlusconi cuando afirma que Putin intentó reemplazar a Zelenski «por gente buena y decente». Eso ha dicho el señor Berlusconi. ¿Esto es lo que hay que esperar del nuevo Gobierno italiano? ¿Qué van a hacer al respecto nuestros colegas del Partido Popular Europeo? Porque Putin va a continuar con sus intenciones de dividirnos, y a más amenazas necesitamos más unidad en nuestra acción política.

Señor Weber, necesitamos responsabilidad política en estos momentos y entender que la verdadera alianza debe de ser con quienes defendemos los valores europeos. Yo entiendo que, en estos momentos, en esta situación, le cueste entender la realidad. Pero sinceramente, fuera de aquí hay muchísima gente preocupada por lo que está ocurriendo y, por delante de las tácticas electorales de alguno lo que debemos es estar en la senda de quienes defendemos el proyecto europeo.

Hay quienes no nos hemos movido desde el principio. Aquí seguimos: defendiendo Europa, defendiendo los valores europeos. Le tiendo la mano para que vuelva a ese camino.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Petras Auštrevičius**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, President of the Commission, High Representative, ministers, dear colleagues, it's probably time to end our empty insignificant disagreements and to focus on real things, on things which shape the present world and our future.

Putin, who claims to be the ruler of the world, wanted to conquer Ukraine and enslave its people in three days. Not only has this failed, but it has turned into a continuation of the atrocious crimes against humanity and the shameful defeats incurred by the Russian aggressor. Realising his impotence in the face of a heroic Ukraine, its resistance and nationwide mobilisation, Putin has resorted to the tool of annexation of temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories in order to create a situation of permanent war. It is as a state of terrorism acts in today's politics, and that is what I call the Russian State, which supports and implements a policy of terrorism.

The civilized world must respond to Russia's colonial war aggression with even stronger sanctions and increased support for Ukraine. Russian policy also demonstrates a turning point from adherence to the international law-based order. To the outside world, it became opportunistic and unpredictable and, domestically, it resulted in a deep moral and social degradation of the Russian state. It is high time to realise that our trade, Western trade, and our economic relations with the Russian aggressor is not an option. It must discontinue.

In these extraordinary circumstances, Ukraine needs security guarantees now, not in the distant future. Now is the time for Ukraine when its fate is being decided and the well-being of the Ukrainian people is at stake. It is a time when European security is being challenged and to be decided for next decades. NATO membership for Ukraine is the solution and we need to reap its benefits now as soon as possible through additional formats of cooperation and partnerships. Long live Europe and *Slava Ukraini!*

**Sergey Lagodinsky**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Wir haben lange genug blumige Solidaritätsbekundungen für die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer übermittelt. Die überhasteten Pseudoreferenden in den besetzten ukrainischen Gebieten und die Mobilisierung der russischen Bevölkerung, die Putin nie wollte, zeigen: Putin versteht nicht die blumige Sprache der Reden, sondern die entschlossene Sprache der Taten. Nicht Worte, Finanzhilfen, nicht Bedauern, Tribunale, nicht die unkonventionellen Trauerbekundungen an die ukrainische Bevölkerung, sondern die konventionellen Waffen, die die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer brauchen. Daher werde ich hier keine großen Reden schwingen. Das haben die anderen schon getan.

Vielleicht ein paar Punkte aus der Entschließung, die wir beschlossen haben. Erstens, und das Wichtigste: Die Einverleibung der besetzten Gebiete ändert vielleicht etwas für Nordkorea, aber für uns, für die internationale Gemeinschaft, ändert das nichts und gar nichts. Die besetzten Gebiete bleiben die besetzten Gebiete, der Befreiungskrieg bleibt ein Befreiungskrieg, und die Ukraine bleibt Ukraine in den Grenzen, wie sie ihr zustehen, das heißt, einschließlich der östlichen Grenzen in den Gebieten von Saporischschja, von Donezk, von Luhansk, von Cherson und bis zur südlichen Spitze der Krim. Das ist die Realität, und die bleibt so!

Zweitens die personellen Sanktionen, die müssen ausgeweitet werden. Und da appelliere ich an die Mitgliedstaaten und die Kommission: Setzen Sie die Amtsträger und Amtsträgerinnen von der Duma bis über Regionalparlamente und die Bezirksparlamente von Russland auf die Liste. Alle, die den Duma-Parteien angehören, das sind diejenigen, die den Krieg tragen, das sind diejenigen, die den Krieg und Putin mit unterstützen. Die müssen auf die Liste.

Drittens: Die Sicherheit unserer Infrastruktur ist kein Spiel. Es kann nicht sein, dass wir bis zu 100 % unserer Daten, die weltweit unterwegs sind, durch ein paar Schiffe überwachen. Es kann nicht sein, dass wir das als Unternehmensverantwortung auf die Unternehmen abwälzen. Wir sind mitten in einem Angriff auf uns, der stattfindet. Und hier müssen wir vorbereitet sein.

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Und schließlich: Unsere Standhaftigkeit für die kommenden Monate wird über den Ausgang dieser Konfrontation entscheiden. Ja, wir sind in einer Konfrontation. Wir ließen uns nicht durch die Aggression entzweien, und wir sollen uns auch nicht durch die wirtschaftlichen Probleme entzweien lassen. Das bedeutet: Manche Mitgliedstaaten gingen schon voran mit wirtschaftlichen Subventionen. Wir brauchen aber eine Europäisierung dieser *efforts*. Wir brauchen eine gemeinsame und eine grün orientierte Lösung, die europäisch wäre. Ja, die einzelnen Staaten können vorangehen, aber wir müssen, wir müssen es europäisch ergänzen. Nur dann gewinnen wir diese Konfrontation.

**Marco Zanni**, a nome del gruppo ID. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mi spiace che, ancora una volta, debba rubare tempo al mio intervento per rispondere a chi strumentalizza la politica in un momento così delicato. Però vorrei ricordare al gruppo socialista che non accettiamo lezioni di moralità da chi strizza l'occhio in Europa e fuori ai peggiori regimi di estrema sinistra. Non accettiamo lezioni di moralità sulla Russia da chi ancora ospita tra le sue fila il più grande lobbista della Russia, l'ex cancelliere Schröder. E non accettiamo lezioni da chi ancora in Europa chiude gli occhi sulle violazioni di alcuni governi solo perché sono sostenuti da partiti socialisti. Accettate il risultato democratico delle elezioni in Italia e toglietevi dalla testa che l'Italia, anche con questo governo, non sia protagonista della costruzione positiva in Europa e del supporto all'Ucraina.

Passando alle cose concrete, ai problemi di oggi, io ho ascoltato con attenzione gli interventi della Presidente von der Leyen e dell'Alto rappresentante, ma siamo molto preoccupati. Sembra che la lancetta della storia sia tornata indietro. In questi sei-sette mesi, a febbraio, purtroppo ci siamo trovati di nuovo di fronte a una guerra dentro l'Europa che ci ha riportato a quello che è accaduto settant'anni fa, più di settant'anni fa: un disastro della storia. E oggi, di fronte all'escalation, la minaccia nucleare, la minaccia di una guerra fredda tra potenze nucleari, che speravamo di esserci lasciata alle spalle, torna con forza a presentarsi. E l'Europa deve, anche in questo senso, dimostrare unità, come ha fatto in questi mesi, per evitare che questa minaccia si concretizzi.

L'Alto rappresentante ha parlato del nuovo pacchetto di sanzioni e credo che su questo le istituzioni europee, in questi mesi, avevano dimostrato l'unità, la leadership, il pragmatismo e il realismo di cui c'è bisogno, e quindi dobbiamo far sì che si continui ad avere un supporto importante per queste misure.

Ma, come ho già detto, Presidente, nei miei interventi precedenti, in parallelo oggi è necessario che l'Europa concretizzi misure di supporto a imprese e famiglie. Se vogliamo mantenere un supporto forte, anche della nostra gente, al popolo ucraino nel combattere questa guerra, abbiamo bisogno che il peso di queste misure non ricada sui cittadini.

Io purtroppo non condivido l'ottimismo che lei ha delineato sul fatto che passeremo un inverno relativamente tranquillo, che abbiamo tutti gli strumenti per passare indenni questo inverno. Purtroppo, la realtà dei fatti ci appare diversa. Invitiamo davvero a concretizzare misure di sostegno e faccio un appello. Sono felice di sentire che sul *price cap* probabilmente si andrà avanti. Sappiamo quanto è difficile trovare un accordo, sappiamo che non sarà facile imporre un *price cap* alle importazioni dalla Russia, ma in questi mesi i cittadini si fanno una domanda. Come alleati occidentali abbiamo dimostrato grande unità, abbiamo supportato la NATO, l'Unione europea ha supportato la NATO nelle misure, ma non ci pare che gli alleati abbiano condiviso gli oneri di queste misure. Sappiamo che l'Europa sta soffrendo, sappiamo che gli alleati ci hanno supportato nell'aumentare le forniture di gas, le forniture di energia all'Unione europea, però ci aspettiamo che da alleati con cui abbiamo condiviso un percorso forte arrivi anche un sostegno, un aiuto forte all'Europa.

Oggi la Norvegia, gli Stati Uniti, il Canada, paesi tutti appartenenti alla NATO, guadagnano sei-sette volte tanto con le forniture che mandano in Europa. Ecco, sarebbe bello che l'Unione europea spinga questi alleati a considerare loro un *price cap* e a fornire, in questi mesi difficili, in questi mesi critici, tutto il supporto necessario, anche riducendo magari un po' i propri margini di profitto, per far sì che l'Europa possa continuare a sostenere fortemente l'approccio dell'Occidente e della NATO verso l'Ucraina.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, High Representative / Vice-President, thanks to the fantastic resistance of the Ukrainian army and people and facing humiliating defeat in his war waged against Ukraine, Vladimir Putin and the Russian institutions committed a series of fatal mistakes, but he also renewed his nuclear threats against the collective West, not only against Ukraine.

My appeal here from this chamber to the Western media and to individual politicians is to refrain from playing Putin's game, from repeating his threat of nuclear war. The proper action to be taken within the collective West is to revise the nuclear deterrence schemes and make Putin and Russian elites sure that any strike against Ukraine, Ukraine's neighbours or any ally and EU Member State as well is to be fatal for him and his country. There is no place in a contemporary world for this kind of state terrorism.

**Martin Schirdewan**, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Dieser Krieg muss so schnell wie möglich beendet werden.

Russlands illegale Annexion von Teilen der Ukraine, die Teilmobilmachung und die Drohungen bezüglich des Einsatzes von Atomwaffen haben zu einer massiven Eskalation des Konfliktes beigetragen. Putin zündelt und spielt mit dem Feuer, in dem viele weitere unschuldige Menschen den Tod finden werden, wenn dieser verdammte Krieg nicht schnellstmöglich gestoppt wird. Deshalb fordern wir ein Ende des russischen Angriffskrieges und den Rückzug der russischen Truppen aus der Ukraine.

Und ja, gezielte Sanktionen gegen den Macht- und Militärapparat sind richtig und zeigen Wirkung. Aber, Frau von der Leyen, ich war vor Kurzem in Schwedt, habe dort die Menschen getroffen, habe auf einer Kundgebung vor Hunderten von Leuten gesprochen, und die Menschen in dieser Region haben Angst. Die Menschen in dieser Region sind frustriert, weil hier – in diesem Haus und auch in Ihrem Haus – politische Entscheidungen gefällt wurden, die eben nicht die Zukunft der industriellen Standorte, die nicht die Zukunft der Menschen in der Region bedacht haben, sondern diese vor vollendete Tatsachen stellen und in existenzielle Nöte stürzen.

Wer Zukunft will und wer Frieden will, der muss jetzt auch der Diplomatie das Wort reden. Wenn man so hört, was heute hier wieder in diesem Haus – auch von der Kommission – gekommen ist oder was Vertreter einzelner Regierungen, unter anderem aus Deutschland, so von sich geben, dann frag ich mich, ob hier irgendjemand ernsthaft an Diplomatie und an Verhandlungen, also an einer sofortigen Beendigung dieses Krieges überhaupt interessiert ist. Außer weiteren Waffenlieferungen, außer weiteren Sanktionen fällt hier ja anscheinend niemandem etwas ein.

Auch der Papst hat vor wenigen Tagen die handelnden Politikerinnen und Politiker aufgefordert, sich für Dialog zu engagieren, diesen Krieg zu beenden. Und auch europäische Politik steht in der Pflicht, nicht weiter an der Eskalationsspirale zu drehen, sondern endlich mit starken Friedensinitiativen dazu beizutragen, diesen elenden Krieg zu beenden.

Natürlich gilt unsere Solidarität der Ukraine, und natürlich gilt unsere Solidarität der notleidenden Bevölkerung. Und so schwer dieser Angriff, dieser russische Angriff, auf dem Land lastet, so sollten doch trotzdem alle diplomatischen Kanäle offengehalten werden.

Ja, Putin ist ein fürchterlicher Kriegstreiber. Dafür kann jedoch nicht die russische Bevölkerung in Haft genommen werden. Unsere Solidarität muss auch denjenigen Russen gelten, die sich dem Krieg entgegenstellen. Die Teilmobilmachung hat zu einer Massenflucht junger Russen geführt, die jetzt teilweise vor verschlossenen EU-Grenzen stehen. Diesen Menschen, die sich aktiv gegen den Krieg und für den Frieden einsetzen, darf die EU nicht in den Rücken fallen. Macht die Grenzen für die Deserteure und Kriegsdienstverweigerer auf!

**Jérôme Rivière (NI)**. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, il n'existe aucun doute sur l'origine de la guerre en Ukraine. Si on peut épiloguer sur les causes profondes du conflit, c'est bien la Russie, dirigée par Vladimir Poutine, qui a choisi d'envahir l'Ukraine, de déclencher en Europe un conflit militaire.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Ce préalable important et nécessaire posé, il est indispensable pour ceux qui, dans cet hémicycle, souhaitent une résolution à cette guerre, de reconnaître la responsabilité des nations européennes, de la France et de l'Allemagne en particulier, dans leur incapacité à faire respecter les accords de Minsk et celle de l'Union européenne dans son alignement sans discernement sur les positions excessives des États Unis.

Aujourd'hui, sur proposition de madame von der Leyen, des pays membres de l'Union européenne adoptent des trains de sanctions dont l'efficacité contre la Russie n'est pas démontrée, mais qui servent à justifier des accords avec l'Azerbaïdjan, à la liberté morale inacceptable au regard des crimes odieux perpétrés contre l'Arménie.

Assez de cette morale à double standard. Les citoyens en Europe souffrent. Notre objectif n'est pas de prendre parti dans ce conflit, mais d'amener Ukraine et Russie à un cessez-le-feu et à des négociations de paix. C'est le seul intérêt des citoyens en Europe, citoyens auxquels vous devez, Madame, rendre des comptes de votre gestion calamiteuse de nos ressources énergétiques.

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! In diesem systemischen Konflikt zwischen unseren friedliebenden Demokratien und einer kriegslüsternden Diktatur haben wir in diesen letzten Wochen eine erneute Eskalation seitens des zutiefst faschistischen Aggressors erlebt: Mobilmachung, insbesondere in Gebieten mit nationalen Minderheiten, und eine Abstimmungsfarce, um den Eindruck zu erwecken, hier warte eine ukrainische Bevölkerung nur darauf, heim ins Reich geholt zu werden. Da stürzt die potemkinsche Fassade von Scheinlegitimität für alle sichtbar ein.

Jetzt muss es darum gehen, die Ukraine winterfest zu machen – wirtschaftlich, humanitär, sozial und vor allem bei der Verstärkung von Waffenlieferungen. Ja, leider ist es erforderlich. Das amerikanische *Lend-Lease Act* würde ich mir in Europa wünschen, zumindest in einzelnen Mitgliedstaaten. Das würde Waffenlieferungen beschleunigen, weil es Einzelgenehmigungen überflüssig macht.

Ich wünsche mir, dass Deutschland und Frankreich endlich ihren Beitrag leisten, Europa über diese Frage zu einen, indem man endlich einen vergleichbaren Beitrag bei Waffenlieferungen leistet, wie ihn viele östliche Mitgliedstaaten auch bereits leisten. Keine Alleingänge. Koordinierte Lieferungen von Schützenpanzern und Leopard-Panzern als Beispiel, wie es unter anderem auch der Vorsitzende des Auswärtigen Ausschusses im Bundestag fordert.

Herr Bundeskanzler Scholz, tun Sie jetzt das Richtige. Nehmen Sie sich als Hamburger ein Beispiel am Hamburger Helmut Schmidt. Der hat das Richtige getan und den NATO-Doppelbeschluss gegen seine eigene Partei durchgesetzt. Das war richtig. Da hat er sich in der Geschichte auch verdient gemacht. Haben Sie keine Angst vor Ihrer Partei. Genehmigen Sie die Waffenlieferungen von Mardern und Leoparden. Die Geschichte wird Ihnen Recht geben.

**Pedro Marques (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Alto Representante, Senhor Vice-Presidente da Comissão, Senhor Ministro, colegas, mais um mês passou na guerra de agressão russa à Ucrânia e, como disse a Presidente da Comissão Europeia, este não foi um mês qualquer. Foi um mês de heroica reconquista de território pelas forças ucranianas, mas também de uma anexação fantoche de territórios ucranianos pelo regime de Putin.

O simulacro de referendo é apenas revelador dos padrões democráticos de Putin. Votar com uma arma apontada não é um voto, é um assalto, é uma agressão à democracia. Não há meio termo nesta questão, as anexações de territórios ucranianos são imorais e ilegais à luz do direito internacional. Ninguém poderá apoiar tal ação.

A Ucrânia tem o direito a defender-se, e nós, europeus, temos a obrigação moral de a apoiar. A História julgará severamente quem se põe ao lado de Putin, como muita extrema direita europeia, procurando quebrar a unidade necessária para lhe fazer frente, mas também julgará os que se aliam a essa extrema direita por pura sede de poder.

Temos de ser claros na condenação e decisivos na ação. E a ação faz-se primeiro com o apoio aos ucranianos – apoio político, económico e militar –, mas faz-se também com mais sanções que fragilizam a economia russa e a sua máquina de guerra, parando em definitivo a compra de energia, confiscando os bens dos oligarcas e colocando-os ao serviço da reconstrução da Ucrânia.

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E não esqueçamos, faz-se também aqui na Europa, apoiando todos, mas mesmo todos, os europeus que sofrem com as consequências desta guerra, reformando os mercados da eletricidade e do gás para combater a especulação e baixar as contas já, como este Parlamento votará, reclamando a ação imediata das Instituições, e mantendo a coesão entre os europeus no apoio à Ucrânia, numa resposta verdadeiramente europeia, unida e não deixando sofrer os que menos podem. E, Presidente da Comissão, Comissário, não só no *RePowerEU*, mas também no apoio às famílias europeias.

O que precisamos é mesmo de uma resposta solidária europeia para que todos juntos continuemos a apoiar os que travam esta guerra pela liberdade, esta guerra que não procurámos, mas que ajudaremos a vencer.

**Nathalie Loiseau (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, plus personne ne peut ignorer ce que veut le président russe: il a choisi de faire souffrir le peuple ukrainien, de faire souffrir le peuple russe et de nous être hostile. Dorénavant, il est clair que le monde n'a rien à perdre et tout à gagner à une défaite, en Ukraine, de la Russie.

Un Ukrainien me le disait hier: si la Russie perd, il n'y a plus de guerre. Si elle devait gagner, il n'y aurait plus d'Ukraine. Alors je le dis au peuple et à l'armée russes: cessez d'agresser l'Ukraine, vous ne vous en porterez que mieux. L'Ukraine ne souhaite pas agresser la Russie. Volodymyr Zelensky n'a jamais parlé de dénazifier le Kremlin. Vous n'avez rien à gagner et tout à perdre à cette guerre inutile et meurtrière, aucune raison de mourir pour des simulacres de référendums.

Je le dis aux peuples européens: ce n'est pas le moment de flancher, ni dans notre soutien à l'Ukraine – car il donne des résultats –, ni dans nos sanctions vis-à-vis de la Russie, car Vladimir Poutine n'attend que cela. Les menaces nucléaires, les sabotages de gazoducs ne servent qu'à nous intimider.

Nous devons livrer à l'Ukraine plus d'armement, et plus vite, car c'est maintenant que cela se joue. Si nous voulons écourter cette guerre, nous devons tenir. Avec notre soutien, avec notre détermination, l'Ukraine doit gagner, elle peut gagner et elle va gagner.

*Slava Ukraïni!*

**Jordi Solé (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, Putin's regime has continually violated international law since the very beginning of Russia's latest aggression against Ukraine, but actually, since long before that – remember Crimea?

The sham referendums that took place in four Ukrainian regions two weeks ago constitute yet further mockery of international law and democratic principles. These so-called referendums, which happen in military-occupied territories with a brutal war of aggression ongoing and with forced displacements of population, were simply a pretext for the illegal and violent annexation of Ukrainian territories. They were nothing but another of Putin's failed attempts to feign legitimacy for a criminal aggression. Make no mistake: this has got nothing to do with the democratic right to self-determination, which is an honourable right that has to be upheld. These fake referendums are not acts of self-determination. They are an act of external determination. The free will of the people cannot be expressed at gunpoint. Borders should never be changed by the use of force.

We shall continue to stand firmly with the people of Ukraine, imposing more sanctions on those who fuel and sustain the aggression and blatantly disregard basic principles of democracy and international law.

**Nicolaus Fest (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, vielen Dank! Wir sehen rechtswidrige Annexionen, wir sehen die Mobilmachung, wir hören die Drohung mit dem Einsatz von Atomwaffen.

Der Krieg Russlands gegen die Ukraine ist in eine neue Phase getreten. Wenn die EU weiterhin ernst genommen werden will, muss sie hierauf eine Antwort finden. Und die muss mehr sein als nutzlose Sanktionen, die vor allem die eigenen Länder schädigen.

Aber nicht nur der russisch-ukrainische Krieg bedroht uns. Auch ein beispielloser Akt der Piraterie gegen die Versorgungsinfrastruktur, gegen Nord Stream 1 und 2, hat die Verletzlichkeit Europas gezeigt. Seltsamerweise scheint das aber hier kein Thema zu sein. Alle nehmen es so achselzuckend hin, als sei es egal, dass hier eine der wesentlichen Gasleitungen beschädigt wurde.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Wer war der Täter? Folgende Indizien stehen außer Frage. Erstens: US-Einheiten kreuzen derzeit in der Ostsee. Zweitens: US-Militärhubschrauber aus Danzig waren laut Satellitenaufnahmen kurz vor dem Anschlag dort in der Luft, wo der Anschlag passierte. Der US-Präsident hatte angekündigt, dass er die Inbetriebnahme von Nord Stream 2 in jedem Fall verhindern werde. Nach den Anschlügen verurteilte US-Außenminister Blinken nicht etwa diese Akte der Piraterie, sondern begrüßte sie als großartige Gelegenheit, Flüssiggas an Europa zu verkaufen. Und der frühere polnische Außenminister Sikorski, Mitglied dieses Parlaments, dankte den Amerikanern öffentlich in einem Tweet für die Anschläge.

Wer also können die Täter sein? Für die meisten Medien steht natürlich fest: Es war Putin. Das sagt allerdings nur viel über den Journalismus, ebenso plausibel als Täter sind Nordkorea, Iran oder Greta Thunberg.

Die EU-Kommission sollte hier sehr, sehr genau hinschauen, und wir haben auch bereits einen entsprechenden Antrag auf Aufklärung gestellt, und es wird interessant sein zu sehen, wer von Ihnen diesen Antrag unterstützt.

Dieser Angriff, das muss allen klar sein, hat nicht nur das Potenzial, die NATO zu zerreißen, sondern auch die EU.

**Witold Jan Waszczykowski (ECR).** – Madam President, Commissioner, ‘we should have listened to Poland’, Ursula von der Leyen mentioned in the State of the Union address. Poland was warning you not only about the imperial aggressive plans of Russia, we were warning also that your instrument to challenge the threats are inaccurate – the Strategic compass, European autonomy – these are inaccurate to face the Russian threats.

Our recipe was to stick to NATO and transatlantic relations, and who is now helping Ukraine to defend themselves and us Europeans? It’s the US, UK and Poland – the country sanctioning and penalising. How will you face the challenge of further escalation?

Cooperation with NATO and US is a good direction. However, how we will have Ukraine back on key terms? Will the EU release funds of EUR 3 billion out of nine promised? Will you force European countries to send more weapons? Will you stop penalising Poland, which is helping Ukraine the most in political, military and humanitarian way?

**Manu Pineda (The Left).** – Señora presidenta, señora presidenta de la Comisión, vicepresidente, la intervención del señor Weber me obliga a cambiar el inicio de mi intervención. Me parece que el hecho de que el padrino del acuerdo de su partido en Italia con el partido heredero de Mussolini —con el neofascismo italiano— hable aquí de autoritarismo es solamente una mala broma.

Centrándonos en el tema del debate, quiero comenzar condenando, una vez más, la guerra —e invasión— de Rusia contra Ucrania. En un momento en el que la amenaza del uso del armamento nuclear es real, volvemos a insistir en que esta guerra tiene que parar, y nuestra mejor arma sigue siendo la vía diplomática.

Pero no basta con declaraciones de intenciones, y, mucho menos, si vienen de quienes llevan años y años sembrando las condiciones para el enfrentamiento. El señor Putin es el máximo responsable de esta guerra, pero no nos vendan que la OTAN trabaja por la paz, ya que su crecimiento hacia el este durante tantos años evidencia que desea un regreso al mundo bipolar, a una nueva guerra fría. Todo siempre en detrimento del multilateralismo y la soberanía de los pueblos. Tampoco ayuda el autoritarismo del Gobierno ucraniano, que ha ilegalizado once partidos de la oposición y sigue persiguiendo a sindicatos y movimientos sociales del país.

La Unión Europea ha tenido una oportunidad histórica para desarrollar una política exterior autónoma, pero decidió subordinarse de nuevo a los intereses de los Estados Unidos. La ciudadanía europea se encuentra en una situación muy difícil. Son las clases populares quienes tienen que pagar las consecuencias de esta crisis. Nosotros hablamos desde el férreo compromiso por la paz y por la defensa de los derechos de las clases populares, pero la Unión Europea debería repensar lo que está haciendo, aunque sea solo para velar por sus propios intereses. Todavía estamos a tiempo.

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Por todo ello, instamos a la diplomacia europea, de nuevo, a reactivar el papel de la OSCE, hoy desaparecida de escena. Este es el mejor camino para alcanzar un acuerdo que ponga fin a la guerra, una necesidad objetiva para la seguridad y la paz en Europa. En vez de mandar armas y hacer llamamientos exaltados, estudiemos la propuesta que ha presentado México en la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, por ejemplo, en la que proponen conversaciones de paz y mediación tripartita entre la ONU, la India y el Vaticano. Este es el camino adecuado para la desescalada: más diplomacia, no más OTAN.

**Miroslav Radačovský (NI).** – Vážená pani predsedajúca, som predsedom politickej strany Slovenský patriot. Slovensko sa tu už spomínalo pánom Weberom. Aby som mal ako europoslanec objektívne informácie o situácii na východe Ukrajiny, členovia našej strany sa zúčastnili, resp. boli prítomní v čase, keď sa tam vykonávali referendá. Pokiaľ by som chcel objektívne informovať o situácii na východe Ukrajiny, tak by ma pravdepodobne väčšina z vás ukameňovala a pani von der Leyen by sa musela červenáť. Preto nevyužívam daný mi rečnícky čas, za čo sa hlboko ospravedlňujem. Pokiaľ sa týka navrhovanej rezolúcie, hlasovať o návrhu budem objektívne a pravdivo. To znamená ináč ako väčšina europoslancov.

**Antonio Tajani (PPE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mai come in questo momento serve un'Europa forte, coesa, unita, che faccia scelte comuni per difendere lo Stato di diritto, per difendere l'indipendenza dell'Ucraina, per impedire che i totalitarismi in tutto il mondo prevalgano sulle democrazie.

Ecco perché serve una Europa credibile anche per quanto riguarda la politica energetica. Ci siamo sempre battuti per avere un tetto al prezzo del gas, non possiamo regalare alla Federazione Russa una divisione che metta in difficoltà famiglie e imprese. Ecco perché dobbiamo anche combattere le speculazioni sul prezzo del gas, controllando quello che succede alla Borsa di Amsterdam. Insomma un'Europa politicamente forte.

Mi permetta, signora Presidente, per questa Europa politicamente forte mi sono battuto negli ultimi ventotto anni della mia vita. Questo è il mio ultimo intervento in quest'Aula e voglio confermare l'impegno per un'Europa politica, per un Parlamento più forte che abbia potere di iniziativa legislativa, perché si possa, nei prossimi anni, tutti quanti noi continuare ad essere fieri cittadini europei.

Ringrazio tutti quanti voi, a cominciare da lei, signora Presidente, ringrazio tutti i colleghi del mio gruppo politico, ma anche quelli degli altri gruppi politici. Ho sempre cercato, anche da Presidente del Parlamento, di essere obiettivo. Mi scuso se ho commesso degli errori, ma ho sempre cercato di rispettare tutti i parlamentari, a qualsiasi forza politica appartenessero.

Grazie ancora. Ringrazio anche tutti i funzionari e gli interpreti per quello che hanno fatto per permetterci di esprimerci nella nostra lingua madre. Grazie a tutti quanti voi. Continuerò, nel Parlamento italiano, a combattere le mie battaglie in favore di un'Europa politica più forte.

**Presidente.** – Grazie Presidente. In bocca al lupo!

**Marek Belka (S&D).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Eskalacja działań Rosji, jako odpowiedź na jej kolejne spektakularne porażki, nie jest żadnym zaskoczeniem dla uważnego obserwatora polityki Władimira Putina. Poprzez sfingowane referenda, paniczną mobilizację czy straszenie Europy atakami atomowymi Rosja ma nadzieję na zachowanie resztek specyficznie pojętej potęgi i choć części zagrabionych terytoriów suwerennej Ukrainy. Efekt jest jednak odwrotny od zamierzonego. Nawet najbliżsi sojusznicy zaczynają się od Rosji dystansować, a reszta świata uznaje ją za państwo zbójceckie czy wręcz terrorystyczne.

Jako Europejczycy przeżyliśmy dekady w cieniu zagrożenia atomową apokalipsą. Nie damy się znów wpędzić w życie w wiecznym strachu. Nadal musimy wspierać Ukrainę w jej walce poprzez dostawy broni oraz pomoc ekonomiczną. Konieczne są też dalsze sankcje wobec zbrodniczego reżimu, a także ostateczne przejęcie kontroli nad rosyjskimi aktywami na świecie na poczet odbudowy Ukrainy. Naszą bronią jest tu jedność i współpraca, również ta transatlantycka.



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W tym miejscu warto zauważyć, że mimo obrazów z Buczy i Iziumu i wielu innych miejsc są wśród nas w Europie nadal tacy, którzy prawdziwego wroga nie widzą w Moskwie, a w Brukseli czy w Waszyngtonie. Wreszcie musimy trafić do Rosjan, których codzienność upływa dziś w rytm słynnego utworu *You're in the Army Now* i coraz bardziej pustych półek w sklepach. Marzeń zbrodniarza nie da się podać na obiad. Naprawdę nie ma też sensu ginać za upadłe imperium. Ukraino, niech moc będzie z tobą.

### PRESIDÊNCIA: PEDRO SILVA PEREIRA

*Vice-Presidente*

**Hilde Vautmans (Renew).** – Voorzitter, hoge vertegenwoordiger, collega's, na zeven maanden oorlog is de dreiging van een escalatie, zelfs een militaire escalatie, een nucleaire escalatie, groter dan ooit. Uit alles blijkt Poetins wanhoop omdat zijn oorlog mislukt. Maar, collega's, een wanhopige Poetin is een gevaar voor de wereld. Hij zal alle middelen blijven gebruiken om ons te destabiliseren, ons bang te maken en vooral om ons te verdelen. Laten we dat toe? Of blijven we één vastberaden Europees blok zoals bij de start van de oorlog? De koude winter mag onze eensgezindheid niet doen barsten.

Waarom blijft de Commissie weigeren om een Europees prijsplafond op gas in te voeren? Waarom blijft de Raad toelaten dat Hongarije de sterkte van onze sancties bepaalt? En waarom speelt de motor van onze economie nog steeds soloslim in plaats van voor Europese oplossingen te kiezen?

Vrijdag komen de Europese leiders samen op een informele Raad. Informeel of niet, er moeten belangrijke, grote beslissingen genomen worden. Het allerbelangrijkste voor mij is dat Europees antwoord op de energiecrisis. We moeten onze Europese kracht ten volle gebruiken. Of zoals onze Belgische premier Alexander De Croo het zei: we kunnen geen einzelgängers gebruiken nu. Het is tijd om de urgentie van deze crisis in te zien.

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, there are clear signs that Putin is in a state of weakness in his war. He also risks to be defeated in Russian society; by the chaotic and arbitrary mobilisation he dismissed the social contract with Russian people.

The vast majority of Russians, who have until now remained indifferent to Putin's war, now have been politicised. Many of them now see that the target of Putin's war is also Russian people. Against all odds, also, the normally obedient media is criticising the failures of Putin.

But, by threatening Ukraine and the whole world with nuclear weapons, a point has been reached where calls for regime change are more than legitimate. They should not be any more a taboo for anyone inside nor outside Russia. Now we must stand by the side of the Russian democratic forces, also those who have had to leave Russia. They never gave up their fight for a democratic future of Russia, even during the ever-growing repression.

So, now is the time when we can make the change, working together with these democratic forces.

**Jaak Madison (ID).** – Mr President, unfortunately Ursula von der Leyen has left, but at least we have a Commissioner here.

First of all, I can agree with most of you who have said in the last hour that we have to support Ukraine, that Russia is the aggressor. That's absolutely true. There's no doubt about that. But the big question is, how can we go forward? What are the next steps, what can we do for Ukraine? As far as I know, we still import oil from Russia. We are still paying millions of euros every day to Russia. We're still continuing this. We are still waiting for bigger military help for Ukraine. I know exactly, in fact, that there is a deal to give more military support to Ukraine, but there is just one signature missing: that of Mr Scholz, from Germany. Only his signature is missing to give more military support to Ukraine by German companies. OK, we can blame Hungary, yes, also they are pretty much wrong. Sometimes we can blame some other countries, but in the meantime, we are just waiting for German Chancellor to give that one signature to give more military support to Ukraine.

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About the blackmailing that the Russians are doing now, of course, now they are losing territories every day in Ukraine and that's amazing. We like this. But now they are blackmailing with nuclear power. And I can see, even in the Western world, that more and more people are getting really afraid, you know, 'maybe they are really so crazy that they would start a nuclear war', 'maybe they will really try to do this'. But the question is, OK, if they're really ready to do this, it will be the suicide of Russia, because finally, at the end of the day, they will lose this war even in a nuclear war. And we are not in a position to say to Russia, 'OK, let's sit down and have diplomacy', because Russia ended diplomacy in the morning of 24 February. In this case today, we have to win in this war in every price.

**Veronika Vrecionová (ECR).** – Pane předsedající, musíme vytrvat v pomoci Ukrajině, samozřejmě kvůli Ukrajině, ale také kvůli míru a bezpečnosti v Evropě. Energetická krize dopadá na různé země různými způsoby, ale nesmíme se nechat Ruskem rozdělit, protože to je jeho cíl. Za žádnou cenu nesmíme podlehnout Putinovým jaderným výhrůžkám a ustoupit mu. Stojíme pevně za Ukrajinou, za její územní integritou a je naší povinností pomáhat v boji proti ruskému agresorovi. Výhrůžky ruského diktátora, vyhlášení falešných referend a nelegální pokusy začlenit ukrajinské území do Ruské federace jsou totiž jasným důkazem toho, že vojenská pomoc Ukrajině funguje. Když Putin viděl, že se Ukrajincům daří osvobozovat ukrajinská území, přitvrdil ve své rétorice a i v činech. Důkazem je mobilizace, kterou v Rusku provedl, či vojenské přesuny ruských jednotek směrem k místu válečného konfliktu. Putin nemůže válku vyhrát. A my můžeme pomoci k tomu, aby ji prohrál. Právě v tom, že v pomoci Ukrajině vytrváme, nenecháme se vydírat a ukážeme, že jsme silní a jednotní.

**Silvia Modig (The Left).** – Arvoisa puhemies, Venäjän aggressiot pahenevat. Ydinaseilla uhkailu on itsessään vastoin kansainvälistä oikeutta ja uhkaus, jonka edessä emme peräänny tuestamme Ukrainalle. Nord Stream -kaasuputken räjähtäminen Itämerellä on tutkittava perusteellisesti riippumattoman tahon toimesta, ja meidän on varmistettava, että koko kriittinen infrastruktuurimme voidaan turvata mahdollisilta sabotaaseilta.

Venäjä aloitti energiakriisin rakentamisen jo ennen hyökkäystään Ukrainaan. Kaasuntoimitukset kohtasivat yllättäviä teknisiä ongelmia ja näin kaasun hintaa saatiin keinotekoisesti ylöspäin. Energia on yksi Putinin aseista tässä sodassa, ja se on nyt suunnattu meitä kaikkia kohtaan. Aivan ratkaisevaa EU:n kannalta tulee olemaan ne toimet, joilla me varmistamme, että eurooppalaiset selviävät ensi talvesta. On esitetty paljon hyviä toimia, mutta edelleen peräänkuulutan energiansäästön merkitystä. Sen tulisi olla paljon nykyistä suuremmassa roolissa.

Onnistumisemme edellytys ja vahvin aseemme on yhtenäisyys. Yhtenäisyys niin Venäjään kohdistuvissa pakotteissa kuin yhtenäisyys energiakriisin ratkaisuisa. Yhteinen ratkaisu on meidän kaikkien etu. Venäjä ei myöskään ole järjestänyt mitään kansanäänestyksiä vaan irvokkaan näytelmän, jolla ei ole mitään tekemistä demokratian kanssa vaan jossa pelotteleamalla ja uhkailemalla haettiin sumuverhoa laittomille alueliitoksille. Nämä alueet ovat edelleen osa itsenäistä Ukrainaa, emmekä tule koskaan tunnustamaan tätä laitonta yrittystä vallata suvereenin valtion alueita.

EU:n tulee jatkaa Ukrainan tukemista, kuunnellen ukrainalaisten toiveita. Tuen pitää olla poliittista, taloudellista, humanitaarista ja tukea Ukrainan mahdollisuuksille puolustaa itseään sotilaallisesti. Meidän on tarjottava pääsyä ja turvaa EU:n alueelle, venäläisille toisinajattelijoille ja aseistakieltäytyjille. On myös aika tunnustaa se tosiasia, että meidän on globaalisti päästävä eroon ydinaseista. Ilman ydinaseuhkaa tämäkin tilanne näyttäisi aivan toiselta. Ydinaseuhka ylläpitää ja mahdollistaa konflikteja, ja EU:n tuleekin rauhan synnyttävä ottaa johtajan rooli rakentaaksemme ydinaseeton tulevaisuus.

**Márton Gyöngyösi (NI).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, the war in the Ukraine has triggered exemplary European unity but it has also shown that Europe is powerless, which is quite remarkable if we consider the aggregate size of our national armies, the aggregate volume of our national defence budgets and the abundance of weapons systems and capacities within the EU.

But now it should be clear to all of us that sanctions are essential to limit Russian aggression, but they are certainly not sufficient to win a war.

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The past weeks have shown how dangerous external dependence on energy can become. It is high time to realise the risks inherent in the eternal dependence on the US to guarantee European security. With Trump's four years in office and the dreadful prospect of his return for a second term should be alarming for all of us.

So my question to you, Mr Šefčovič, as the last representative of the Commission in this room today: what are the Commission's plans and proposals for the protection of European citizens from an escalating conflict?

**Radosław Sikorski (PPE).** – Mr President, I say to Mr Putin: all you have achieved with your bogus annexations is that Ukraine will no longer negotiate with you. Your situation is very precarious. You can no longer win, but you still have some room for manoeuvre.

A previous ruler of Russia, Nicholas II, also attacked what was perceived as a weaker adversary, Japan, in 1904 and also lost both on land and at sea. He concluded a peace, instituted internal reforms and gained himself 12 more years in power.

Mr Putin, you probably won't do it because you're more of an egomaniac than a patriot, and you'll probably end up in some bunker. Steiner will not come and you will go down. The choice is yours.

**Sven Mikser (S&D).** – Mr President, dear colleagues. Putin's escalation of his war of aggression reveals Russia's strategic failure. By his mobilisation, his illegal annexation and his nuclear sabre-rattling, he is desperately trying to raise the stakes so as to scare Ukrainians and their allies. But Ukrainians are not going to be intimidated by Putin's bluster, and neither should we.

Ukrainians' courage and resolve in defending their homeland has been amazing throughout the conflict, but the recent success on the battlefield also owes to the support they have received and continue to receive from allies in Europe and elsewhere. In order to consolidate their recent gains, Ukraine needs much more of our support. Sure, we all want peace to come to Ukraine as quickly as possible. But, to be durable and sustainable, it will have to be a just peace. In the case of this war, this means the full restoration of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. After Putin's sham referenda and declaration of annexation of Ukraine's sovereign territory, the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity effectively means driving the occupiers out by force. The faster this happens, the sooner a just and durable peace returns to Ukraine.

Yes, Europe has done a lot, but now is not the time for self-congratulation, for we have done much, but not enough, whether we compare our performance to that of the Americans or to our own previous commitments. We must not hesitate and we must not be afraid to give Ukraine all the weapons, including tanks, that they need to successfully complete the liberation of their country. Quick and decisive liberation of all Ukraine's territory is the quickest path to a lasting peace and is thus actually de-escalatory.

As to those who aspire to a diplomatic approach, I would say this – yes, when the liberation of all of Ukraine has been made irreversible, then we will indeed have a lot to discuss at the negotiating table, including how to make sure that all those responsible for war crimes are brought to justice, and also the issue of what needs to become of Russia so that it can never again slaughter innocent people and threaten international peace.

**Míchal Šimečka (Renew).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, Vladimir Putin svoju agresívnu a brutálnu vojnu prehráva. A napadnutá Ukrajina spolu s Európou, ktorá ju vojensky a finančne podporuje, naopak víťazí. A teda sa nesmieme nechať pomýliť ani zastrašiť Putinovými vyhrážkami, použitím jadrových zbraní alebo mobilizáciou, v ktorej viac Rusov ušlo ako nastúpilo. Ani nelegálnou anexiou území, nad ktorými Rusko postupne stráca kontrolu. Lebo to je jediná Putinova taktika. Jediná zbraň je šíriť strach, vydierať všetkých, masakrovať civilistov, páliť územia, manipulovať s cenami energií a ohrozovať kritickú infraštruktúru v Európskej únii. V skutočnosti je slabý. Ak túto vojnu má Ukrajina a Európa po jej boku vyhrať, musíme aj naďalej udržať jednotný postoj Európskej únie. Musíme pritvrdzovať sankcie voči Putinovmu režimu a pokračovať v dodávkach ťažkej vojenskej techniky pre víťazstvo Ukrajiny. Lebo toto víťazstvo bude aj víťazstvom slobodnej a demokratickej Európy.

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**Bronis Ropė (Verts/ALE).** – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, iš Europos Sąjungos aukštų pareigūnų lūpų girdime apgailestavimą, kad nebuvo girdimi Baltijos šalių perspėjimai dėl Rusijos planų. Tačiau kokia tų žodžių prasmė, kai iki šiol padėtis mažai kuo pasikeitė. Naujų sankcijų įvedimas vis labiau išsikvepia, kraupūs rusų karių nusikaltimai vis mažiau jaudina. Galiausiai Europa tik reaguoja į Putino žingsnius, vietoj to, kad pirma imtųsi veiksmų nelaukdama dar vieno išpuolio.

Neabejokime, 2014 m. pradėjęs karą Ukrainoje, Kremlius ir toliau sieks savo tikslų. Kalbėjimasis su agresoriumi yra nieko vertas ir skambučių, apeliavimo į sveiką protą diplomatija čia nepadės. Turime suvokti, kad sveiko proto Kremliuje nėra, ir atitinkamai turime elgtis.

**Peter Kofod (ID).** – Hr. formand! Da Rusland angreb Ukraine, troede mange, at der ville blive tale om en kort krig. Men det blev ikke en kort krig. Nu er situationen fundamentalt forandret. Det går dårligt for Rusland på slagmarken. Rusland fik aldrig en hurtig sejr. Ukrainske styrker er nu ved at presse Rusland tilbage. Den russiske hær har vist sig ineffektiv, og soldaterne ser ud til at være dårligt motiveret. Og nu er Putin så nødt til at indkalde flere soldater, hvilket får russere til at flygte til Vesten i et meget stort tal. Putin må på alle måder have overvurderet sig selv, undervurderet ukrainerne og ignoreret Vestens reaktion. Sanktionerne forsvinder ikke igen. De er kommet for at blive. Jeg støtter dem, og jeg er klar til meget mere.

Før krigen brød ud, var det som om, at mange ledere i Vesten forsøgte at lytte til balterne og polakkerne, der længe har advaret om Ruslands og Putins intentioner. Den fejl må vi ikke gentage. Det går ikke, at ledere i Vesten hænger fast i lange og forstående telefonsamtaler med Putin, for Rusland er som land nødt til at lære af de konsekvenser, det medfører, når man umotiveret angriber et fredeligt naboland. Vores opgave må være at gøre Europa mindre afhængigt af Rusland og samtidig holde moralen og kampgejsten oppe hos ukrainerne, så de forhåbentlig kan presse russerne ud af de besatte områder. Europa, Vesten må ikke vige en tomme for Putin. Ikke nu! Aldrig!

**Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (ECR).** – Mr President, Russia's war against Ukraine has started in 2014 and some woke up to it only this year. While we in central-eastern Europe were screaming about the growing danger of Russia's imperial appetite, others in the EU were supporting Russia with generous military and energy contracts. It was a fatal mistake, with heavy repercussions and losses.

Today, many recognise Poland, the Baltics and other countries, frontline countries, were right but not listened to. Today, the same people continue not to listen and not to follow informed advice of central-east European countries. The frontline Central European countries were the only besides the US and UK, to give immediately a big part of the effort and budget to support Ukraine's fight and to receive this time 'true' refugees.

The EU did not help adequately frontline Member States. Many in the EU, even now, are proposing to send military equipment and disburse already promised money; not to mention increase. It is our urgent imperative and duty to give more heavy weapons and more finance and join the US initiative of monthly 1.5 billion transfers to Ukraine's budget, to put to zero and sanction Russia, to enforce payment of reparations to Ukraine and finally, to accept Ukraine in NATO.

**Kateřina Konečná (The Left).** – Pane předsedající, kolegyně a kolegové, čas, kdy bylo možné hrát si se slovíčky, pomínil. Konflikt na východě Evropy vstoupil do našich domovů a hrozí, že v zimě krutě zaútočí na kvalitu života lidí celé Evropy, a nebezpečí jaderné války dramaticky narostlo. V této chvíli česká vláda, Evropská unie a NATO nedělají nic jiného, než stále přilévají oleje do ohně. Probíhá absurdní soutěž o to, kdo dodá do bratrovražedné války více zbraní, kdo projeví více odvahy bojovat až do posledního Ukrajince. Nedávné teroristické útoky na plynovody z Ruska do Německa nepoškodily zájmy a majetek pouze těchto dvou zemí, bezprostředně ohrozily sociální smír v celé Evropě a také v praxi ukázaly nejednotu Západu, odlišný postoj Washingtonu a Berlína k Ukrajině. A zajisté si pamatujete výhrůžná slova amerického prezidenta Joe Bidena z počátku února, kdy v přítomnosti německého kancléře vyhrožoval „ukončením“ plynovodu Nord Stream. Vyzývám všechny instituce EU, aby využily svého vlivu, chopily se iniciativy a začaly vést mírová a diplomatická jednání. Jedině ta mohou vést k ukončení konfliktu. Čím dříve, tím lépe.

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**Francesca Donato (NI).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, le notizie dal fronte dicono che l'Ucraina sta vincendo la guerra. Ma siamo davvero sicuri che Putin accetterà di perdere senza alzare il livello? La deriva nucleare è una possibilità che diventa ogni giorno più probabile, l'ha detto anche il generale Petraeus, l'ex direttore della CIA, serve evitare la terza guerra mondiale.

Quelli che chiamate i populistici europei chiedono la pace e un negoziato. Però Zelensky, ma anche gli USA e l'Unione europea rispondono di no. Allora quello che io mi chiedo è: l'Unione europea sopravviverà a questa guerra? Io credo proprio di no. Perché dobbiamo chiederci anche se, quando arriveranno le bombe sulle nostre città, faremo come ha fatto il collega Sikorski che, dopo i bombardamenti sui gasdotti, ha detto: «grazie USA». Dovremo dire anche «grazie Unione europea», o almeno questo è quello che diranno i nostri cittadini.

Pensiamo bene a quante vite umane e a quante aziende vogliamo sacrificare. Io vi chiedo: per favore, fermiamo questa follia!

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, the first and most important thing is to observe and recognise the reality on the ground. And the reality is that Ukraine is winning this war, Russia is losing this war and Russia knows it. Russia is answering with aggressiveness and Russia is answering with propaganda.

And our first important duty is to tell the truth to the people of Europe, to make sure that the people of Europe are properly informed. We have to tell to the people that Russia is failing militarily. It is failing politically, economically and it is failing morally.

What do we do? We have to stay united. We have to help each other within the European Union. We have to help our neighbouring countries. We have to help Ukraine and we have to continue sanctioning Russia. Sanctions work, there are no more investments into Russia. Russia has no more access to our top technologies. And next year it will have no more revenues from gas and fossil fuels from us.

We saw last week that Russia is trying to also affect our immediate neighbouring countries. It cut by 30% the gas supplies to the Republic of Moldova, an EU candidate country. We have to help there and, Commissioner Vice-President, amounts which are too small for us, make a big difference and will help keep the Republic of Moldova, an EU candidate country, on the European path.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Mr President, more than seven months since the start of its aggression, things are not going as planned for Russia. What was supposed to be a quick special military operation turned into a long battle, where Ukrainian forces showed exceptional bravery and even started to advance.

The pipeline that was a significant source of financing for Russian aggression is sabotaged. In desperation the Kremlin began to mobilise.

I believe that, once again, this House will confirm a strong-text resolution and this lead the way for future actions. Our demands and suggestions are precise. We want and ask for: another robust package of sanctions targeting anyone involved in these illegal referenda, as we will never recognise their so-called results. Coordinated actions on the visa and asylum applications of the Russian citizens and concrete proposals for advanced military support.

I would also like to reflect on the great sense of unity permanently shown by this House since the start of the Russian aggression on Ukraine. One of the most critical tasks is maintaining unity among our governments and citizens as well. We have to be clear and say: the origin of all the problems that our citizens are dealing with – high energy prices, food supply problems, and security threats – are caused by the actions of the Russian regime.

The firmer we are with our sanctions, the sooner they will end. And the change in Russia should come from within. Therefore, we should increase our support to those in Russia who raise their voices against the Putin regime and can be the drivers of this change.

This war will end Putin's regime. *Slava Ukraini!*

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Bernard Guetta (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, mes chers collègues, la question est aujourd'hui de savoir où nous en sommes.

Côté ukrainien, la contre-offensive constitue un prodigieux succès, puisque après les avancées de l'Est, c'est maintenant vers Kherson que les troupes de libération progressent.

Côté russe, à l'inverse, une débâcle politique s'ajoute à la débâcle militaire. De hauts responsables du régime en sont à s'accuser publiquement les uns les autres d'incurie. C'est du jamais vu dans la Russie poutinienne, et cela nous dit que la chaîne de commandement et le président lui-même ne sont plus intouchables.

C'est le début d'un délitement général également marqué par le rejet de la mobilisation, les premiers signes d'émancipation de l'Asie centrale, le succès de nos sanctions et l'étrange et constante affirmation de M. Prigojine, patron d'une puissante milice nourrissant ses ambitions.

Le crépuscule tombe sur un tsar vieillissant. Il n'en est que plus dangereux, mais il perdra.

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, Putin is neither a master strategist nor a geopolitical genius. He is a terrorist who is only capable of bombing children and blackmailing us with doomsday. In these efforts, useful idiots are his main asset, these useful idiots, and they are plenty – from politicians to tech entrepreneurs, should not be allowed to define the narrative.

The chaotic mobilisation of troops and threatening the world with nuclear weapons only prove one thing: Putin is desperate. Desperate because he is losing the war that he vowed to win in three days. Desperate because his sanctions are biting and his propaganda cannot outweigh the empty Russian riches for long. Desperate because he hears the voices of mutiny in the Kremlin corridors getting louder and louder. Putin is Russia's greatest enemy and his end is in sight.

Until then, we will continue standing firmly with Ukraine. Arm them with heavy weapons. Support the EU initiative for tanks so that its brave people finally win this war.

**Gilles Lebreton (ID).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, face à une guerre, le droit international commande de dénoncer l'agresseur et de prendre la défense de l'agressé. Je condamne donc avec vigueur l'agression contre l'Ukraine ainsi que les annexions décidées par la Russie de quatre régions ukrainiennes. Il s'agit d'une atteinte inadmissible à l'intégrité territoriale d'un État souverain. Le refus du règlement armé des conflits est une règle fondamentale du droit international. De Grotius à Aristide Briand, en passant par Victor Hugo, les défenseurs d'une société des nations pacifiques ont toujours rejeté l'emploi de la force armée.

Ces exigences s'adressent bien sûr en premier lieu à la Russie et à son président, qui a hélas choisi d'en appeler à l'agression armée contre un pays souverain. Mais elles concernent aussi la présidente de la Commission européenne, qui est récemment venue nous dire que seule l'issue militaire devait conclure ce conflit dramatique qui déchire des peuples européens.

Non, l'Union européenne ne doit pas céder à un bellicisme aveugle. Que chacun en ait bien conscience ici. Ce conflit ne pourra être définitivement arrêté que par un cessez-le-feu et une négociation. Les bellicistes qui trônent à Bruxelles doivent cesser cette folle escalade qui obéit au mot d'ordre de Washington visant à l'humiliation de la Russie. À l'exemple du général de Gaulle, je souhaite un monde multipolaire dans lequel la France et l'Europe joueraient leur rôle de puissance de paix plutôt que d'accepter d'être le marchepied de la toute-puissance américaine.

**Nicola Procaccini (ECR).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa guerra purtroppo ci coinvolge tutti, indirettamente sul piano militare, di sicuro sul piano economico. Due errori non vanno compiuti. Il primo è che non bisogna fare scelte solitarie, soprattutto in materia energetica. Il tetto al prezzo del gas e dell'energia elettrica, se dovesse finalmente arrivare nei prossimi giorni, arriverà comunque troppo tardi per le imprese e le famiglie d'Italia e d'Europa. Bisogna fare presto.

Il secondo errore da non fare è dividere il fronte interno. La campagna politica in atto contro alcuni governi conservatori è una clamorosa ingiustizia che colpisce proprio gli Stati europei che maggiormente stanno sopportando il peso della crisi geopolitica corrente.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Sono italiano e non mi sfugge quale sarà il prossimo governo a finire nel mirino qui dentro. Mi auguro solo che l'odio delle sinistre per la democrazia non superi l'odio di Vladimir Putin per la democrazia, ma consentitemi di essere un po' pessimista in questo senso.

**Andrea Bocskor (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! 224 napja tart a háború, mely már több ezer áldozatot, köztük civilek és gyermekek életét követelte, és amely miatt több mint 10 millióan kényszerültek elhagyni otthonaikat. A Fidesz európai parlamenti képviselőcsoportja elítélte és elítéli az orosz agressziót, az ukrán területek annekálását és a háborús bűncselekményeket. A kezdetektől kiállunk Ukrajna mellett, támogatjuk Ukrajna területi integritását, és nem fogadjuk el az orosz látszatnépszavazások eredményét. Magyarország történetének legnagyobb humanitárius segítségnyújtási programjában eddig már több mint egymillió menekültet fogadtunk be Ukrajnából. Mi a mielőbbi békében vagyunk érdekeltek, amely Ukrajna szuverenitásának és területi integritásának tiszteletben tartásán alapul. Csak ez vethet véget a háborús szenvedéseknek. Csak ez állíthatja meg ezt az őrületet.

Méltatlan és elfogadhatatlan azonban összekapcsolni az Ukrajna melletti határozott és egységes politikai kiállást, az ukrán emberek iránti szolidaritást, az azonnali és teljes körű Oroszországgal szembeni energiaszankciók éles vitákat kiváltó, az Uniót megosztó és ellentmondásos hatású gyakorlati kérdésével.

**Othmar Karas (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Entschlossenheit, Einigkeit, Solidarität, Sicherheit und Unterstützung sind in diesen Minuten von allen gefragt.

Ich hatte die Möglichkeit, in der letzten Woche für unser Parlament in der ukrainischen Hauptstadt Kiew zu sein und viele Gespräche zu führen. Mein Arbeitsbesuch fiel genau auf jenen Tag, an dem Putin die Annexion weiterer ukrainischer Gebiete verkündete. Mit diesem unakzeptablen historischen Unrecht und seinen unverantwortlichen, beunruhigenden Entscheidungen, den illegalen Scheinreferenden, der Atomwaffendrohung und der Mobilmachung, dreht Putin immer weiter an der Eskalationsschraube.

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, mich haben der gemeinsame Wille, die Entschlossenheit und das Durchhaltevermögen der Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer stark beeindruckt. Aus diesem Grunde unterstütze ich die Verschärfung der Sanktionen. Ich unterstütze das vorgestellte Maßnahmenpaket der Kommission, und ich unterstütze die Maßnahmen, die die Kommissionspräsidentin heute vorgestellt hat, um den Energiemarkt neu zu ordnen und einen neuen Preisfindungsmechanismus in die Wege zu leiten.

**Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (S&D).** – Mr President, Russia continues its centuries-long tradition of conquering new lands and other nations. It neglects the fact that it is a brutal breach of international law.

Being an economic dwarf feeling that in the future its main sources of wealth will lose much of their present significance, it wants to strengthen its international position with use of force. Having little to say in scientific and technological competition, Russian leaders, supported by many ordinary people, want other nations to feel fear.

Then there is a personal obsession of their leader who would like very much to rebuild something similar to the Soviet Union. Aggression against Ukraine is a step in this direction. This is a major violation of law. Aggressors are responsible for a terrible number of killed people, demolished cities and villages, bombarded infrastructure.

To hide compromising battle failures, they decided to officially steal part of Ukraine and threaten the rest of the world with the use of nuclear arms.

We all, not only Europeans, must understand that this is equal to the final termination of life on Earth. Giving up is not an option. It will not stop Russia. The only thing we can and should do is to support the victim, Ukraine, as much as possible and as much as needed to defeat an aggressor and to show that we are able to defend life, law and liberty.

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, cred că în ultimele luni, atât noi, ca reprezentanți ai cetățenilor, cât și cei care conduc instituțiile Uniunii Europene, am învățat un cuvânt important - curajul. Am fost alături de Ucraina în acest război criminal, nejustificat și neprovocat, pornit de Putin încă de la început. Am ajutat Ucraina să-și exporte cerealele. Am primit refugiați din calea războiului. Am trimis ajutor umanitar și militar fără vreo frică de amenințările Rusiei. Curajul Uniunii este azi răsplătit prin prăbușirea frontului rușilor în mai multe regiuni. Curajul Uniunii, care s-a inspirat din cel al ucrainenilor, trebuie să facă din această Uniune un jucător geopolitic și economic major în lume.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Sprijinul nostru pentru integritatea teritorială, suveranitatea și independența Ucrainei nu trebuie să ia pauză acum. Investiția aceasta în libertate și democrație este parte din valorile pe care s-a creat Uniunea Europeană. Și cât timp vom face asta? Cât timp vom avea curaj? Niciun dictator nu se va putea agăța de putere, nici măcar Putin.

**Yannick Jadot (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, bien sûr, il nous faut aujourd'hui renforcer les sanctions, renforcer toutes les aides à l'Ukraine pour obtenir la victoire militaire de l'Ukraine et la fin des atrocités. Le Haut-représentant nous disait à quel point ce qui se joue, c'est un conflit de civilisations, un conflit de valeurs déjà mis en scène par Vladimir Poutine.

Malheureusement, ce conflit de civilisations, ce conflit de valeurs, il est aussi au sein des sociétés européennes et cela joue sur l'unité indispensable de l'Union européenne. Regardez toute l'extrême droite essayant aujourd'hui de reconstruire leurs accommodements, leur complaisance avec Poutine en utilisant la hausse des prix alimentaires, la hausse des prix de l'énergie et les injustices sociales au service de leur vision sur les valeurs.

Alors la Commission européenne, pardonnez-moi, mais sur la question du découplage entre le prix du gaz et le prix de l'électricité, vous avez trop tardé. Il faut agir plus vite aussi sur la taxation des superprofits. Un exemple? Total a déjà reversé, en acompte, en avance, 2,6 milliards d'euros à ses actionnaires. C'est plus que ce que met le budget de la France sur la rénovation thermique.

S'il n'y a pas de justice sociale dans la transition énergétique pour le climat, s'il n'y a pas de justice sociale face à la guerre en Ukraine, à ce moment-là, nous perdrons l'unité européenne, et le conflit de valeurs, il y a peu de chances que nous le gagnions aussi.

**Harald Vilimsky (ID).** – Herr Präsident, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Mit dem Sanktionenwahnsinn, der heute erneut von einer links-konservativen Mehrheit hier im Haus und der Kommission, bestehend aus Grünen, aus Sozialdemokraten, aus Konservativen, heraufbeschworen wird, wird auch dieser Kontinent Zug um Zug an die Wand gefahren.

Machen Sie doch die Augen auf, wie es den Menschen draußen geht mit Rekordinflation, mit Konkursen, mit Pleiten, mit Armut. Die Menschen wissen nicht, wie sie durch den Winter kommen. Der Ratschlag an diese Menschen heißt: Hört doch auf zu heizen, duscht nicht mehr und friert doch durchaus den Winter hindurch. Ich halte das für einen abgrundfalschen Weg, und zwar nicht nur aus der ökonomischen, sondern auch aus der menschlichen Sichtweise heraus.

Es gibt in diesen schweren Zeiten hier Stimmen, die sich für Frieden aussprechen – und es sind nicht die bösen Rechten, wie Sie hier meinen. Es sind durchaus illustre Stimmen wie die des aktuell wahrscheinlich erfolgreichsten Unternehmers, Elon Musk. Es gibt Stimmen, die sich für den Frieden aussprechen, wie etwa den Papst, der hier mahnt, dazu an den Tisch zu kehren und endlich einen Weg zu finden, damit das Sterben endet, damit auch in Europa der Wohlstand gesichert bleibt, damit wir diesen Winter hindurch eine Energieversorgung haben, dass die Menschen nicht frieren müssen oder Angst haben, ihre Jobs zu verlieren, ihren Wohlstand in den Sand zu setzen, ihre Sparguthaben durch eine Rekordinflation zu verlieren und diesen Kontinent in immer größere Probleme hineinzumanövrieren.

Ich kann daher erneut nur an Sie appellieren, hier mit einer starken europäischen Stimme dafür zu plädieren, die Kriegsparteien an einen Tisch zu zwingen und gemeinsam an einer Lösung zu arbeiten, mit der alle leben können.



Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**PRESEDÁ: MICHAL ŠIMEČKA**

*podpredseda*

**Alexandr Vondra (ECR).** – Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, today I will be positive because we have a quality resolution ahead of us, which contains all important elements – our reminders that Russia bears the full responsibility for the war, our reiteration of the full support for Ukraine, including our call to increase the massive military assistance, and also calling to explore the possibility for lend-lease military assistance; something what I have already proposed during the last plenary. Also, we are rightly condemning the so-called referenda to annex the four Ukrainian regions as illegal and illegitimate.

And, last but not least, we are also condemning the recent Russian threats to use nuclear weapons as irresponsible and dangerous, and calling that we would not be deterred in our further assistance to Ukraine and self-defence. That's all good.

Maybe one thing is missing here, and that's to designate that threatening the use of nuclear force should be labelled or designed as a threat against peace and humanity. So let's work on that because it's unprecedented rhetoric by Putin.

**Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η προσάρτηση ουκρανικών εδαφών, που ανακοίνωσε ο πρόεδρος Πούτιν, ρίχνει κι άλλο λάδι στη φωτιά του ιμπεριαλιστικού πολέμου, όπως και η αμερικανο-νατοϊκή στήριξη βέβαια στην αντιδραστική κυβέρνηση Ζελένσκι με βαρύ οπλισμό και άλλα μέσα. Σηματοδοτείται νέα ένταση αντιπαράθεσης μεταξύ του ευρωατλαντισμού και του υπό διαμόρφωση ευρασιατικού μπλοκ με επικεφαλής την Κίνα και τη Ρωσία, αλλά και των ανταγωνισμών εντός της Ευρωζώνης μεταξύ Γερμανίας, Γαλλίας, Ιταλίας στο φόντο ενεργειακών οικονομικών προβλημάτων. Οι εκατέρωθεν απειλές για χρήση πυρηνικών όπλων, οι δολιοφθορές σε αγωγούς και κρίσιμες υποδομές οδηγούν σε ανυπολόγιστες συνέπειες για τους λαούς της Ρωσίας και της Ουκρανίας, αλλά και όλου του κόσμου, που ήδη πληρώνει το κόστος της ακρίβειας της ενεργειακής φτώχειας.

Σε αυτές τις συνθήκες είναι άμεση ανάγκη η απεμπλοκή της Ελλάδας από τον πόλεμο, τους αμερικανο-νατοϊκούς σχεδιασμούς, που πολλαπλασιάζουν τους κινδύνους για τον λαό μας. Να σταματήσει τώρα η αποστολή στρατιωτικού υλικού στην Ουκρανία, η χρησιμοποίηση της ελληνικής επικράτειας και των υποδομών της χώρας ως ορμητηρίου πολέμου. Και βεβαίως η ανάπτυξη της αυτοτελούς πάλης των λαών σε κάθε χώρα είναι επομένως σήμερα επιτακτικά αναγκαία.

**Dolors Montserrat (PPE).** – Señor presidente, Putin continúa con su escalada bélica: la llamada a los reservistas, las amenazas nucleares, los referéndums ilegítimos.

Europa debe responder firmemente con las sanciones a Rusia, sin ambages ante este criminal de guerra. Ante la tiranía, no se retrocede ni un paso.

Pero también nos enfrentamos a la batalla económica de la guerra, contra la inflación y los precios de la cesta de la compra y de la energía. Hay que dar una respuesta urgente a las familias y a las pymes. No llegan a fin de mes.

En España la cesta de la compra ha pasado de ser de las más baratas de la Unión a una de las más caras. Las empresas están triplicando sus costes por la subida de la energía. Los ciudadanos y las empresas ya ahorran energía, no porque se lo pidamos nosotros: es que no pueden pagarla.

En España, mientras las familias se asfixian económicamente, el Estado recaudará 30 000 millones más por la inflación que el año anterior. Hay que devolver ese dinero a los bolsillos de los ciudadanos. Hay que bajar impuestos y no arruinar a millones de familias y empresas.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Herr talman! Kommissionen, rådet! Rysslands hänsynslösa krig drabbar Ukrainas befolkning varje dag, och det hotar Europas fred och säkerhet. När Ryssland nu trappar upp, anser vi socialdemokrater att kommissionens uppmaning om enighet och solidaritet är avgörande och att kommissionär Johanssons riktlinjer kring visum är rimliga.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

I detta säkerhetspolitiska läge är det kritiskt att de läckor som har uppdagats vid gasledningarna Nord Stream 1 och 2 i Östersjön nu utreds ordentligt. Detta troliga sabotage har skett i de svenska och danska ekonomiska zonerna och är mycket allvarligt. Det är bara några sjömil från där jag bor.

Putins kallblodiga agerande i Ukraina och de illegala annekteringarna måste få ett stopp. Vi, vi i EU, måste fortsätta vårt starka samarbete. En sak är nämligen säker: Putin ska inte gå segrande ur detta.

**Ilhan Kyuchyuk (Renew).** – Mr President, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, Europe has done a tremendous job. Europe has done a lot of things, including military support, financial support, but it is not a time for self-celebration. We must continue our support for the brave Ukrainians who are fighting not only for their designation, for their identity and belonging, but they are fighting for us, for Europeans, for European values. They deserve our admiration and great support under the leadership of President Zelensky and certainly the brave Ukrainians.

Secondly, we have to resist. Every time Europe is tested, tested by foreign actors, by big powers, by invaders. This time I think there is a greater test of our unity. We have to resist and put together the European Union because only if we are able to come together will we be able to overcome the crisis. Indeed, there are many – starting with energy and ending with the social consequences of the crisis.

But one thing is clear: unity is the key – unity within the Council, but also unity within the European institutions. So let's unite Europe as never before.

**Jakop G. Dalunde (Verts/ALE).** – Herr talman! Putin påstår att befolkningen i Donetsk, Luhansk, Cherson och Zaporizjzja har gjort sitt val i så kallade folkomröstningar, men de är folkrättsvidriga. Det är en lögn, precis som annekteringen av Krim har varit ända sedan detta krigs början 2014.

Rysslands annektering av ukrainska regioner är ett brott mot folkrätten. Listan över de krigsbrott som Putin står anklagad för har blivit ofattbart lång. Massakrer mot Ukrainas befolkning när knappt tidningarnas förstasidor längre.

Vi får inte låta detta krig bli ett bakgrundsbrus. Vi får inte tro att energikrisen är det värsta som drabbar Europa denna vinter. Det är kriget. Och våra systrar och bröder i Ukraina betalar det högsta priset varje dag som vi i Europa inte tar steget att sluta finansiera detta krig. Vi måste sluta köpa fossil energi från Ryssland.

**Dominik Tarczyński (ECR).** – Mr President, 'we should have listened to Poland', Ursula von der Leyen said during her State of the Union speech. She says we should listen to Poland. We should have listened to Poland. But you didn't want to listen. You didn't want to listen about Nord Stream. You didn't want to listen about illegal migration. You didn't want to listen about Putin. And you didn't want to listen about sanctions. Sanctions?

What about Russian diamonds? Why there is no embargo on Russian diamonds? Why? Because the capital of the diamond industry, Antwerp, in Belgium, would be unhappy, isn't it? Why there is no sanctions on Russian diamonds? Nord Stream is destroyed, but the diamonds are making money for Russia.

So stop lecturing Poland. Stop pointing us with your finger. Stop lecturing us about democracy. Do not be a hypocrite. Take actions, not beautiful words. Be like Poland. Be brave. Believe in your own nations instead of being dependent on Russian roubles. Be brave. Be like Poland.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovani kolege, poštovani građani, objektivnije sagledavanje političkih odnosa supersila Rusije i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, moglo je dovesti do sprječavanja rata.

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Zamislmo i zapitajmo se: da je Meksiko odlučio pristupiti Ruskoj Federaciji i postaviti nuklearne i druge projekte na granicu sa SAD om, kakva bi bila reakcija Sjedinjenih Američkih Država? Sankcije. Imali smo sedamdeset godina povijesnog iskustva u tome kako utječu sankcije na pokušaj svrgavanja izabranih predstavnika te vlasti. Nakon sedamdeset godina uvođenja ekonomskih sankcija, i to najviše razine, Kubi i Sjevernoj Koreji, i dan danas, sedam desetljeća kasnije, na vlasti su iste dinastije.

Pa zar nismo ništa naučili? Moramo se okrenuti diplomaciji. Rat će dovesti do nuklearnog rata i pogibije stotina milijuna ljudi. Moramo koristiti iskustva povijesti i okrenuti se miru.

**Андрей Ковачев (PPE).** – Г-н Председател, Украйна се сражава храбро срещу руската агресия от началото на войната през 2014 година. Украинските граждани, независимо от техния етнически произход, защитават самоотвержено своята страна. Всички очаквания на агресора в Кремъл, че тяхната победа ще се случи бързо, не се сбъдват.

Контраофанзивата на Украйна принуди Путин да прибегне до безумни стъпки, потъпквайки елементарни международни и морални норми, да анексира незаконно територии на съседна държава – суверенна и независима, призната от ООН в границите, в които съществува, призната и от самата Руска федерация с гаранциите, които тя дава с Будапешенския меморандум. Играта с атомната карта представлява поредна безотговорна ескалация на напрежение и шантаж.

Европейският съюз и страните членки са длъжни да продължат с масивна подкрепа за Украйна – военна, финансова, разузнавателна, икономическа, инфраструктурна, медицинска, хуманитарна.

Желанието на Украйна за членство в НАТО трябва да бъде уважено. Срамно беше поведението на предишното българско правителство на Петков, което не подкрепи изпращането на военна техника за Украйна. Колеги от ляво, това беше направено в полза на вашата партия.

Тъжно е, че България не се присъедини и към позицията на централно- и източноевропейските държави по темата „Украйна и НАТО“, въпреки че огромното мнозинство от българите гласуваха за проевропейски партии на изборите в неделя. България има нужда сега от стабилно проевропейско управление. ГЕРБ ще гарантира това и ще направи всичко възможно това да се случи.

**Juozas Olekas (S&D).** – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, eina jau aštuntas Rusijos atnaujinto karo prieš Ukrainą mėnuo. Per juos buvo daug netekčių, liūdesio, baimės, bet kartu jie buvo pilni Ukrainos žmonių ir jų sąjungininkų susitelkimo ir ryžto nepasiduoti agresijai ir prievartai.

Agresoriaus praėjusią savaitę vykdyti priverstiniai suklastoti pseudoreferendumai parodo tik tai, kad Rusija nesiruošė ir nesiruošia elgtis pagal civilizuoto pasaulio taisykles. Kolegos, išgirskite, V. Putinas ir jo aplinka supranta tik jėgos kalbą. Todėl vienintelis būdas išspręsti šį konfliktą – išlaisvinti Ukrainos okupuotas žemes, tam reikia dar gausnio ir geresnio ginklų tiekimo Ukrainai dabar. Paskutiniu metu V. Putinas kaip pasiūtęs bulius mojuoja branduolinio ginklo korta. Turime nedviprasmiškai pabrėžti, kad tokiu atveju Rusija panaikintų visus tabu ir visi Rusijos kariniai objektai tiek okupuotoje Ukrainoje, tiek Rusijos teritorijoje, įskaitant požeminius V. Putino bunkerius, atsidurtų atsakomojo smūgio taikinyje. Derybos ir taika galimi tik nugalėjus agresorių. Išlikime vieningi ir solidarūs. *Slava Ukraini.*

**Róza Thun und Hohenstein (Renew).** – Mr President, colleagues, Putin, in fact, is what we witness in this very room. We were never as united as during this debate. And this unity from one debate to another is more and more visible. Even Alexandr Vondra was positive this time.

There are, of course, some shameful exceptions, but they are not even worth mentioning them. The determination of our leaders to support Ukraine is also more clear from day to day, week to week, month to month than what we heard from Roberta Metsola, Josep Borrell, Ursula von der Leyen is one voice or the voices that complete each other. Member States, citizens, we all must follow.

It is not even those words. It is not only words because they became facts, actions or very clear plans for the future and of such a European Union, I am really proud. Only so, by strengthening our policies, we strengthen also our sovereignty. Not only we need to be sovereign, but also Ukraine needs a strong, united, sovereign ready to pay the price, because we know that otherwise the price will be much higher.

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**Piernicola Pedicini (Verts/ALE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Commissario, io credo che questa volta le persone abbiano davvero molta paura. Hanno paura perché vedono che questa escalation non è voluta soltanto da una parte, ma è voluta da entrambe le parti. Non hanno quindi paura soltanto di Putin e delle sue minacce. Hanno paura anche di noi occidentali.

Io voglio rileggere una dichiarazione di Biden rilasciata a febbraio prima dell'invasione russa: «Se la Russia invaderà l'Ucraina, abatteremo il Nord Stream e faremo in modo che non esista più». Ecco, queste dichiarazioni fanno paura e creano confusione, perché non si capisce bene dove ci vogliono portare. E non si capisce bene neanche che cosa vuole fare davvero l'Unione europea, visto che nessun capo di Stato e nessun capo di governo ha fatto davvero un passo nella direzione della pace.

Io credo che l'Unione europea deve assumere un ruolo terzo per fermare questa guerra nell'interesse di tutti. L'unico capo di Stato che ha avuto il coraggio di dire qualcosa in questa direzione è stato il Papa: Putin fermi la guerra e Zelensky sia aperto a serie proposte di pace. Perciò, colleghi, vi esorto, ascoltiamo almeno le parole del Papa.

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Voorzitter, geachte collega's, de EU en de NAVO dreigen meegezogen te worden in een spiraal van escalatie door de houding van Rusland in Oekraïne. Illegale annexatie, sabotage van pijpleidingen, gebruik van energie als wapen tegen onze burgers en ons industrieel weefsel. En nu de dreiging met een kernwapen.

West-Europa had zich in slaap laten wiegen, terwijl Poetin al lang een hybride oorlog voerde. Nu beseffen wij ten volle dat in zijn regime de leugen regeert, dat hij de randen opzoekt en dat hij niet maalt om het internationale recht. Dat schendt hij nu dagelijks in Oekraïne door doelbewust burgers en civiele infrastructuur zonder militair belang te treffen.

De Europese Unie dient over haar eigen schaduw te stappen en Poetin duidelijk te maken dat wij niet zullen toegeven aan zijn chantage. Dat wij deze crisis zullen aangrijpen om de energietransitie versneld door te voeren en onze energieafhankelijkheid te verzekeren. Dat wij onze cruciale infrastructuur zullen beveiligen. Dat wij Oekraïne zullen blijven steunen tegen zijn onwettige aanvalsoorlog. Dat wij zijn oorlogsmisdaden zullen berechten. Dat wij hem aanraden niet over te gaan tot de inzet van een kernwapen, maar dat wij daar desgevallend gepast tegen zullen reageren. Dat wij niet tegen zijn volk maar tegen zijn regime gekant zijn. Dat wij na deze oorlog één op regels gebaseerde Europese en internationale orde zullen herstellen.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Senhor Presidente, a escalada da guerra de Putin, com a mobilização de reservistas, anexações ilegítimas, ameaças nucleares, impõe que a União Europeia esteja mais unida do que nunca e que o apoio à Ucrânia seja sistemático.

É por isso que temos de perguntar ao Grupo S&D, aos Verdes, aos Liberais que posição é que têm sobre a ação unilateral do governo Scholz, do governo socialista liberal verde, de dar 200 mil milhões de euros sem nenhuma coordenação, sem nenhuma articulação com a União Europeia e com os seus parceiros para subsídios à energia, destruindo a confiança entre os Estados e fragmentando o mercado único.

Sim, eu quero perguntar à Senhora Iraxte Pérez:

What is the position of S&D Group on Scholz's decision to take action alone giving EUR 200 billion of subsidies against all the coordination with our partners?

**Míapetra Kumpula-Natri (S&D).** – Mr President, Europe has a common and share a common understanding and it's very clear we stand with Ukraine to help it defend its territory, each square meter, and to stay a sovereign state.

We need to make the world see that any threat to Russians is from their own president. It's not from NATO, the EU or Europe, it's their president who will threaten their morality, economical stand, and sending men to Ukraine to kill Ukrainians.

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But in this war we have on our continent, we also need to protect the rest of Europe. Security is the highest priority – whether it's an energy crisis or is it unbearable prices, the lack of energy because of so much reducing energy from Russia. It is a cold winter to manage if we don't succeed with the savings too.

I welcome the word from the Commission President to raise the protection of all the critical infrastructure. And also I welcome the words and general guidelines for visa issue, the Commission statement that every Member State should take into account the security when issuing visas to Russians.

**Elsi Katainen (Renew).** – Arvoisa puhemies, hyvä komissaari, ministeri, sabotaasi Itämeren kaasuputkessa, laittomat kansanäänestykset ja alueliitokset Euroopassa, toistuvat siviilien joukkomurhat ja ydinaseilla uhittelu – jokainen tietää tekijän näiden kauheuksien takana.

Meidän Euroopassa on sisäisen syytelyn sijaan keskityttävä ratkaisemaan tätä kriisiä. Mitä pikemmin, sen enemmän on voittajia.

Jos tämä julma sota jotain opettaa niin sen, että meidän ei enää pidä rakentaa uusia riippuvuuksia diktatuureihin. Eurooppalaisessa omavaraisuudessa vihreä siirtymä on keskeisen tärkeää, mutta se ei saa olla ainoa pyhä totuutemme. Meidän on pidettävä huolta meidän omasta huoltovarmuudestamme. Se tarkoittaa laajaa energiapalettia, mihin komission yrietykset rajoittaa bioenergian tuotantoa eivät sovi.

Ennen kaikkea meidän on jatkettava Ukrainan tukea. Mitä alhaisempia tekoja Venäjä tekee, sen korkeammalle Euroopan yhtenäisyys nousee. Kun kuvaan tulevat erilaiset näkemykset energiasta tai vaikkapa viisumeista, EU:n rivit horjuvat. Siihen meillä ei ole varaa, ja siksi meidän on pystyttävä yhtenäisempiin päätöksiin.

**Ciarán Cuffe (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, a cold winter lies ahead for Putin and his cronies. Russia's attempts this week to illegally annex four regions in Ukraine have been rightfully condemned. This is an age of hybrid warfare, and the Nord Stream attacks reminds us that we are vulnerable.

I am encouraged by the plan presented by the Commission President this morning to protect our critical infrastructure. But I am concerned about the security of our infrastructure, our underground cables, particularly off the coast of my own country, Ireland. These cables are crucial to the functioning of Europe's digital services. And a recent report found that the Irish Defence Forces cannot adequately protect them.

So we need to urgently invest in our defence capacity, in cybersecurity and in defending our crucial infrastructure at this perilous time.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Mr President, first of all, of course, congratulations to the victorious Ukrainians. It is clear that the end of the war depends only on how much weapons the West delivers to Ukraine. In some way it's a shame for the EU that the United States delivered EUR 25 billion value of weapons and the whole European Union support, together with all the Member States, is only less than EUR 6 billion.

The same is true with financial aid. The European Union is heavily behind the United States' assistance. It's not enough, our solidarity statements. Real EU money is needed. Sanctions are working. But the most special next sanction on Putin would be the immediate creation of a special tribunal on crimes of aggression, which would target directly Putin.

Ukrainian military performance is above all the NATO standards. Not Ukraine should ask for NATO membership, but NATO should ask Ukraine to join, because Ukraine is implementing NATO mission to stop Russia's imperial expansion to the West. We can help Russians to bury their imperial dreams with immediate Ukraine NATO membership and negotiations on EU membership starting early next year.

We shall show to Russia that Ukraine is gone from an imperial grey zone.

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**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, sono passati più di sette mesi da quando l'esercito russo, su ordine di Vladimir Putin, iniziava a invadere l'Ucraina. Messo ora di fronte ai fatti e al fallimento del suo piano, il regime russo sta agendo sempre più in modo criminale e ricattatorio.

L'Unione europea deve essere unita nel condannare le annessioni illegali avvenute con dei referendum farsa e deve invece sforzarsi di portare al tavolo tutti i principali attori mondiali per lavorare per una pace giusta. Giovedì si riunirà per la prima volta la Comunità politica europea, un progetto nato per dare subito un ancoraggio stabile all'integrazione europea e alla sicurezza dell'Ucraina. Andiamo avanti in questa direzione.

Il ruolo autonomo e una voce forte dell'Europa possono essere decisivi per evitare un'escalation che veda Russia e Stati Uniti impiantare un nuovo bipolarismo da guerra fredda. Non ne abbiamo bisogno. Serve invece coraggio e ambizione. Il mondo è cambiato. Cambi anche l'Unione europea, superando le divisioni e lavorando per costruire una pace duratura.

**Asger Christensen (Renew).** – Hr. formand! Jeg har en grundlæggende tro på nationalstaternes frihed til selv at bestemme og vælge, hvor man vil høre til. Derfor er det helt uacceptabelt med den annektering, som Rusland har foretaget med start den 24. februar, og nu senest med den sabotage, vi har set tæt på Danmark og Sverige i Østersøen. Så i kølvandet på krigen ser vi krigsforbrydelser, som er 2022 helt, helt uværdige. Den russiske aggression sætter en stopper for eksport af fødevarer fra Ukraine, med de store konsekvenser det har for tredjelande. Krigen har også ført en alvorlig energikrisen med sig, som får energipriserne til at stige til himlen, og som har store konsekvenser for de europæiske husholdninger og virksomheder. Vi ser ind i en lang og kold vinter. Derfor skal vi handle nu. Når Putin tvinger os til at skrue ned for varmen, så må vi øge vores energiproduktion af vedvarende energi, kul, olie og skifergas. Sådan beskytter vi en europæisk suverænitæt.

**Angelika Niebler (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Vizepräsident der Europäischen Kommission, Herr Ratsvertreter, liebe Kolleginnen, liebe Kollegen! Russische Teilmobilisierung, nukleares Säbelrasseln, unrechtmäßige Annexion der besetzten Gebiete: Putin führt einen immer aggressiveren Angriffskrieg. Die Ukraine verteidigt sich tapfer, kämpft für sich selbst, aber auch für unsere Interessen und braucht weiter unsere volle Unterstützung. Ich begrüße, dass an einem achten Sanktionspaket jetzt gearbeitet wird.

Der Krieg trifft aber auch uns in der Europäischen Union massiv. Wir müssen alles unternehmen, um die explodierenden Energiepreise in den Griff zu bekommen. Haushalte können ihre Rechnungen nicht mehr bezahlen, die horrenden Strom- und Gaspreise treiben unsere Betriebe in die Insolvenz. Ich begrüße die beschlossenen Notmaßnahmen der Energieminister. Sie sind ein wichtiger erster Schritt, aber sie müssen jetzt auch schnell und unbürokratisch umgesetzt werden, und es müssen noch weitere Maßnahmen folgen.

Wir brauchen erstens eine Gaspreisbremse, ohne die Versorgungssicherheit zu gefährden. Die Gaspreisbremse löst nicht alle Probleme, aber sie schafft Luft, um das Angebot hier etwas hochzufahren. Wir brauchen zweitens einen gemeinsamen Einkauf von Gas und Flüssiggas, und wir müssen unser Strompreisindex-System überarbeiten, wie die aktuelle Situation gezeigt hat.

**Marina Kaljurand (S&D).** – Austatud istungi juhataja! Head kolleegid! Viimased nädalad on olnud murrangulised ja võib tunduda, et sõda on jõudmas lõppstaadiumisse. Ukraina võit on väärmatu ja Putini häving on vaid aja küsimus. Kuid küsimus on, millal see juhtub ja kui palju halba jõuab Putini režiim veel teha. Selles olukorras on Ukraina igakülgne toetamine olulisem kui kunagi varem: üheskoos, solidaarselt ja jõuliselt. Ka siis, kui see tähendab majandus-raskusi meie inimestele – need ei ole võrreldavad sõjapõrguga. Köhklejatele on mul üks soovitus. Minge Ukrainasse ja rääkige ukrainlastega!

Me ei tohi väsida ja me ei tohi järele anda neile, kes räägivad „rahust iga hinnaga“. Rahu saab tulla ainult Ukraina poolt määratud tingimustel ja need sõnastas president Zelenskõi väga selgelt oma kõnes ÜRO Peaassambleel. Ta nimetas viit tingimust, alustades Ukraina territoriaalse terviklikkuse taastamisest ning lõpetades Kremli kurjategijate toomisega Rahvusvahelise Kohtu ette. Elagu Ukraina! *Slava Ukraini!*

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**Nils Torvalds (Renew).** – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, we actually know how the Russian war against Ukraine will end. It will end in a total moral, societal, economical collapse of Russia, and we already see the first sign of it. But this road to collapse is long and it's lined with untold sufferings and human deaths.

Along this Via Dolorosa marches the Ukrainian army and peoples of Ukraine. In comparison with them, we have a fairly easy walk, but we already complain, sometimes in a unduly manner. Now it's time for us to make some small sacrifices. But making these small sacrifices, we should also be able to open up a perspective for Europe in the future.

Forty-seven years ago the Conference of Security and Cooperation opened in Helsinki. The principles of the final act have then been torn into pieces by Vladimir Putin and Russia.

We need a new Conference. We need to get Europe on a new path away from the mortal path Russia under Putin has chosen.

**Sandra Kalniete (PPE).** – *Mr. President, Commissioner, colleagues!* Putins draud ar kodoltriecienu. NATO brīdina Putinu par katastrofālām sekām. Ukraina gatavojas kodoltriecienam. Šie ziņu virsraksti atspoguļo eskalāciju, kuras avots ir Kremlis. Putins grib iebiedēt tos, kas atbalsta Ukrainu tās taisnīgajā cīņā. Tas nedrīkst notikt. Eiropā neviens nedrīkst ļauties ilūzijai, ka ar Putinu var sarunāt, un viņš — ak, brīnums — atjaunos gāzes plūsmu un novērsīs ziemas aukstumu. Tieši otrādi — Eiropas Savienībai ir jāpalielina ieroču piegādes Ukrainai, jo katra nākamā uzvara tuvina Putina režīma beigas, jo Krievijā zaudētājus nemīl. Eiropas Savienībai jākoncentrē ekonomiskais spiediens, nosakot cenu griestus naftai un gāzei, bloķējot kodoldegvielas eksportu. Nespēja vienoties par sankcijām ir kauns, kas parāda, ka Putina Eiropas draugi šeit strādā. Tāpat nav saprotams, kāpēc Ukraina ir saņēmusi tikai vienu miljardu no solītajiem deviņiem. Cerams, ka tie pieci miljardi, par kuriem tikko parakstīta vienošanās, Kijevu sasniegs ātrāk. Slava Ukrainai ! Varoņiem slava !

**Javier Moreno Sánchez (S&D).** – Señor presidente, Putin está perdiendo la guerra en términos morales y políticos. A su demencia guerrera sus propios valientes jóvenes le dicen «no» y huyen del país. A su pantomima de referéndum la comunidad internacional le dice «no». Le queda la baza económica, con la energía como arma de guerra, y la amenaza nuclear como arma psicológica.

Ante este chantaje la Unión Europea debe seguir con la misma firmeza, unidad y solidaridad mostradas hasta ahora.

Señorías, obviamente esto conlleva un coste para los ciudadanos y las ciudadanas, a los que debemos proteger ante la crisis energética y la inseguridad alimentaria. Sigamos diversificando nuestras fuentes de suministro, las compras conjuntas de gas y las reservas estratégicas. Apostemos por la energía verde y pongamos en práctica el Acuerdo de seguridad alimentaria alcanzado en la OMC el pasado mes de junio.

Por alusiones, le diría a la señora Montserrat que los impuestos sirven para garantizar los servicios públicos que su partido quiere privatizar. Le recuerdo que este verano los incendios no los han apagado empresas privadas.

**Bart Groothuis (Renew).** – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear Minister, dear colleagues, for the past ten years, Russia has invested significantly in its capability for deep-sea water research, or the sabotage capability, as we know it. For the past three years, Russia deliberately disconnected itself from the internet twice without severe consequences for its own economy or society. In the end of this year, internet cables were cut in Norway, Svalbard, where EU Galileo ground stations are present. All this time, this House asked for action, swift action.

Last week, two, not three, four times Nord Stream 1 and Nord Stream 2 were sabotaged. This morning only, President von der Leyen announced a new plan to protect our critical infrastructure below sea. She announced satellite surveillance, stress tests and more cooperation.

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Well, dear colleagues, that's not even close to what is needed. This House has the ideas what is needed, we will put them forward in the next couple of months and we hope to cooperate with you, dear Commissioner. Boost the Maritime Safety Agency in Lisbon that connects European coast guards, navies. Make it into a new paramilitary venue. Place sensors in our water, use industry data. Create PESCO projects to technically update our submarines for this task.

And last but not least, attribute – make sure that every incident is reported, investigated towards the culprit together with NATO and neighbouring countries. Thank you, *Slava Ukraini!*

**Luděk Niedermayer (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, dear guests, it was great to see such a strong sense of unity here of all, except of a very, very few. I guess it's clear what should be our reaction to escalation of the situation and increase of the risks.

First, this is political support, at least as strong as was shown today, this morning. The second, economic support, I mean, economic sanctions and as well, obviously the financial support of Ukraine. We also should not forget the humanitarian part of the problem. There are millions of people in Ukraine that have lost their homes and they can suffer in winter, and they count on our support.

I also very much appreciate statements of the Commission on the energy. Very good proposals from the Commission can help us to avoid huge economic risks this winter and later, this is very important, and also keep the social stability that is needed for continuation of current right course of our policy.

**Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D).** – Voorzitter, collega's, Oekraïne is een vrij en een onafhankelijk land. Het is een democratie en het is Poetin, en Poetin alleen, die met zijn illegale aanval op Oekraïne terug oorlog op het Europese continent heeft gebracht.

Het antwoord daarop, collega's, en daar zijn we het over eens, moet zijn: eenheid, samenwerking en solidariteit. En ja, die hebben we getoond. Enerzijds met de uitgebreide steun aan Oekraïne, maar ook opeenvolgende sanctiepakketten die ervoor moeten zorgen dat de geldkraan wordt dichtgedraaid voor de oorlog die Poetin voert. Het is om die reden dat ik er wél voorstander van ben om ook diamant in die sanctiepakketten op te nemen, en ik zeg dat als Antwerpse.

Diezelfde eenheid, samenwerking en solidariteit hebben we nodig in het aanpakken van de energiecrisis. En daar, beste collega's, schort het vandaag toch een beetje aan die eenheid en solidariteit in de Raad – die is ver zoek – maar ook in de daadkracht van de Commissie. Beste commissaris, alstublieft, ik heb goede dingen gehoord van Ursula von der Leyen deze ochtend. Het is nu tijd voor acties. Zet een plafond op die prijs. Zorg ervoor dat er een ont koppeling is van de elektriciteit en de gasprijs. Dat zal ervoor zorgen dat de steun onder de Europese bevolking voor de steun aan Oekraïne blijft.

**Marie-Pierre Vedrenne (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, au Parlement européen, cœur de la démocratie européenne, nous affirmons une nouvelle fois notre soutien sans faille aux Ukrainiens. Nous condamnons fermement l'escalade, comme nous avons condamné toutes les actions de Vladimir Poutine. Celle de faire revenir la guerre en Europe, celle d'organiser des élections fantoches, celle d'oppresser des millions d'Ukrainiens qui ne se battent pas seulement pour leur liberté, mais qui se battent bien aussi pour la démocratie, la démocratie européenne.

Après tous ces mois, l'Ukraine reste forte et déterminée. Aujourd'hui, nous nous devons de continuer d'être à la hauteur du courage du peuple ukrainien. Ne cédon pas aux sirènes des populistes qui diffusent la propagande du Kremlin. Le huitième paquet de sanctions est une nécessité, un levier fondamental pour asphyxier l'économie russe. Le courage des Ukrainiens, leur soif de liberté rappellent la mesure des défis qui nous attendent.

Il est nécessaire de continuer, avec les autres démocraties, de travailler pour consolider notre autonomie stratégique, consolider nos approvisionnements. Et pour cela, nous devons être unis et forts.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, uz brutalno kršenje međunarodnog poretka, otvorene prijete nuklearnim napadom, ruski režim počeo je i energetiku koristiti kao instrument rata protiv Europe, kao sredstvo političke i gospodarske ucjene.



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Suprotno onome što smo mogli čuti od zastupnika Kolakušića, povijest nam pokazuje da popuštanje ili razjedinjenost pred tiranijom ili pred imperijalizmom ne može pomoći. Upravo suprotno. Povijest nam također pokazuje da ne doprinosi niti relativiziranje agresije, a posebno je neshvatljivo kada to dolazi iz usta kolege koji također dolazi iz države koja je prije samo 30 godina bila žrtva slične agresije. Kolegice i kolege, ishod rata u Ukrajini oblikovat će budućnost cijele Europe. Zato je ovo civilizacijski test za Europu. Zato je nužno zajedništvo i jedinstvo u podršci ukrajinskom narodu. Zato je nužan povratak temeljnim europskim politikama, politikama zdravoga razuma, osobito u području obrane, sigurnosti i energetike.

Zato je to, u konačnici, i pitanje opstanka u novoj nemilosrdnoj eri globalne neizvjesnosti.

**Dietmar Köster (S&D).** – Herr Präsident! Dieser völkerrechtswidrige Krieg Russlands gegen die Ukraine muss so schnell wie möglich beendet werden. Die neuesten Maßnahmen des russischen Regimes wie die illegalen Referenden, die erneute Annexion und die Drohung, Atomwaffen einzusetzen, sind strikt zurückzuweisen.

Ein Atomkrieg wird zur vollkommenen Vernichtung aller Seiten führen. Er muss auf jeden Fall mit allen Anstrengungen verhindert werden. Daher muss jetzt endlich die Diplomatie zu ihrem Recht kommen, was übrigens die Auffassung von 77 % der Deutschen ist. Es müssen auf allen politischen Ebenen Verhandlungsangebote gemacht werden, um einen Waffenstillstand zu erreichen.

Leider ist die Kommission in dieser Hinsicht vollkommen untätig. Der einseitige Ansatz, Bellizistinnen und Bellizisten zuvörderst auf Waffen zu setzen und die Entscheidung auf dem Schlachtfeld zu suchen, ist ein sehr gefährlicher und riskanter Weg. Wir brauchen eine duale Strategie. Ja, wir müssen die Ukraine ökonomisch, politisch und auch militärisch unterstützen, aber wir brauchen zugleich auch diplomatische Anstrengungen. Und hier passiert einfach zu wenig.

Zudem sollten wir den Widerstand der Russen gegen den Krieg unterstützen. Kriegsdienstverweigerer und Deserteure widersetzen sich dem völkerrechtswidrigen Krieg Russlands, und wir sollten hier in Europa viel mehr tun, um denen die Möglichkeit zu geben, in die Europäische Union zu kommen.

**Frances Fitzgerald (PPE).** – Mr President, colleagues, the war has entered a critical new stage, with new victories from our brave and fighting Ukrainians every day. Ukrainian forces are advancing and regaining strategically important cities. Yet, as Ukraine advance, Putin ups his brinkmanship. The annexation by Russia of four Ukrainian regions last week further signified a deepening of his war efforts. His ruthlessness is exemplified by harrowing images of Ukrainians forced to vote at gunpoint and, of course, the shocking images of recently released prisoners of war. So too, the explosion within the Nord Stream 2 pipeline and the threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

We too in Ireland must defend our crucial infrastructure off the coast. The threat draws closer. Democracy can prevail in Ukraine, but only with united support and I mean united – right across Europe, on all fronts. Absolute support on sanctions. Ukrainians are fighting for our values, our democracies. They fight for us.

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** – Señor presidente, ante esta nueva escalada, quiero destacar hoy aquí la importancia de que la Unión Europea comunique de forma eficaz su posición.

Hay que mantener la mayoría de 141 países que en marzo condenaron la agresión rusa en la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas y conseguir que esa condena se traduzca también en hechos.

En efecto, muy pocos terceros países aplican todavía nuestras sanciones y me preocupa, además, el cambio del sentido del voto de Brasil y de Gabón en la reciente votación en el Consejo de Seguridad (ambos se han abstenido).

Lavrov desarrolló una amplia agenda diplomática también en África en estos meses. El presidente de la Unión Africana pidió recientemente en Moscú el levantamiento de las sanciones europeas. Hace pocos días hemos visto a Putin en Samarcanda con los máximos dirigentes de la India y de China.

Putin no está todavía plenamente aislado. Tenemos que intensificar nuestra ofensiva diplomática, en la que debe implicarse más, por ejemplo, el presidente del Consejo Europeo.

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Señorías, no es momento de ambigüedades ni de equidistancias. Este es un conflicto entre Rusia y la comunidad internacional. No es una mera guerra entre europeos. Su alcance es mucho mayor.

Y el resto del mundo, señor comisario, señor vicepresidente, debería ser consciente y actuar en consecuencia.

**Traian Băsescu (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, Europa trece printr-o criză majoră de securitate și o criză majoră energetică. De ce am ajuns aici? Pentru că în schimbul gazelor, țițeiului și cărbunelui din Rusia am acceptat situația din Transnistria, masacrul de la Groznâi, anexarea provinciilor Osetia și Abhazia din Georgia, anexarea Crimeei. Ne-am limitat la sancțiuni fără niciun efect pentru Rusia.

Mai mult, în 2008, un stat european a blocat accesul Ucrainei în NATO. Azi, Putin amenință Ucraina și Europa cu arma nucleară, motivând că și Statele Unite au utilizat-o în '45. Da, în 1945 s-a pus capăt celui de al Doilea Război Mondial, pe când utilizarea armei nucleare azi, în Ucraina, înseamnă începerea unui război nuclear. Ucraina trebuie sprijinită cu armament pentru a-și elibera propriul teritoriu. Abia apoi pot să înceapă negocierile.

**Vladimír Bilčík (PPE).** – Vážení pán predsedajúci, bezprecedentný útok, agresia, vojnové zločiny, jadrová hrozba, mobilizácia, referendá, anexia. Slová o tom, čo eskalácia znamená v praxi. Rusko postupne prekračuje pomyselnú čiaru, ničí Ukrajinu, ohrozuje európsku bezpečnosť a šliapie na medzinárodný poriadok. Európska odpoveď, dámy a páni, musí byť jednoznačná. Musíme byť jednotní, rozhodní, spájať sily aj so spojencami vo svete, podporovať Ukrajinu ešte viac a ukázať, že sa Moskvou nenecháme vydierať. Rusko sa pustilo cestou, z ktorej niet návratu. Opustilo spoločnosť vyspelých krajín a pridalo sa medzi vyvrhľov globálnej politiky. Každá investícia do víťazstva Ukrajiny je investícia do našej európskej slobody a bezpečnosti. Je investíciou do európskej demokracie, do lepšej budúcnosti, v ktorej Ukrajina uspeje. Ako kandidátska krajina sa stane súčasťou nášho politického priestoru. Stojme pri Ukrajine. Je v zápase o svoje územie, svoje hodnoty, svojich ľudí. Ukrajinci vedia najlepšie, ako túto vojnu vyhrať. Počúvajte ich a poskytujte im, čo potrebujú. Sláva Ukrajiny.

**President.** – Dear colleagues, just to apologise, but blue cards will not be issued as we are running out of time and we need to start voting soon.

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, osuđujući rusku nasilnu aneksiju teritorija suverene države, potvrdili smo našu zajedničku odlučnost u potpori slobodi i očuvanju teritorijalne cjelovitosti Ukrajine, ali i dobili onu potvrdu političkog i ekonomskog što treba stajati iza jedne zemlje.

Okupacija i nastojanje nasilnog oduzimanja i nezakonitog prisvajanja tuđeg teritorija, najflagrantniji su primjeri kršenja zakonitog sustava na kojemu je zasnovan europski i svjetski poredak, a posljedice osjećamo svi - preko špekulativnih cijena energenata i namjera onih koji žele iskoristiti rat za druge interese.

Ukrajinu nećemo napustiti bez obzira na prijetnje i zastrašivanja koja dolaze iz Kremlja jer, posebno mi iz Hrvatske, koji smo ne tako davno bili izloženi agresiji i podnijeli velike žrtve, znamo cijeniti slobodu za koju smo se izborili kako bismo uživali vrijednosti na kojima počiva Europska unija.

Jasna je razlika između nas koji govorimo jezikom mira i onih koji govore jezikom rata. Moramo ustrajati u svojim politikama i svojim vrijednostima, no biti svjesni ruske strategije u geopolitičkom smislu i imperijalističkih težnji. U obrani demokratskih vrijednosti, trebamo poduprijeti mjere.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Eugen Tomac (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, cred că nu mai e un secret pentru nimeni că Putin s-a compromis pentru totdeauna și încearcă să compromită definitiv orice relație pe care o putem construi după încheierea păcii cu Rusia. Cred că a sosit momentul să rămânem mult mai uniți, mult mai fermi în orice direcție ce ține de Ucraina, pentru că Putin n-a reușit să își atingă obiectivul de a anexa Ucraina doar în câteva săptămâni, pentru că am fost uniți.

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Astăzi, armata Ucrainei este mult mai determinată, mult mai bine organizată, mult mai mobilizată, tocmai pentru că simte sprijinul nostru, iar Putin este tot mai derutat și amenință continuu cu arma nucleară. Cred că sosește timpul în care acest tiran va înțelege că nu mai poate continua cu această politică a terorii și a șantajului. Este momentul să rămânem și mai uniți, și mai solidari, și mai determinați în a-l înfrunta pe acest tiran.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, vreau să vă adresez o întrebare legat de ce a declarat doamna președintă a Comisiei Europene. Sigur, conflictul din Ucraina accentuează criza energetică. A afirmat aici, doamna președintă, că e nevoie de plafonarea prețurilor la gaze și cred că toată lumea este de acord. Dar vreau să vă întreb ce a înțeles doamna președintă prin „un nivel omogen” în piața Uniunii Europene? Ce înseamnă un nivel omogen?

Sunt țări în care consumul pe cap de locuitor este de patru ori mai mic decât media din Uniunea Europeană, așa cum este consumul din țara mea. Cel care consumă cel mai puțin, mai poate să suporte o reducere? Eu cred că aici trebuie să fim atenți și Comisia trebuie să propună un mecanism care să nu dezavantajeze pe cetățenii europeni care au în acest moment consumul cel mai mic, și acești cetățeni sunt cei din țara mea.

**Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (Renew).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, ο πόλεμος που διεξάγει η Ρωσία στην Ουκρανία έχει μπει σε νέα φάση και αυτό μας επιβάλλει νέες υποχρεώσεις. Οι Ουκρανοί αποδεικνύονται γενναίοι και αποτελεσματικοί, και πρέπει να αυξήσουμε την ευρωπαϊκή στρατιωτική βοήθεια. Εξαρτώνται υπερβολικά από την αμερικανική στρατιωτική βοήθεια και αυτό μπορεί να επηρεάσει τις επιλογές τους στο μέλλον. Κερδίζουμε τη μάχη των ιδεών και της πληροφόρησης έναντι του Πούτιν, ο οποίος για πρώτη φορά έχει εσωτερικά προβλήματα. Πρέπει όμως να κλιμακώσουμε την προσπάθεια και να μην επιτρέψουμε σε διάφορα είδη λαϊκιστών να περιορίσουν την αποτελεσματικότητά της. Τέλος, εξακολουθούν δυστυχώς να υπάρχουν ευρωπαϊκά μεγάλα συμφέροντα που βγάζουν πολλά λεφτά χρηματοδοτώντας τον επιθετικό πόλεμο του Πούτιν. Πρέπει να επιβάλουμε πρόσθετους περιορισμούς. Δεν επιτρέπεται οι θυσίες των πολλών να συνδυάζονται με την κερδοσκοπία των λίγων.

*(Koniec rozprawy podľa postupu „catch the eye“)*

**Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Mr President, Mr President of the Council of the European Union, dear Minister Bek, today's debate focuses on the most important challenges of today's Europe. You all mentioned war on our continent, and rightly pointed out the serious concerns of the people in Europe over high inflation, high energy prices, overall social cohesion, and over the future of our businesses and industry.

I really would like to thank all the honourable Members for what I felt was truly overwhelming support and solidarity with the Ukrainian people. I think that we can also state that every day, we see that our support is crucial, that it works and that it brings tangible results. No sham referendums are going to change that.

I agree with Mr Auštrevičius and with Mr Millán Mon that the decisions we are taking today will frame the European and, I would say, global security for many decades.

Almost all of you honourable Members highlighted how important the unity and solidarity are to deal with current energy prices and high inflation. As Ms Vautmans has said, this is a time for truly European solutions because only that approach will bring the results we need.

You know that, together with your support, we already did a lot. We reduced gas consumption, we decreased the gas supplies coming from Russia in a significant manner and we filled up our gas storages. But we all know that more is needed and therefore, we are going to skim off the exceptional profits of the energy companies to support vulnerable citizens and businesses. Thanks to the excellent work of the Czech Presidency, we already found an agreement on REPowerEU to provide additional resources in those efforts.

It is clear that the next days will be of crucial importance for pushing our actions to the next level. President von der Leyen will send a roadmap in a letter to prepare the ground for the meeting of EU leaders in Prague. We will complement it with our negotiations with trusted partners, such as, for example, Norway, to dampen the price we pay for energy. And we are going to use much more our strong market power as a big economy and very important energy importer.

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I am sure that our suppliers, especially our friends and allies, want not only to conclude the deals which are beneficial for both sides, but they also want to support us in our principled positions to help Ukraine and further increase pressure on the Russian aggressors. We want to make sure that we will take advantage of our big internal market and we will strengthen our energy platform to avoid a situation where Member States are competing with each other, but rather we would work with them to support a common approach.

To take on the inflationary impact of gas on electricity, today, the President of the Commission was very clear in sending clear signals on our readiness to discuss a cap on price for gas for generating electricity. We see it as another step not only to develop the new post-TTF price benchmark, but also to structurally reform our electricity market as called for by Mr Jadot or Ms Van Brempt, and to do it in a way that will not only decouple gas from its unproportional impact on electricity price, but to forge a new framework which will correspond to our goals to be a climate-neutral continent by 2050.

On top of this, we are working on the adaptation of a temporary state aid framework to the current energy situation. I want to assure you that we hear very loud and clear your calls to look for additional ways on how to tackle high inflation, reduce energy prices and preserve our competitiveness and, most importantly, for our citizens to uphold social standards in Europe.

There have been concrete questions by Mr Mureşan on Moldova. Just to be very brief, on top of our budgetary support and our macro financial assistance in more than EUR 225 million together, we are also helping through the EIB and we are helping by sending out Frontex officers to deal with the migratory flows.

I also want to acknowledge the very clear questions and points by Ms Fritzon and Ms Kumpula-Natri concerning the visas for Russians. Here, I think the very concrete guidelines proposed by my colleague Ylva Johansson are the best way forward.

To Mr Bart Groothuis, I want to reassure him that we are ready to explore all possibilities, to look for additional avenues on how to better protect our critical infrastructure. I will be looking forward to our cooperation in that regard.

So to conclude, honourable Members, I would really like to thank you for today's debate, for bringing also new ideas to the table, and to really make sure that, as we always do, we will prevail through this crisis and we will emerge stronger from this very challenging experience.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner. By the way, I appreciate the opportunity to speak to a full House for a change. The views expressed here today bear witness to this Parliament's overwhelming and continued support for the EU's course of action towards Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine.

Listening to you, I reiterate the words expressed by the High Representative. Our efforts must continue. Our strategy to counter Russia's offensive has worked until now and must be sustained: support Ukraine in all terms, pressure Russia and engage with the rest of the world.

We will continue to provide military assistance to the Ukrainian Government to ensure that recent military gains are sustainable in the long run. We also need to continue supporting Ukraine financially in a predictable way. In working with our international partners, we will make sure that Russia is held accountable for the crimes it has committed and we will develop stronger tools to counter Russia's parallel war of disinformation.

High Representative Borrell spoke at the beginning about the eighth sanctions package, and here I am pleased to inform you that the EU ambassadors, Coreper, confirmed agreement on this package a couple of minutes ago. We see this package as a further step to isolate the Russian regime and weaken its capacity to pursue this war of aggression. The new sanctions package also represents a strong condemnation of the recent sham referenda and of Russia's illegal annexation of Ukrainian territories.

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President, Vice-President of the Commission, honourable Members, as you know, the motto of our Presidency is 'Europe as a Task', inspired by an essay by Czech President Václav Havel. It is symbolically today, the day of Václav Havel's birthday, that we are discussing one of the most important tasks that lie ahead of us. Many thanks for your attention.

**Predsedaajúci.** – Bolo mi predložených päť návrhov uznesení na ukončenie rozpravy. Rozprava sa týmto skončila. Hlasovanie o rezolúcii sa uskutoční zajtra.

*Písomné vyhlásenia (článok 171)*

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D), raštu.** – Visas pasaulis žavisi nepalaužiama Ukrainos žmonių, kurie rodo didžiulį pasiaukojimą gindami savo šalį, drąsa. Tačiau su didžiuliu nerimu ir įtampa stebime vis blogėjančią situaciją ir vis agresyvesnius Rusijos veiksmus ir jos siekį išdraskyti suverenią ir nepriklausomą valstybę. Vienareikšmiškai ir griežtai smerkiame Rusijos agresijos karą ir jos bandymus jėga ir prisidengiant fiktyviais referendumais užimti teritorijas bei masinius ir šiurkščius žmogaus teisių pažeidimus ir karo nusikaltimus, kuriuos Ukrainoje įvykdė Rusijos ginkluotosios pajėgos, jų įgaliotiniai ir okupacinės Rusijos paskirtos valdžios institucijos. Visos Ukrainą remiančios šalys privalo skubiai ir solidžiai padidinti savo karinę pagalbą, ypač tose srityse, kuriose jos prašo Ukrainos vyriausybė, kad Ukraina galėtų susigrąžinti visos savo tarptautiniu mastu pripažintos teritorijos kontrolę ir sėkmingai apsiginti nuo bet kokios tolesnės Rusijos agresijos. Gerbiami kolegos, į Europą grįžo karas. Mūsų pareiga yra užtikrinti mūsų kontinento taiką ateinančioms kartoms, todėl privalome susitelkti ir būti vieningi padėdami Ukrainai jos ir visų mūsų kovoje su Rusija.

**Marc Botenga (The Left), par écrit.** – Par l'annexion illégale de territoires ukrainiens et la menace nucléaire, Vladimir Poutine continue sur la voie de l'escalade. La fuite en avant. Mais, paradoxalement, la situation sur le terrain offre une fenêtre d'opportunité pour la diplomatie. Le président russe sait qu'aucun décret d'annexion illégale n'arrivera à cacher l'impasse militaire dans laquelle se trouve actuellement l'offensive russe. Ce n'est pas une coïncidence si Poutine a appelé à la diplomatie même dans son discours d'annexion. Une impasse sur le champ de bataille offre souvent une opportunité importante pour relancer les négociations. En plus, des pays importants comme l'Inde ou la Chine, qui ne soutiennent ni l'invasion russe, ni la politique européenne de sanctions et de livraisons d'armes, poussent Poutine à la négociation. Depuis le début de la guerre, l'Union européenne n'a pas pris une seule initiative diplomatique sérieuse. C'est irresponsable. Dans un contexte où une guerre nucléaire et l'escalade du conflit bien au-delà des frontières de la région semblent des risques toujours plus tangibles, nous avons le devoir d'essayer une grande initiative diplomatique. Certes, la diplomatie peut échouer, mais la seule façon de le savoir, c'est de tenter. Les classes travailleuses n'ont rien à gagner à une escalade de guerre.

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR), na piśmie.** – Polska od wielu lat ostrzegwała Unię Europejską i świat przed rosnącym zagrożeniem ze strony Rosji. Zwracała uwagę na to, jak tragiczne w skutkach będzie uzależnianie się od dostaw strategicznych surowców z tego kraju. Nie słuchano tego głosu, gdy budowano gazociąg Nord Stream, później Nord Stream 2. Niestety nadal nie słucha się głosu narodu, który boleśnie przekonał się do czego zdolny jest rosyjski imperializm. Co więcej, penalizuje się Polskę przy każdej możliwej okazji, chociaż ta wspiera walczącą Ukrainę od pierwszego dnia tej zbrodniczej agresji.

Kraje Europy powinny jak najszybciej wyciągnąć wnioski ze swoich dotychczasowych działań. Skończyć robienie interesów z agresorem, który sieje terror i morduje cywilów. Im więcej niepowodzeń militarnych Rosji, tym bardziej eskaluje ona zbrodnicze ataki na ludność cywilną. Najwyższy czas, by kraje Europy Zachodniej przejrzały na oczy, by były przynajmniej mądre po szkodzie, jeśli nie wykazały się tą przezornością wcześniej. Żadnego przyzwolenia na zbrodnie Rosji. Żadnych interesów ze zbrodniarzami!

**Ivan Štefanec (PPE), písomne.** – V súlade s Chartou OSN a s medzinárodným právom majú všetky štáty rovnaké právo na zvrchovanosť a územnú celistvosť. V rámci medzinárodných vzťahov sú štáty povinné zdržať sa použitia hrozby alebo sily proti územnej celistvosti alebo politickej nezávislosti iného štátu. Akákoľvek anexia územia jedného štátu iným štátom v dôsledku hrozby alebo použitia sily je v jednoznačnom rozpore s Chartou OSN a s medzinárodným právom. Rusko však posledné mesiace naďalej pokračuje v nezákonnej, nevyprovokovanej a neodôvodnenej útočnej vojne proti Ukrajine a jej obyvateľom. Aby to nestačilo, Rusko sa dopúšťa rozsiahleho a závažného porušovania ľudských práv, vojenských zločinov a zločinov proti ľudskosti. Preto je pre EÚ nesmierne dôležité opätovne vyjadriť svoju podporu pre Ukrajinu, jej zvrchovanosť, nezávislosť a územnú celistvosť v rámci medzinárodne uznaných hraníc a trvať na tom, aby boli páchatelia vyššie zmienených zločinov spravodlivo potrestaní. Zároveň je dôležité ruskú agresiu čo najdôraznejšie odsúdiť. Rusko za vojnu nesie plnú zodpovednosť, a preto EÚ agresora vyzýva, aby útočnú vojnu okamžite zastavil a stiahol všetky svoje a spojenecké sily zo všetkých medzinárodne uznaných ukrajinských území, vrátane Krymu. V poslednom rade je taktiež nevyhnutné oceniť obrovskú odvahu ukrajinského ľudu, ktorý pri obrane

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nielen svojej krajiny, ale aj európskych hodnôt prináša obrovské obete. Sláva Ukrajine!

**Henna Virkkunen (PPE), kirjallinen.** – Venäjä on muutamassa viikossa eskaloinut Ukrainassa käynnistämänsä hyökkäys-sodan uudelle, entistä vaarallisemmalle tasolle. Liikekannallepano, tekaistut kansanäänestykset, laittomat alueliitokset, kaasuputkien räjäytykset ja ydinaseilla uhkailu ovat kaikki tuomittavia tekoja, joihin EU:n on vastattava uusilla kovilla pakotteilla ja lisäämällä aseapua Ukrainalle. Uudet pakotteet ovat hyvä askel, mutta ne eivät yksinään riitä. Seuraavaksi olisi laajennettava henkilöpakotteita ulottumaan myös Venäjän keskijohtoon ja heidän perheisiin. Samoin EU:n isojen jäsenmaiden olisi syytä nyt nopeasti tehdä uusia päätöksiä aseavusta Ukrainalle. Tässä Yhdysvallat näyttää hienoa esimerkkiä. Sen aseavun ansiosta Ukraina on viime päivinä saavuttanut merkittäviä voittoja.

### 3. Skład grup politycznych

**President.** – I would inform you that Dace Melbārde is no longer sitting with the non-attached Members. She joins the PPE Group as of today, 5 October 2022.

**VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS**

*Vizepräsident*

### 4. Głosowanie

**Der Präsident.** – Wir kommen nun zur Abstimmung. Wir haben eine längere Abstimmung, und ich bitte Sie daher, mich dabei zu unterstützen, indem Sie mir deutliche Zeichen setzen. Dann können wir das möglichst rasch und zügig durchführen.

*(Abstimmungsergebnisse und sonstige Einzelheiten der Abstimmung: siehe Protokoll.)*

#### 4.1. Sytuacja Romów mieszkających w osiedlach w UE (B9-0413/2022) (głosowanie)

#### 4.2. Główne cele 19. posiedzenia umawiających się stron konwencji CITES (COP 19) w Panamie (B9-0414/2022) (głosowanie)

#### 4.3. Strategiczne stosunki i partnerstwo UE z Rogiem Afryki (A9-0207/2022 - Fabio Massimo Castaldo) (głosowanie)

#### 4.4. Dostęp do wody jako prawo człowieka - wymiar zewnętrzny (A9-0231/2022 - Miguel Urbán Crespo) (głosowanie)

#### 4.5. Reakcja UE na wzrost cen energii w Europie (RC-B9-0416/2022, B9-0416/2022, B9-0417/2022, B9-0418/2022, B9-0419/2022, B9-0420/2022, B9-0421/2022, B9-0422/2022) (głosowanie)

**Der Präsident.** – Damit ist die Abstimmungsstunde geschlossen.

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## 5. Zatwierdzenie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia

**Der Präsident.** – Das Protokoll der gestrigen Sitzung und die angenommenen Texte sind verfügbar. Gibt es zu diesem vorliegenden Protokoll Einwände? Das ist nicht der Fall, daher ist das Protokoll damit genehmigt.

## 6. Przeciwdziałanie antyeuropejskiej i antyukraińskiej propagandzie europejskich popleczników Putina (debata na aktualny temat)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Bekämpfung der von Putins europäischen Freunden lancierten antieuropäischen und antiukrainischen Propaganda (2022/2862(RSP)).

Ich möchte alle Mitglieder darauf hinweisen, dass es bei dieser Aussprache keine spontanen Wortmeldungen gibt und dass keine blauen Karten akzeptiert werden.

**Stéphane Séjourné, auteur.** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, ce week-end, le président d'une puissance nucléaire nous a désignés comme ennemis. Le président de Russie unie, le parti de Poutine, a directement menacé d'utiliser des armes contre les villes européennes. Des députés de ce même parti, membres du parlement russe, ont appelé à des génocides, à des viols, à des enlèvements d'enfants ukrainiens. Vladimir Poutine, ses alliés et son parti veulent nous détruire, détruire nos valeurs, détruire notre modèle européen, détruire notre démocratie et détruire nos droits – les droits des minorités, celui des enfants, celui des femmes. Ils le disent, ils l'assument: ils détestent ce que nous sommes – une société d'hommes et de femmes libres et en sécurité.

Vladimir Poutine n'a pas déclaré la guerre qu'à l'Ukraine, il a aussi déclaré la guerre à la démocratie. Pourtant, en Europe, il y a des hommes et des femmes politiques qui continuent à le soutenir. L'extrême gauche et l'extrême droite européennes répètent les éléments de langage du Kremlin depuis maintenant quelques mois. Un jour l'OTAN est l'agresseur, un autre jour la Crimée a toujours été russe. En ce moment, la ritournelle, c'est: les sanctions ne marchent pas. Je le dis à l'extrême droite de l'hémicycle: comment osez-vous aujourd'hui demander la fin des sanctions? Comment osez-vous servir les arguments que nous entendons à la télévision d'État russe toute la journée? À l'heure actuelle la Russie ne produit plus de technologies de pointe, et son PIB est en chute libre – il s'agit de la plus importante baisse qu'il ait connue depuis la fin de l'Union soviétique.

Vous préférez souvent surfer sur la souffrance sociale et économique des Européens, mais cette souffrance, elle est causée par la guerre de Poutine, pas par les sanctions. Et nous, nous y répondons, d'ailleurs, ici, dans cet hémicycle, et nous y répondons en Européens: en réduisant nos dépendances, en abaissant les factures des Européens, mais également en partageant, dans cet hémicycle, nos votes – ce que, par vos votes, ici même vous rejetez.

La question que je me pose, chers collègues, est la question centrale que chacun et chacune d'entre vous devrait d'ailleurs se poser: pourquoi faites-vous cela? Mesdames et Messieurs les membres du Rassemblement national, de la Lega, du Fidesz: pourquoi vouloir lever les sanctions contre la Russie? Cela n'a aucun sens; nous devrions plutôt tous, en Européens, être derrière les Ukrainiens, derrière le peuple ukrainien, qui, d'ailleurs, a fait le choix souverain d'avancer vers l'Europe. Quand on se réclame souverainiste et que la souveraineté est une valeur du parti que l'on représente, on soutient le peuple ukrainien.

Je n'ai que deux hypothèses, chers collègues: la première – la seule, potentiellement –, c'est – peut-être – les valises de billets, la seconde étant le soutien plein et entier au projet politique de Poutine. La première hypothèse mérite d'être creusée. Nous l'avons déjà évoquée dans cet hémicycle: plus de 300 millions d'euros auraient été investis par l'État russe et par des partis politiques russes dans des partis politiques européens. Certains, d'ailleurs, tels que la Lega, ont encore des accords avec le parti de Vladimir Poutine. Quant à Viktor Orban, il visite plus Moscou que Bruxelles. En tout cas, si vous êtes cohérents, vous qui revendiquez être les patriotes et les souverainistes, vous qui revendiquez parfois être les défenseurs d'une civilisation et d'un mode de vie européens, sachez que vous avez fait le choix inverse. L'Europe ou Poutine? Vous avez choisi Poutine...

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Chers collègues, je me tourne aussi, malheureusement, vers l'extrême gauche de cet hémicycle: pourquoi refuser les armes à l'Ukraine? Quand on est pour l'émancipation des peuples, quand on est pour l'indépendance et l'autonomie des peuples, on est avec l'Ukraine. Mais, souvent, l'antiaméricanisme de l'extrême gauche se révèle être plus fort que la défense des opprimés.

Je m'adresse même au centre de cet hémicycle, Monsieur le Commissaire, à notre propre camp, celui des pro-Européens: pourquoi Silvio Berlusconi est-il encore membre du PPE, après ses déclarations hallucinantes sur l'Ukraine? Pourquoi tant de dirigeants bulgares et slovaques aux propositions prorusses se disent-ils encore socialistes? Et pourquoi nos institutions, Monsieur le Commissaire, continuent-elles de donner de l'argent à la Serbie de Vučić, lui aussi membre du PPE?

Alors, chers collègues, je n'irai pas plus loin: il faudra une enquête internationale sur les 300 millions d'euros. Je conclus, Monsieur le Président: nous, citoyens, devons savoir mettre une barrière en travers des liens qui existent entre ces partis politiques. C'est pour cela que mon groupe politique a voulu ce débat, pour clarifier la position et les propositions des uns et des autres dans cet hémicycle.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the issue of a healthy information ecosystem in Europe, free from intentional and concerted attempts to distort it, is always an important topic. Given the current international events surrounding our daily lives, today's debate is even more relevant, and I would like to thank you for inviting the Council to take part.

In short, any false narratives and foreign information manipulation and interference in our democracies and our democratic discourses cannot and should not be tolerated. Our societies deserve to be free from any hostile influence and be able to make their own properly informed decisions, whether it is on health matters, political parties they choose to vote for, or on global events that directly or indirectly impact their lives.

Since the beginning of the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, we see that there are active attempts to manipulate the hearts and minds of European citizens. Sometimes these attempts are broader in scale. Sometimes they are more focused on certain European countries and vulnerable minorities within them. But they are undoubtedly present, and they are only getting more and more daring and audacious.

Russian disinformation outlets aim at polarising our societies. They do that by combining pro-Kremlin narratives with content on the divisive subjects that fringe movements in Europe focus on: migration, anti-vaccine sentiment and climate change scepticism, for instance.

Such narratives are designed to misinform, mislead and, most importantly, to be divisive. This is why the Council has clearly stated from the outset of the war that such hostile, opportunistic and dangerous activities will not be tolerated, that our people must be protected from attempts to distort reality.

As a result, we introduced restrictive measures against Russia-associated outlets conducting disinformation and information manipulation actions. And yet, despite our early actions, we must prepare for the long and difficult road ahead of us.

There is no silver bullet from complex attempts to interfere in our democracies and we must work on multiple fronts to continue to defend our values and principles.

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 against disinformation.

We look forward to even more ambitious actions based on the 'whole of society' approach, as we have to be all together in this fight against propaganda and information manipulation.

I want to repeat again that any interference in our political and democratic processes is unacceptable, particularly in the current geopolitical climate and also in the run-up to the 2024 European Parliament elections.



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Therefore, the Council and the Czech Presidency are fully committed to the development of the EU hybrid toolbox, as well as in establishing the toolbox to counter foreign information and manipulation that will make our European response stronger and more coordinated. That will make us more resilient and the hostile powers less successful in their actions.

At the same time, the Czech Presidency is actively engaged in the implementation of the European Democracy Action Plan, which aims at building a more resilient public sphere in our societies.

I would like to underline in particular, the negotiations we launched last week with the European Parliament on the regulation on the statute and financing of political parties and foundations. We hope to conclude these negotiations successfully by the end of the year and thus adopt EU legislation that will increase the transparency of political parties while reinforcing our capacity to counter foreign interference. I count on your support and engagement towards this objective. Thank you very much once again for your attention.

**Margaritis Schinas**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, Minister, there can be a no more timely and more important debate than the one we're having today. And I would like to congratulate President Séjourné of the Renew Group for making sure this debate happens.

I think the vast majority of all of us feel very strongly that we need to say loudly no to war propaganda and disinformation, to say no to bullies blackmailing households, to those who use energy as a gunshot.

Dear friends, honourable Members, disinformation and war propaganda was used to pave the way for Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine and continues to fuel Russia's military aggression. Various disinformation actors are looking now for a transition from the gains of the pandemic to the lies and myths around the war in Ukraine.

The spectacles of the so-called referenda, accompanied by a large volume of disinformation, is a method straight from the Kremlin's playbook, used to illegally annex the territories of its neighbours. This is exactly the same pattern we have seen in Crimea back in 2014.

We have also seen the same pattern consecutively within the European Union, where we find numerous indications on opportunists and wannabes in several of our Member States, national politicians, members of parliaments, and clearly journalists and media are columnists. We have seen it all. Russian diplomats expelled from Athens some years ago, in Sofia a few months ago. Media tycoons clearly trying to impose gonzo networks and muppet journalism in our capitals.

We read reports about Kyiv allegedly falling in the first three days of the war. We saw TV reports of dead bodies in the Bucha massacre allegedly moving. And we saw lies published on bombing innocent pregnant women in a maternity hospital, which apparently did not exist. There are no riddles or enigmas on all of this. Russian propaganda penetrates our societies through chancers and oligarch rubles on our screens, on our newspapers, and in our public space.

Let's put it in a rather simple way: Russian disinformation and propaganda is targeting both European and international audiences in order to undermine the democratic West's support to Ukraine and vilify our Ukrainian partners. And this is crucial within our Union and our closest friends and allies as, for instance, in the Western Balkans, where I am visiting these days.

This is our moment now as Europeans to refute this propaganda, to defend and stand for the truth and strike back. As seen by our recent reports on EU DisinfoLab and from Facebook, by impersonating European media outlets using proxies online and using other manipulative behaviour, Russia is targeting now Europeans directly with apocalyptic messages about impending the winter without heating and accusing EU sanctions of growing inflation and energy bills.

Fighting online disinformation and foreign information manipulation and interference is now a key priority not only for the Commission but, I think, for our institutions as a whole. We now have the code of practice of disinformation, which we strengthened this year, and this is the centrepiece of our efforts.

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Since the beginning of the war, the Commission has been monitoring through regular meetings the platform's actions to address directly Russian propaganda. The tech companies, signatories of the code of practice, are implementing our sanctions and are taking important steps together with us to curb the spread of propaganda and harmful disinformation, including the closing of many accounts, demotion of this information, or stepping up cooperation with fact-checkers.

The European Digital Media Observatory and its national hubs have also been instrumental in this fight. By focusing our activities on Ukraine over the last few months, the collaboration of EU fact-checkers and academic researchers has decreased the capacity of our attackers and has increased our ability of detecting, analysing and exposing disinformation and war-related campaigns.

The Observatory's specific task force on the war has identified more than 1 600 disinformation instances related to the war through fact checks and issued reports and investigations on both emerging and trending narratives. We will continue to build on this valuable expertise, expanding the coverage of the Observatory activities to 100% of the EU population, as well as in the context of the code's monitoring and exchange with technology platforms.

Honourable Members, we have imposed as a Union the biggest and deepest sanctions packages in our history, including against notorious figures directly involved in disinformation. We have even sanctioned for the first time ever the broadcasting of Russian media such as Russia Today and Sputnik, as they were clearly propaganda machines. We have curbed the activity of the Kremlin's weapons of mass deception, not only with full respect with fundamental rights and freedoms, but in order precisely to protect these fundamental rights and freedoms.

We are also very actively raising awareness about pro-Kremlin disinformation via our EUvsDisinfo website and with the help of our delegations around the world. We cooperate closely with the StratCom Centre, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, supporting civil society and media in this country. And when the war is over, believe me, there will be many pilgrimages in Kyiv to see precisely how successful this collaboration has been.

And building on the action plan against disinformation and the European democracy action plan, as confirmed lately by the strategic compass, we have put in place very tangible, specific measures to address foreign information and manipulation. We have even a dedicated toolbox, the FIMI toolbox, to deal with this challenge. And we have just announced a defence of democracy package to further broaden our appeal, our capacity to resist against foreign interference.

Finally, in this, as the minister just said, we need to complete the picture of fighting disinformation and foreign hostile interference with the approval of our proposals on political advertising and on the funding of European political parties and foundations. We need to work in earnest and swiftly to have agreements on this emblematic and meaningful piece of legislation.

And the final point. We have indeed seen reports on the United States' findings concerning the 300 million illegal financing by Russia within the European Union. Let me assure you that we are looking forward to receive this information and we will get to the bottom of it.

**Vladimír Bilčík**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, Mr Vice-President, Minister, colleagues, Russia deliberately sparks the worst in us and amplifies it for political gain. It weaponises our differences, undermines free discourse and seeks to destroy our democracy. While we still do have physical borders, with the rise of social platforms and hostile domestic actors readily willing to spread foreign state propaganda from both extreme left and extreme right, European information space is more exposed than ever. Fabricated lies and political propaganda that we tolerated for years, and that have eaten away at our democratic institutions such as quality public media, are no longer acceptable. We must take concrete measures to fight back.

I am proud that this House has created a body with precisely this in mind – our special ING2 committee, which diligently listens to world-renowned experts and formulates concrete proposals for action against disinformation. We know exactly what to do.

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We stand against an enemy who uses manipulation as a strategic tool. We need to defend our institutions, our own pillars of security, our allies. We must cooperate better and faster than any time before. We need more resources. We cannot be dependent only on a few dozen experts – not against the enemy who uses the whole state apparatus to attack us and our values. We must support strong independent media, and demand from social platforms not to amplify lies. We need to support our reliable allies through EU enlargement and strong cooperation with like-minded partners.

We must not only free Ukrainian land from Putin. We must also free people's minds and protect our citizens.

#### VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND

Vizepräsident

**Pierfrancesco Majorino**, *a nome del gruppo S&D*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la guerra di Putin non è combattuta solo sul campo. Esiste infatti anche una guerra giocata sul terreno della comunicazione e della propaganda, che passa evidentemente attraverso una massiccia disinformazione e si nutre di complicità politiche più o meno evidenti, complicità che dobbiamo avere il coraggio di indicare e smascherare.

La scorsa settimana – lo cito anch'io solo a titolo di esempio – Meta ha annunciato di aver scoperto e bloccato una rete di 1 600 account che alimentavano notizie false attraverso 60 siti, copia di alcuni tra i più prestigiosi quotidiani occidentali. Probabilmente la rete più grande e complessa collegata alla Russia mai identificata dall'inizio dell'invasione dell'Ucraina.

Questo è purtroppo solo un frammento di quello che è effettivamente oggi in campo. Già da tempo questo Parlamento ha maturato la consapevolezza rispetto ai tanti tentativi di potenze straniere di interferire e destabilizzare la nostra democrazia. La nostra commissione speciale sulle interferenze straniere nei processi democratici dell'Unione ha indicato con chiarezza il problema e con la sua relazione dello scorso 9 marzo ha chiesto di mettere in campo azioni e strumenti forti, in particolare sulla trasparenza e il controllo dei fondi provenienti dall'estero, sul ruolo di lobby più o meno occulte, sull'uso delle piattaforme come veicolo privilegiato per disinformazione e interferenze.

È stato particolarmente significativo che in quest'Aula la Presidente von der Leyen, nel suo ultimo discorso sullo Stato dell'Unione, abbia sottolineato tutto ciò, abbia sottolineato l'importanza delle azioni che si possono mettere in campo sulle minacce e i pericoli che viviamo. Un elemento importante di consapevolezza politica al quale però devono tuttavia far seguito adesso misure nette, chiare, perché non c'è davvero altro tempo da perdere sul terreno della lotta alle interferenze.

Per combattere la guerra alla disinformazione ovviamente non dobbiamo mettere in campo un Ministero della verità o sperare di sopprimere il dissenso, che fa parte della normale dialettica democratica – grazie al cielo non siamo come gli altri –, ma abbiamo bisogno di strumenti che garantiscano un'informazione libera, indipendente e professionale, che è un elemento essenziale per la nostra democrazia.

Dobbiamo anche dirci che chi sa deve parlare e che vengano resi pubblici gli elenchi emersi da fonti statunitensi di quei politici europei che hanno preso denaro russo o hanno alimentato una complicità fatta di scambi e favori con l'entourage di Putin. Cito anch'io – lo ha già fatto l'onorevole Séjourné – le frasi incredibili di Berlusconi, il caso Salvini, i casi della destra più radicale in Francia e Germania. Tutte cose rispetto a cui servono verità e risposte nette.

**Guy Verhofstadt**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, I think that we can be very honest about this: the Russians are losing the war on the battlefield, but the Russians are not losing the propaganda war. They are winning the propaganda war.

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If you look to our social media for the moment, what you see is more and more posts echoing the narrative of the Kremlin. And the narrative of the Kremlin is that this is a war that was started by us to punish Russia. And that everything that is happening with the energy crisis today is not the consequence of the war, but the consequence of the sanctions and the measures we are taking.

And I know that there is an aid package – Mr Schinas, you have said here everything that needs to be done, but in the aid package, there is nothing about that. In the aid package is a package where we increase the sanctions against Russian individuals from 1232 to 1262, 30 more, mainly people who are involved in the referenda in eastern and south Ukraine. But nearly nothing about the celebrities, the influencers, the opinion leaders, the propagandists.

Already on 29 June we sent, together with the Navalny Foundation, a list of 135 people that are the core of the propaganda machine of Putin to the External Action Service. And you know how many have been sanctioned? Two of them! And since the aid package, four more. We are at six now of this 135. One is Dugin, for evident reasons, and three musicians, three singers. That is what we have done, six in total.

So my question is: if it is all true, what you are saying, why are the Commission and the Council not going after the core of the propaganda machine, tackling the 135 people in Russia?

And secondly, if we talk about countering Putin, and the Putin propaganda machine inside our own European Union, let us not make agreements, government agreements and government coalitions with the cheerleaders of Putin like Mr Salvini or Mr Berlusconi even. But Mr Salvini was even better with his T-shirt on the Kremlin showing his support for Putin.

Well, you are from the PPE I think, Mr Schinas, maybe it's a good moment now to say to your friends in the PPE, not to make a coalition agreement with these cheerleaders of Putin in Italy.

**Markéta Gregorová**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, Minister, two interesting reports came out recently. One is from a Europe-based NGO, another one is from the company Meta, and they are together painting quite an ominous picture of how we are not tackling Russia's propaganda.

First, let's talk about Google and Twitter. There are thousands of tweets, YouTube videos and posts flagged as Russian propaganda, and the companies have grown really less responsive to the requests to remove such content. According to Ukraine's StratCom, they are avoiding even taking their calls or responding to emails for several months.

Meta's report reveals quite horrifying numbers: USD 105 000 spent on anti-Ukraine propaganda, 60-plus websites impersonating European news organisations and a network of amplifying fake social media accounts.

We know there are technical ways to limit the impacts of this online war. But let's understand one thing: this hydra has more heads than we can cut off only by depending on technical solutions and, therefore, these companies. We see now that if we leave the sole responsibility on these private companies, they might start lacking the will to fight or, of course, the means to fight.

They are also not democratically elected. We are the ones who bear the responsibility over the security of our citizens. We don't need any more hybrid tools, voluntary codes and vague promises. We need a proper legislation with a sanctions system right now. You have the basics in our INGE report, and I trust you can build on it quickly.

**Gunnar Beck**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Dieses Parlament will die angeblich russische, sogenannte antieuropäische und antiukrainische Propaganda bekämpfen. Dies wirft unter anderem folgende Frage auf: Wann ist Kritik an der EU und der ukrainischen Regierung antieuropäische und antiukrainische Propaganda?

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Hier drei Fakten und drei Fragen für Sie. Erstens: Radek Sikorski, ehemaliger polnischer Außen- und Verteidigungsminister und derzeit Mitglied dieses Hauses, hat per Twitter den USA für die Sabotage der Nord-Stream-Pipelines ausdrücklich gedankt. Er und seine Frau haben engste Verbindungen zum Weißen Haus und zur Biden-Administration. Glauben Sie wirklich, Herr Sikorski verbreite antiukrainische Propaganda oder sei von Russland bezahlt worden? Und was wäre denn, hätte er andere Geldgeber?

Zweitens: Das Europäische Parlament will zu Recht Geldwäsche und Steuerhinterziehung eindämmen. Doch der ukrainische Präsident Selenskyj hat vom Oligarchen Kolomojskyj 41 Millionen USD auf Offshore-Konten erhalten. Das wissen wir aus den „Pandora Papers“, die geheime Offshore-Konten von 35 Regierungschefs offenlegen. Sind die *Pandora Papers* deshalb antiukrainische Propaganda?

Drittens: Laut dem Korruptionswahrnehmungsindex von Transparency International ist die Ukraine mit Abstand das korrupteste Land in Europa. Ist dies antiukrainische russische Propaganda?

All diese Fakten werden von westlichen Regierungen und staatsnahen Medien verschwiegen. Mir scheint, unser Problem ist eher staatsfinanzierte Pro-EU-Meinungsmache als russische EU-Kritik oder antiukrainische Propaganda.

**Beata Szydło**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowny Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! To jest bardzo ważna debata, jak już tutaj zostało powiedziane, i mam nadzieję, że ona jest szczerą i że rzeczywiście chcemy skutecznie walczyć z propagandą Putina i niszczeniem tego, co jest najcenniejsze: jedności i solidarności Unii Europejskiej. Bo dzisiaj w obliczu wojny na Ukrainie powinniśmy być właśnie zjednoczeni i powinniśmy być solidarni. Jednym z elementów tego jest właśnie walka z dezinformacją i propagandą.

Ale, Szanowni Państwo, żebyśmy to mogli zrobić skutecznie i rzeczywiście szczerze, to trzeba odpowiedzieć sobie, również tutaj w tej Izbie, na kilka pytań – ponieważ Putin destabilizował sytuację w Unii Europejskiej już od dawna i było na to przyzwolenie. I były decyzje, które tutaj również zapadały, które pozwalały mu na takie działania dotyczące chociażby polityki energetycznej, przyzwalające na budowę Nord Stream 1, potem Nord Stream 2, przyzwalające na destabilizowanie całego systemu energetyki i gospodarki Unii Europejskiej. Te decyzje zapadały również tutaj i to kraje Unii Europejskiej, rządy Unii Europejskiej popierały takie działania.

Nie mówię tego po to, żeby Państwu to wyrzucać, ale mówię po to, żeby była wreszcie refleksja i żebyśmy szczerze ze sobą rozmawiali. Bo jak rozumieć słowa prominentnego polityka Platformy Obywatelskiej, członka PPE, który był też kiedyś ministrem spraw zagranicznych w polskim rządzie – była tu przed momentem również o tym mowa – jeżeli on wypisuje na Twitterze takie rzeczy, które są właśnie elementem działającym na rzecz Putina i nie ma żadnej reakcji ze strony jego grupy politycznej? Jak rozumieć telefony prezydenta Francji, który w czasie, kiedy Ukraina krwawiła i krwawi, cały czas podtrzymywał dialog z Putinem? Jak rozumieć wiele innych decyzji polityków, którzy nie chcieli wspierać od razu bardzo zdecydowanie i mocno – mimo apeli na przykład rządu Polski – Ukrainy, wysłać broni na Ukrainę? A więc jeżeli rozmawiamy o tym, że czas skończyć z tą polityką wspierającą Putina, to bądźmy naprawdę szczerzy i skuteczni.

**Manu Pineda**, *en nombre del Grupo The Left*. – Señor presidente, hoy, rescatando una propuesta del Partido Popular Europeo, debatimos aquí sobre la propaganda rusa y antieuropea.

Pero, permítanme que antes de entrar a poner en valor la libertad de expresión y la pluralidad les aclare algo: no hay mayor fuente de propaganda rusa que la que el Partido Popular Europeo posibilita al blanquear a los partidos de extrema derecha y ponerles la alfombra roja para que gobiernen.

Y no hay mejor caja de resonancia para la propaganda antieuropea que el empobrecimiento al que se enfrentan las clases populares europeas, que ven cómo sus necesidades básicas, como la energía o los alimentos, tienen ahora precio de productos de lujo.

Cerrar los medios de comunicación; encarcelar a periodista; intentar imponer el belicismo como discurso único; acallar, perseguir políticamente o tachar de pro-Putin o de antieuropeos a quienes no apoyan la escalada de la guerra o defienden la diplomacia y el diálogo... Todo esto, créanme, no tiene nada que ver con luchar contra la propaganda, sino con coartar peligrosamente la libertad de expresión y la pluralidad.

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Pablo González es un periodista vasco que estaba cubriendo el conflicto para varios medios españoles cuando fue detenido en Polonia. No hacía propaganda rusa, pero tampoco pro-OTAN. Quizá ahí reside parte del problema. Lleva más de siete meses encarcelado. Sin juicio, sin acusación formalizada, incomunicado, bajo un régimen de encarcelamiento propio de un Estado totalitario, y prorrogándose sin fecha definitiva una «prisión preventiva».

En guerra o en paz encarcelar preventivamente al periodismo y la libertad informativa no es luchar contra la propaganda, sino, más bien, abonar el terreno para que esta haga su efecto.

Aprovecho para exigir desde aquí, desde el Parlamento Europeo, la inmediata puesta en libertad de Pablo González y el respeto al derecho a la información y a la libertad de prensa.

**Laura Ferrara (NI).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, dal 2014 la Russia ha trasferito segretamente fiumi di denaro a partiti, associazioni e soggetti di diversi paesi per creare una rete di influenza e consenso. Anche il Parlamento europeo si è occupato dei rapporti tra il Cremlino e forze politiche europee, su cui pretendiamo maggiore approfondimento e chiarezza. Questo quadro fa comprendere le minacce rappresentate dalle attività di coloro che in Europa amplificano il sistema propagandistico di regimi autoritari come quello di Putin.

*Fake news* e disinformazione online sono pericolosi strumenti funzionali alle politiche di guerra per minare il sostegno all'Ucraina, orientare l'opinione pubblica e interferire nei processi democratici. Occorrono maggiori sforzi per contrastare le forme di finanziamento occulte provenienti da regimi stranieri, per rafforzare le pratiche di *fact-checking* e la cooperazione delle piattaforme dei social media con le autorità.

La sicurezza dell'Europa dipende dalla capacità di difendersi dalle ingerenze straniere, ma soprattutto da un inevitabile processo di pace a cui tutta l'Unione deve tendere senza se e senza ma.

**Sandra Kalniete (PPE).** – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Kolēģi! Krievijas iebrukums Ukrainā nav tikai militāro spēku sadursme. Tas ir arī informācijas karš. Nesen dezinformācijas laboratorija publicēja pētījumu par Kremļa ietekmes operāciju tīklu, kas kopš maija izplata prokrievisku un pret Ukrainu vērstu informāciju Vācijā, Francijā, Itālijā, Ukrainā, Latvijā un Apvienotajā Karalistē.

Nesenais Valsts departamenta ziņojums atklāj, ka kopš 2014. gada Kremlis ir ieguldījis 300 miljonus dolāru politisko partiju un politiķu finansēšanā vairāk nekā 20 valstīs. Maskava velta arvien lielākus resursus Eiropas valstu demokrātisko sistēmu graušanai un nacionālās politikas ietekmēšanai, atbalstot sev labvēlīgus kandidātus vēlēšanās un iegūstot ietekmi politisko partiju iekšienē.

Abi šie ziņojumi apstiprina, ka Krievija izvērsš pret mums masīvu informācijas karu. Putina sabiedroto ekonomiskā un politiskā ietekme Eiropā saindē mūsu demokrātiju, šķeļ sabiedrību un attālina uzvaru karā.

Kolēģi, mums ir jāizveido spēcīga Eiropas Savienības struktūra hibrīddraudu novēršanai, kā arī jāstiprina mūsu institūciju kapacitāte un jāpaplašina to pilnvaras, lai identificētu un sauktu pie atbildības Putina sabiedrotos pašu mājās. Eiropas Savienības digitālā ekosistēma ir jāuzlabo, tajā iekļaujot sankcijas pret ļaunprātīgu dezinformācijas operāciju autoriem un izpildītājiem. To es sagaidu no solītā Eiropas Demokrātijas aizsardzības pakta.

**Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Vice-président, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, ils se disent patriotes et servent un tyran étranger. Ils s'appellent les chercheurs de la vérité et relaient les *fake news* les plus grossières. Ils se réclament d'Orwell et vident les mots de leur substance, abolissent le principe de non-contradiction. Ils, ce sont les supplétifs numériques, politiques, médiatiques de Poutine. Ils ne sont pas à Kherson ou à Donetsk. Non, ils sont dans leur salon ou sur nos plateaux de télévision. Mais ils participent eux aussi à l'effort de guerre russe en niant ses crimes et en relayant ses mensonges. Ils sont souvent d'extrême droite, comme Matteo Salvini ou Marine Le Pen, mais pas toujours. Ils viennent parfois aussi de la gauche, comme Ségolène Royal, ou de la droite comme Silvio Berlusconi. En temps de paix, ce sont des menteurs ou des idiots utiles. En temps de guerre, ce sont des complices de l'ennemi.

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Chers collègues, disons-le enfin clairement, cette guerre n'a pas commencé le 24 février 2022 et elle ne se limite pas aux frontières de l'Ukraine. Cette guerre ne vise pas simplement Kiev, Kharkiv ou Kherson. Cette guerre dite hybride vise nos démocraties. Depuis de longues années, le régime russe mène une guerre hybride contre nos démocraties en jouant sur leur vulnérabilité, en cherchant d'un côté à affaiblir leurs défenses immunitaires via la corruption de leurs élites et de l'autre à les plonger dans le chaos en soutenant populistes et complotistes.

Au sein de la commission spéciale sur les ingérences étrangères que j'ai l'honneur de présider, nous avons analysé, disséqué cette guerre que nos dirigeants n'ont longtemps pas voulu voir. Cette guerre abolit les différences entre le virtuel et le réel, le dedans et le dehors, la politique étrangère et la politique intérieure. Il est temps de se hisser au niveau du péril qui nous fait face.

Alors que l'UE estimait, avant l'invasion de l'Ukraine, le financement russe de la désinformation à 1 milliard d'euros et les ressources humaines mobilisées à plus d'un millier de pleins temps, l'Union, elle, ne dispose actuellement que d'un budget de 11 millions d'euros et de 41 agents pour répondre à cette menace. Nous devons investir massivement dans la veille, la détection, la riposte aux attaques venant de Russie. Prenons au mot la présidente de la Commission devant le Parlement. Nous ne laisserons aucun cheval de Troie lancé par une autocratie attaquer nos démocraties de l'intérieur.

Il faut agir maintenant. Nous n'avons pas le choix. Nous n'avons pas le droit d'offrir à Poutine la victoire chez nous que les Ukrainiens lui refusent chez eux. L'enjeu n'est pas simplement la liberté de l'Ukraine, c'est la nôtre.

**Nathalie Loiseau (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, on a déjà beaucoup parlé des collaborateurs qui, en Europe et jusque dans ce Parlement – on en a eu un exemple tout à l'heure – déroulent la propagande d'un président russe qui nous est ouvertement hostile. Je voudrais aujourd'hui, non pas me répéter, mais émettre des propositions. Commençons par ceux des Européens, car il y en a, qui ont servi de caution au simulacre de référendum en s'improvisant observateurs d'une mascarade. Je propose qu'ils fassent l'objet de sanctions européennes, tout comme les organisateurs de ces parodies électorales.

Deuxièmement, on s'est réjoui de la suspension de RT et de Sputnik en Europe, mais nombre de faux experts inondent nos plateaux sans dire leurs liens avec la Russie. L'information est un bien trop précieux pour qu'on ignore ce qu'elle contient. Je voudrais encourager les médias à afficher de façon systématique pour qui travaillent ceux qu'ils invitent, anciens militaires, anciens diplomates, pseudo-journalistes mais vrai businessmen de l'influence.

Je m'étonne enfin qu'Eutelsat continue à disséminer de la propagande russe en diffusant, via quatre satellites, plus de 300 chaînes russes de télévision et une cinquantaine de radios à 15 millions de foyers russes. Il n'est plus le temps de...

*(Le Président retire la parole à l'oratrice)*

**Thomas Waitz (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, let me start with a call. We all know what happens if Conservatives help fascists into power. I urge you, Conservatives, to learn from history, do not enable a post-fascist and Putin-friendly government in Italy. Yes, it's the extreme right party, several extreme right parties, where we know that they have ties to Russia, where we know there were financial implications, loans and so on with Russia.

But the polarisation through fake news and ads on social media, the polarisation of our society serves all far right parties and are distracting our elections – our democratic election systems – in the European Union. We have to be aware of that. But we also have to acknowledge that many of our politicians, from the Conservatives, from the Social Democrats, even from the Liberals, were driving us into this dangerous dependency on Russian gas. Some of them even profited personally by serving as employees of Russian companies.

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Okay, this was the past. But I think after 24 February, after the invasion of Russia into Ukraine, we should all be very clear – Putin is using disinformation and fake news for polarisation. Putin is using the extreme right, and Putin is also using some of our prominent political figures for his asymmetric war. EPP, you have nothing to win by supporting post-fascists. Come back to the *cordon sanitaire* and please start with not supporting a post-fascist and pro-Putin government in Italy.

**Ivan David (ID).** – Pane předsedající, je pravda, že ruská válečná agrese na Ukrajině eskaluje, ale tím končí pravda. Dále v oficiálním narativu pokračují lži, které mají zakrýt reálnou skutečnost. Lež nás vždycky spolehlivě dovede jen k chybným závěrům. Nejsm úředník Evropské komise nebo nějakého ministerstva zahraničí, abych musel opakovat oficiální lži. A je mi úplně lhostejné, co píší v Rusku nebo jinde. Téměř všechna média jsou nástrojem propagandy. Tak to prostě je. Pokud se jedná o dezinformace, tak například premiér České republiky pan Fiala řekl, že weby, které nechal zablokovat, byly placeny z Ruska. Řekl to veřejně, nijak to nedoložil. Je to lež a ani se neomluvil. Není nic lehčího, než cokoli označit za dezinformaci.

Jak se blokování různých zdrojů liší od cenzury? Samozřejmě, že pokud někdo financuje dezinformační média, a to mohou být všechna, nejenom ta, která jsou financována z Ruska, mohou být financována z Ukrajiny, ze Spojených států, z různých zemí EU, tak jsou financována samozřejmě proto, aby uváděla věci tak, aby se to jaksi hodilo. Jak se to tedy liší od cenzury? Já se obávám, že ti, kteří tady bojují proti cenzuře, tak bojují proto, že se často dostávají do argumentační nouze. Bohužel Evropa se v poslední době dostává do krize a všichni se snaží najít nějaké jiné příčiny, než které ve skutečné skutečnosti jsou. Představitelé EU, zradili jste občany svých zemí a ženete je stále do nebezpečnější ...  
(předsedající odebral řečníkovi slovo)

**Charlie Weimers (ECR).** – Herr talman! Propaganda bemöts bäst med fakta. Västvärlden kan och får aldrig underskatta Kremls propaganda. Den är överallt, och den är effektiv. Den avser att undergräva europeisk motståndskraft med falska påståenden om att Kiev faller inom tre dagar, att ryska militärmakten är näst starkast i världen, och än i dag hör vi från olika håll att Ukraina inte kan vinna.

Lögner bemöts bäst med fakta. Ukrainska hjältar visar i detta nu att Ukraina faktiskt kan vinna, med svenskt och europeiskt stöd.

Den ryska propagandamaskinen har också varit väldigt effektiv i energipolitiken. Vi vet att Gazprom har finansierat miljöorganisationer i syfte att stänga ner europeisk energiproduktion och öka beroendet av rysk gas. Vi vet att Belgiens miljöpartistiska energiminister, som tidigare som advokat har avlönats av Gazprom, nu vill stänga ner landets kärnkraft. Miljöorganisationer i Tyskland fick tiotals miljoner av Ryssland för att motverka energiutvinning.

För att Europa ska motstå ryska påtryckningar krävs självrannsakan. Mitt parti har gjort rent hus med Putinapologeter. Men hur är det med den politiska mitten som sa att Nord Stream var ett strikt kommersiellt projekt och att energivapnet inte skulle användas av Putin – finns det självrannsakan där? Och när kommer självkritiken och viljan till förbättring från en klimatrörelse som tagit emot ryska pengar? När kommer miljöväxtern att erkänna att deras kamp mot kärnkraften har försvagat Europa och möjliggjort Putins aggression?

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Mr President, the war in Ukraine is quickly escalating into a wider horror. And from what I can see, practically nobody in this Chamber is doing anything to prevent it. In fact most people seem to get off on the fact that it's escalating. And at this precise moment, of course, as usual, the voices challenging the rush to war are attacked and silenced, smeared as traitors, cronies, Putin puppets, Kremlin stooges, Russian agents.

Frankly, it's pathetic. And I don't make the comparison lightly, but the crudeness and cynicism of these slurs coming from mainstream EU parties might as well have been written by Hermann Göring, who infamously said that even though people never want war, they can be brought to war with threats and smears. He said all you have to do is tell them they're being attacked, denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing their country to danger – it works the same every way. Where he led, you are following.



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This House should be ashamed of this debate. Words are being twisted, meanings subverted, and the truth turned on its head. Opposing the horrible madness of war is not anti-European, it's not anti-Ukrainian, it's not pro-Russian: it's common sense. The working class of Europe have nothing to gain from this war and everything to lose. And I find it laughable that those calling for arms to Ukraine never call for arms for the people of Palestine, or for the people of Yemen. Unlike you, I oppose all war. I want it stopped. I make no apology for that. And I am not going to be scapegoated and labelled for it either.

**Rasa Juknevičienė (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, for 20 years, corruption have been the biggest export of Putin's regime. The public friends of Putin we just heard, who speak regularly in this House, his open cronies in Member States, are an important part of Russia's war today. But there is another side to the Putinisation of Europe: the Kremlin has developed sophisticated methods where the openness of democracy is used to influence the emotions of people and politicians.

The Kremlin has become adept at easily achieving goals. Their manipulations and lies are on the front pages of the media, presented as alternative or second opinions. Their lies are presented through some NGOs, cultural, business, sports or even religious organisations that are penetrated and funded by the Kremlin. We have not yet fully identified this.

Today, our biggest challenge is to counter blackmail with gas and nuclear weapons. The Kremlin needs fear-inspiring headlines and speeches. Our response must be our refusal to be afraid. Let's de-Putinise our fears. The moment of truth, the Kyiv moment, is our chance to evaluate the past and to clean up our political system.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Mr President, Mr Commissioner, it's really hard to say what is worse, Russian war of aggression or Kremlin long-term propaganda. There is a clear political agenda to boost disinformation, propaganda, stimulate regional tensions to destabilise, while supporting radical and populist political options all over Europe.

Pro-Russian political options come from the extremes, from populist backgrounds, and they serve as Putin's 'useful idiots', often as well-paid 'useful idiots'. However, sadly one can find them even among some former and current EU prime ministers. I would also say that the EU was keeping its eyes shut on this matter for years, hence the consequences.

Putin's cronies are using dangerous, cynical and manipulative misinterpretations. They are trying to strengthen pro-Russian sentiment by undermining our cohesion, our unity, and by speaking against the sanctions. They are using the rising costs of living, the energy crisis and inflation to speak favourably of Russia and to advocate for the return to business as usual.

We cannot return to business as usual and we cannot overlook the vicious Russian war of aggression and their war crimes. Russian attempts to weaponise energy is just a final confirmation of this.

We would also add that no one in Europe can now sit on two chairs. Serbia, for example, remains the only European country besides Belarus that has not imposed sanctions on Russia. The recent signing of the agreement with Russia in the UN is a slap in the face for their enlargement perspective, but primarily to their citizens that want to join the EU.

We need to continue countering this propaganda, by giving strong support to civil society and fact checkers, not only in the EU, but also in our immediate neighbourhood.

**Petras Auštrevičius (Renew).** – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, the Kremlin's long-term, systematic and very poisonous disinformation and propaganda war against the West has been aimed at weakening our value orientation and our adequate perception of reality.

Let's admit, Russia's state information policy has imposed influence on us and our partners' – such as Ukraine in particular – societies for decades and has managed to create confusion in people's minds, attempting to weaken critical thinking and trust in state institutions and democratic processes.

We must end the presence of the Kremlin and Russia's state-sponsored propaganda and disinformation channels in our information space – though it's nothing to do with information – because it is unjustifiable.

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The Kremlin's empire of lies cannot be accepted in the West and our societies. We must curb the cases in which Russian-funded European NGOs, political, scientific and cultural institutions become agents of influence on our side.

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, before Russia used tanks, Russian propaganda took aim at Ukraine and the EU. They unleashed their trolls, paid bloggers and corrupt politicians. They infiltrated European governments. They bought up radio frequencies and other critical infrastructure. All this while we stood idly by.

It is high time to grow a spine and stand up to the Russian aggression, not only on the battlefield but also in the information field. Putin will use all our weaknesses if we allow him to. The upcoming winter will not be easy. We need and we must introduce a sanctions regime for disinformation. This should be a warning to anyone who dares to interfere in our democracies.

Lastly, the EU delegation should become the stronghold of fighting the anti-EU propaganda abroad, particularly in the Balkans and the South Caucasus. The Delegation needs to be bolstered with facts and effective strategies. They should be more vocal in defending the truth and refuting the shameless lies that Russia spreads every day.

**Nicolaus Fest (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Heute geht es um den Einfluss von Putins westlichen Helfershelfern und darum, wie dieser Einfluss gestoppt werden kann. Das ist sicherlich sinnvoll. Putin war schon vor dem Einmarsch in die Ukraine ein Verbrecher. Die Morde an Boris Nemzow, Anna Politkowskaja oder Stanislaw Markelow sprechen eine überdeutliche Sprache, wie auch der seit Jahren unerklärliche Hang vieler russischer Oppositioneller, sich aus großer Höhe in den Tod zu stürzen.

Aber wer sind die Helfershelfer Putins in Europa? Die in diesem Hause viel bejubelte Angela Merkel, die Deutschland mit der Unterstützung all ihrer Parteigänger hier im Parlament und im Deutschen Bundestag in die Abhängigkeit von russischem Erdgas brachte? Exkanzler Gerhard Schröder, der die Gasgeschäfte einfädelt und Putin einen lupenreinen Demokraten nannte? Die gesamte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, die den Kurs von Gerhard Schröder jahrelang aktiv mittrug? Oder gehört die Partei Die Linke zu Putins Helfershelfern? Immerhin wurden Die Linke und ihre Vorgängerparteien schon immer von Moskau bezahlt, und noch kürzlich richtete Die Linke Ergebnisadressen an den Kreml.

Höchstwahrscheinlich ist auch Greenpeace einer von Putins Helfershelfern. Das behauptet die NATO. Die NATO ist sicher, dass Greenpeace Gelder von Russland für die Bekämpfung von Fracking erhalten hat. Und wer den extrem prorussischen antiukrainischen Artikel gelesen hat, den Greenpeace kürzlich nach scharfen Protesten löschen musste, kann tatsächlich auf den Gedanken kommen, dass auch Greenpeace zu den Helfershelfern Putins gehört.

Vielleicht werden auch Fridays for Future und Greta Thunberg von Putin finanziert. Das meinte zumindest Hillary Clinton vor einiger Zeit, und Clinton ist nun wahrlich niemand aus dem rechten Spektrum. Auch die schon erwähnte Angela Merkel hat diese Vermutung geäußert. Merkel sagte, es sei völlig ausgeschlossen, dass aus dem Nichts heraus und ohne massive finanzielle Unterstützung eine große antiwestliche Bewegung entstehen könne. Hat das Europäische Parlament, als es Greta Thunberg einlud, mithin eine Helfershelferin von Putin hofiert?

Sie sehen, ich wüsste wirklich gerne, wer die Helfershelfer von Putin sind. Das Thema ist zu wichtig, als dass man es für parteipolitische Zwecke missbrauchen sollte. Also lassen Sie uns genau hinsehen, aber bitte objektiv und in alle Richtungen.

**Hermann Tertsch (ECR).** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, la desinformación por parte de la maquinaria de agitación y propaganda de la Rusia de Putin viene realizándose desde hace muchos años y se ha agravado, por supuesto, con la criminal agresión a Ucrania. Hay que combatirla con verdad, no con censura. Y aquí hay muchas tentaciones de hacer lo segundo.

El Kremlin lleva muchos años pagando a grupos y partidos en Europa, de extrema derecha, de extrema izquierda y también, señores, de los partidos convencionales, que son ustedes. Porque los *euro Putins* o los acólitos europeos de Putin son fundamentalmente los grandes partidos en Alemania, que nos han llevado en Europa a esta situación de postración general frente a Putin. No sabemos si Putin se hubiera atrevido a una serie de cosas si no hubiera tenido estas garantías que se le han ido otorgando durante quince años, quince años de ayudarlo a conseguir la dependencia total por parte de Europa, por parte del señor Schröder, por parte del señor Steinmeier, por parte del señor Scholz, de todo el Partido Socialdemócrata de Alemania en general.

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Pero también tenemos esa desinformación y esa propaganda en el Partido Socialista Obrero Español, que es el socio de todos esos países que votan en contra de la condena de Rusia en América, en Iberoamérica, en la Alianza del Foro de São Paulo y Grupo de Puebla, donde está el PSOE, donde está Podemos y donde tienen a *Russia Today* haciendo propaganda antieuropea, antiucraniana, prorrusa, siempre con el apoyo, como digo, de un Gobierno español. Ahí están el *mainstream*, ahí están los acólitos del señor Putin; están aquí, en los partidos grandes.

**Javier Zarzalejos (PPE).** – Señor presidente, señor vicepresidente, señor presidente del Consejo, la guerra de agresión contra Ucrania nos permite ver en toda su gravedad lo que significa la estrategia de desinformación y de injerencia. Y la primera conclusión es que la desinformación y la injerencia son también una guerra.

Cuando nos enfrentamos a Estados que no ocultan sus ambiciones, ya sean económicas, territoriales o nucleares, la desinformación que practican es la forma de preparar el terreno para el uso de la fuerza.

Antes de que Putin bombardeara Ucrania, había bombardeado las mentes y las opiniones con una campaña permanente de odio y de demonización contra los ucranianos y sus autoridades. La fuerza militar vino después. Por tanto, sabemos que la desinformación es el canario en la mina: siempre anuncia peligro.

Después de sus fracasos militares Putin solo puede confiar en que funcione alguna de estas tres hipótesis. En primer lugar, la amenaza del uso del arma nuclear. En segundo lugar, un cambio político de algún aliado de la OTAN, con la esperanza de que ponga en cuestión la ayuda que recibe Ucrania. Y, en tercer lugar, el desistimiento de Occidente por cansancio.

Pues bien, en cualquiera de estas hipótesis, y para que estas funcionen, es esencial para Rusia la utilización masiva de la desinformación, de la injerencia, de la manipulación, de la actuación a través de personalidades y organizaciones políticas, sociales y mediáticas aliadas de Rusia y afines a su narrativa antioccidental.

Estemos, pues, alerta todos —instituciones, políticos, medios de comunicación, organizaciones sociales— para no dejar que, en este momento crucial, la opinión pública de nuestros países se vea contaminada por la mentira, la amenaza y la manipulación.

**Pina Picierno (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, non possiamo più sottovalutare gli effetti della propaganda di Putin, perché si tratta di un'arma, di una vera e propria arma che è volta a fiaccare la nostra unità, la nostra resilienza, minare i nostri valori, intaccare quella che è la nostra sicurezza collettiva.

Già durante la pandemia abbiamo visto come la Russia ha sfruttato la crisi sanitaria per diffondere caos e disinformazione e l'aggressione in Ucraina ha poi definitivamente fatto toccare con mano al mondo intero il peso della propaganda nel contesto della guerra ibrida. Un'arma usata per dividerci, attraverso la quale il Cremlino cerca di manipolare le atrocità commesse, negare i principi su cui si fonda la nostra comunità internazionale e strumentalizzare, per esempio, la crisi energetica.

E allora voltarsi dall'altra parte non è un'opzione. Non lo farà questo Parlamento, che più volte ha sottolineato la necessità di intervenire. Lo ha fatto attraverso il lavoro prezioso dei colleghi che è stato svolto nella commissione INGE, ma dobbiamo fare di più. Dobbiamo delineare una strategia comune e all'altezza delle sfide attuali. Dobbiamo avviare un programma di informazione, effettuare un monitoraggio più efficace, per esempio dei contenuti che vengono diffusi online.

**Bart Groothuis (Renew).** – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear Ministers, President Putin is not just slowly militarily losing on the battlefield in Europe, he's also losing the information war against the EU.

The EU has put forward, to his disadvantage, the Digital Services Act, the Code of Practice, dozens of initiatives on media literacy, on free journalism, and we're even tackling the political party financing, which is a huge problem, as we've just seen on the far right and far left side of this House. Mouthpieces of Beijing and Moscow speak freely here. But I'm glad that the reasonable part of this House has put forward the initiatives to tackle just that.

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We shouldn't underestimate, however, how Russian disinformation and propaganda is playing out in the rest of the world. Out there, populous countries in the global South – in Asia, Africa, Latin America – are slowly gaining sympathy for a tyrant murdering, raping, stealing.

Troll farms are enabling that thinking. Russia – and others like China – are aiming at two thirds of the world's population, and so should the EU, by countering those efforts. The next phase of our joint and evolving effort against disinformation, dear colleagues, should be exactly that: countering disinformation, extending our efforts to the rest of the world in the global South.

**Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Putin führt seinen Krieg gegen die Demokratie an mehreren Fronten: in der Ukraine mit Verbrechen gegen Menschen in Fleisch und Blut, im Rest der Welt mit Propaganda und Lügen. Und während Putin an der Ukrainefront eine Niederlage nach der anderen einstecken muss, ist sein Propagandakrieg im Internet sehr erfolgreich, denn da hat er zwei große Verbündete.

Der erste sind rechtsextreme Politikerinnen und Politiker und Netzwerke in Europa, in den USA, die systematisch die Propagandalügen aus russischen Trollfabriken aufgreifen und bei uns verbreiten. Und der zweite Verbündete sind die sozialen Netzwerke selbst, ein Nährboden für Lügen und Propaganda. Ihre Gier nach unserer Aufmerksamkeit, an der sie mit Werbung viel Geld verdienen – denn das steckt dahinter –, geht auf Kosten der Wahrheit. Ihre Algorithmen verbreiten reißerische Inhalte schneller als jeden Fakt und dank der umfassenden Datenprofile mit chirurgischer Präzision.

Diese versteckten Feinde der Demokratie müssen wir aufdecken und abschaffen. Dafür ist das Gesetz über digitale Dienste ein sehr scharfes Schwert, das die Europäische Kommission und die Mitgliedstaaten jetzt nutzen müssen.

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Rosja wydała od 2014 r. ponad 300 milionów dolarów, by wpływać na polityków i władzę w ponad 20 państwach. Chciałbym zwrócić Państwa uwagę na jedno z tych państw i bulwersujący przykład czerpania z kremłowskiej kasy. Mam na myśli niemieckie władze landu Meklemburgia – Pomorze Przednie, które uruchomiły Fundację Klimatu i Ochrony Środowiska na początku 2021 r. Organizacja miała za zadanie wykonać zmierzające już wtedy ku końcowi prace nad finalizacją projektu budowy gazociągu Nord Stream 2. W tym celu otrzymała od Gazpromu w sumie 192 miliony euro. Ostatnie transfery były realizowane zaledwie cztery miesiące przed inwazją Rosji na Ukrainę. Trafiły one do 80 usługodawców. Fundacja kupowała i przechowywała komponenty dla gazociągu, chroniąc dostawców przed amerykańskimi sankcjami. Finansowana była przez władze landu i Nord Stream 2. Dlatego, gdy z tego miejsca pan Verhofstadt mówi o rzekomych cheerleaderach we Włoszech i wzywa do obalenia demokratycznie wybranego włoskiego rządu, to chciałbym zapytać, dlaczego Pan nie wspomina o innych cheerleaderach, takich jak kanclerz Angela Merkel, kanclerz Schröder, kanclerz Austrii, premier Francji... *(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)*

**Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Αντιπρόεδρε, κύριε Σχρινά, κύριε υπουργέ. Η εισβολή του Πούτιν δεν ήρθε ως κεραυνός εν αιθρία. Ο Πούτιν προετοιμαζόταν εδώ και καιρό, και η προπαγάνδα ήταν ένα μεγάλο μέρος της προετοιμασίας του. Πρέπει να παραδεχτούμε ότι δεν αντιμετωπίσαμε επαρκώς ούτε την προπαγάνδα ούτε τα ψέματα του Πούτιν, που συνεχίζεται μέχρι σήμερα και είναι εξόχως επικίνδυνη, εκτός των άλλων, γιατί ανοίγει την όρεξη και τον δρόμο και σε άλλους που σκέφτονται και πράττουν όπως ο Πούτιν, όπως είναι ο Ερντογάν, ο οποίος επίσης χρησιμοποιεί την προπαγάνδα και τα ψεύδη πριν και μετά από οποιαδήποτε παράνομη και προκλητική ενέργεια (casus belli, γαλάζια πατρίδα, αποστρατικοποίηση νησιών, απειλές «μια νύχτα θα έρθουμε ξαφνικά», εκατοντάδες πτήσεις πάνω από τα νησιά του Αιγαίου, αμφισβήτηση διεθνών συνθηκών, αδιαφορία για το διεθνές δίκαιο), και τώρα μας προέκυψε και ένα ακόμα παράνομο μνημόνιο με τη Λιβύη για την εκμετάλλευση υδρογονανθράκων στην περιοχή της νόμιμης ΑΟΖ Ελλάδας-Αιγύπτου. Και πάντα αυτά συνοδεύονται από προπαγάνδα του Ερντογάν κατά της Ελλάδας· η ιστορία του Ερντογάν, που λέει ότι η Ελλάδα είναι το χαϊδεμένο παιδί της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, που εξοπλίζει τα νησιά, που κάνει παράνομα push backs, που πνίγει πρόσφυγες στο Αιγαίο, που αφήνει νεκρά παιδιά στη νησίδα του Έβρου. Και αυτή την προπαγάνδα την αναπαράγουν όχι μόνο εχθροί της Ελλάδας, αλλά τολμούν να την αναπαράξουν για μικροκομματικό όφελος ακόμα και μέλη της ελληνικής αντιπολιτευτικής σκηνής. Κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, όταν πρόκειται για την προπαγάνδα του Ερντογάν κατά της Ελλάδας, ας μην ξεχνάμε το σκληρό μάθημα που πήραμε από τον Πούτιν. Γιατί όταν ανεχόμαστε την προπαγάνδα, τα χειρότερα έπονται.

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**Marek Belka (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Putin już przed 24 lutego prowadził wojnę. Nie tylko krymską, ale także informacyjną. Atakował Unię. Tłumaczył, że Ukraińcy nie są prawdziwym narodem. A jego armia internetowych trolli zniechęcała do nas i naszych demokratycznych wartości.

Niestety są osoby w Europie, czasami nawet i na tej sali, które tę wojnę współtworzyły. Atak Rosji na Ukrainę nie przyniósł pełnego otrzeźwienia dla tych pożytecznych dla Kremla idiotów. Pozująca do zdjęć z Putinem Marine Le Pen krytykuje Unię Europejską za zbyt ambitne sankcje. Antyukraińskie wypowiedzi polskiego polityka Grzegorza Brauna były wykorzystywane w propagandowym programie rosyjskiej telewizji. Często radykałowie organizują marsze, gdzie wspierającymi Rosję hasłami zapewнили sobie prime time w rosyjskiej propagandówce. To tylko przykłady.

Każdy idiotyczny atak na Unię, sankcje czy Ukrainę powinien być traktowany jako wsparcie Putina. Czas, by Komisja zaproponowała pakiet konkretnych rozwiązań, jak tę internetową wojnę wygrać.

Nawiązując do albumu jednego z aktualnych popleczników Putina, Rogera Watersa z legendarnego zespołu Pink Floyd, nie wiem, czy tacy jak on, polska Konfederacja, czy Marine Le Pen są po ciemnej stronie Księżyca. Z pewnością zapisują się jednak na najciemniejszych kartach europejskiej historii.

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, señorías, ahora está más claro que la segunda llegada al poder de Putin en 2012 estaba cargada de un identitarismo tóxico y resentido.

El nacional-populismo ha trabajado dentro y fuera de Rusia con su industria de la desinformación (lo hemos dicho). En las últimas décadas ha captado y financiado ideas conspiracionistas y también movimientos políticos antieuropeos e ideologías ultras, tanto conservadoras en la nueva derecha extrema o radical, como en el eje de izquierdas pro venezolano, cubano e iraní.

También ha alimentado el independentismo por si revientan la Unión en algún punto.

Tras la ocupación de Ucrania, sin embargo, necesitan desesperadamente generar dudas y miedo en la opinión pública para que se acobarde, para que acepte, con todas las capas de autoengaño, el diálogo, el llevarse bien, el que hay que ceder ante Putin.

Ceder un poco ante alguien así, ante un régimen así, es pan para hoy y hambre para mañana. O, mejor dicho, gas para hoy y desastre para mañana.

Señorías, en la Comisión Especial sobre Injerencias Extranjeras en Todos los Procesos Democráticos de la Unión Europea, en particular la Desinformación debemos seguir recabando información y entendiendo los mecanismos de la injerencia directa y difusa.

La batalla clave es una dialéctica de voluntades. No la podemos perder.

**Kim Van Sparrentak (Verts/ALE).** – Voorzitter, antidemocratische partijen verspreiden online bewust desinformatie: in Oekraïne om verwarring te zaaien en de moraal te breken, maar ook in de rest van Europa om onze maatschappij te verdelen en democratieën uit te hollen.

De algoritmen en verdienmodellen van big tech gaan goed op extreme content zoals haat en desinformatie. Dit gebruiken pro-Russische krachten tegen ons. Vorige week nog onthulde EU DisinfoLab een gigantische pro-Russische desinformatieoperatie via bots en betaalde advertenties waar Facebook meer dan een ton aan verdiende. Zo worden wij dus steeds verder in een bubbel van extremisme gesleurd, met gevaar voor onze veiligheid, en ondertussen wordt big tech lachend rijk.

De oplossing is simpel: we moeten big tech aanpakken en af van persoonlijke, polariserende algoritmen. Maar ieder daadkrachtig optreden om ze te stoppen gaat de Europese Commissie en rechtse partijen te ver. We kunnen niet langer toekijken hoe dit systeem Poetin en de uitholling van onze democratie faciliteert. Hoog tijd om in te grijpen.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ЕКР).** – Г-н Председател, руска агресия срещу Украйна има, руска пропаганда има. Само че тази руска пропаганда е на американски платформи. Най-големите лъжи на тази пропаганда се разпространяват от американски платформи и те не ги свалят. Защо това е така? Защото очевидно не желаят и защото ви помагат в една лъжа, а именно в лъжата, че десните били съюзници на Путин.

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Не, не е вярно. Истинските съюзници на Путин са в Брюксел – тези, които унищожават европейската енергетика; тези, които унищожават въглищните мини; тези, които унищожават нашата независимост; тези, които направиха Европейския съюз зависим от руските въглеводороди; и тези, които финансират руската икономика. Това са приятелите на Путин. Не ние десните, не ние националистите.

Национализмът е единствената съпротива, истинска изворна съпротива на болшевиизма, а комунизмът е на Кремъл. Както ние се съпротивлявахме с оръжие в ръка след 45-та година в Източна Европа, а вие ни изоставихте и предадохте в Ялта, така и днес продължавате да бъдете истинските съюзници на Путин. Помислете за това.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Ministro, Senhor Comissário, Senhor Vice-Presidente, não é só desde 24 de fevereiro deste ano, mas desde a invasão da Crimeia e, até antes disso, que certos atores políticos europeus tomam o partido da Rússia e que muitos outros são influenciados pela propaganda e pela desinformação russa.

Não podemos esquecer-nos do que aconteceu nas eleições americanas em que foi eleito Donald Trump, ou no referendo do Brexit, ou no referendo apócrifo da Catalunha. Não podemos esquecer-nos do financiamento de muitos partidos da direita radical, mas também do lançamento e financiamento de muitos partidos da esquerda radical. Em todos eles, esteve sempre a Rússia, esteve sempre a central de *hacking* mundial que é a Rússia.

Putin transformou a Rússia numa espécie de KGB global, à qual estamos todos sujeitos, a cujas ações estamos todos expostos. E, por isso mesmo, é fundamental que a União Europeia tome medidas claras, medidas com capacidade de influência nos *media* e, essencialmente, nas redes sociais.

Num momento em que temos um novo panorama do ponto de vista comunicacional, que não é apenas o dos *media* tradicionais, mas é o das redes sociais, nós temos de ser capazes de descobrir as formas de contrariar a propaganda e a desinformação que podem minar as nossas opiniões públicas e, especialmente neste muito difícil contexto geopolítico, pô-las ao lado de Putin, do Kremlin e das suas violações do direito internacional.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la propaganda antieuropea e anti-Ucraina serpeggia un po' ovunque tra gli Stati membri e l'Italia non fa eccezione. Il tempo passa, ma una certa destra compare di Putin, sedicente guardiania dell'interesse nazionale, ma in realtà con lo sguardo rivolto al Cremlino, continua a strizzare l'occhio verso gli autoritarismi, ignorando persecuzioni delle minoranze e dimenticando il bavaglio alla libera espressione.

Silvio Berlusconi, leader importante del PPE, ha affermato in diretta TV che Putin ha invaso l'Ucraina per «sostituire con un governo di persone per bene il governo di Zelensky». La Lega continua a non denunciare l'accordo di collaborazione firmato col partito di Putin, Russia Unita, e mantiene un velo di ambiguità rispetto ai rapporti che sono stati oggetto anche di indagine con mondi russi, così come riguardo alle visite segrete di Matteo Salvini presso l'ambasciata russa a Roma, a poche ore dall'invasione dell'Ucraina.

Ricordo poi come il regime di Mosca si sia servito scientificamente di mezzi di informazione anti-ucraini in tutta Europa, diffondendo *fake news*, additando i profughi ucraini come pericolosi criminali o presentandoli come uomini benestanti giunti qui senza un reale bisogno. Questa non è una caccia alle streghe, ma una questione di sicurezza nazionale ed europea e anche una questione di umanità.

Di fronte a un regime che viola il diritto internazionale e minaccia di utilizzare armi atomiche non possono esserci ambiguità. Servono una condanna unanime e azioni forti come quelle annunciate dalla Commissione europea a difesa dell'integrità della nostra democrazia e che noi sosteniamo con tutta la nostra forza.

**Valérie Hayer (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, octobre 2011, Marine Le Pen déclare, je cite: «J'admire Vladimir Poutine». Février 2014, Poutine envahit la Crimée. Marine Le Pen déclare, je cite encore: «La Crimée a toujours été russe». Septembre 2014, sept mois plus tard, Marine Le Pen reçoit un prêt de 9 millions d'euros d'une banque russe. Elle mange dans la main de Poutine. Février 2022, Poutine envahit le reste de l'Ukraine, Marine Le Pen milite contre les sanctions.

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Je parle ici de Marine Le Pen, mais malheureusement, je pourrais en citer d'autres. Matteo Salvini, Viktor Orban, encore lui, des femmes et des hommes qui relaient mensonges et propagande, que ce soit dans leurs discours ou sur les réseaux sociaux. Des femmes et des hommes qui agit dans l'intérêt de la Russie bien avant l'intérêt de leur patrie. Bref, disons-le des faux patriotes. Ces faux patriotes, ils portent la responsabilité de notre insécurité, une insécurité qu'ils alimentent en tentant de diviser les Européens face à l'envahisseur. Il est donc de notre devoir, chers collègues, en tant que démocrates, de défendre nos valeurs. Aucune compromission avec les pro-Poutine, aucune alliance, aucune excuse.

**Niklas Nienieß (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, the first victim in war is the truth – you all know the saying. But I would say that if you want to start a war, you first have to kill the truth. Putin has been doing this for decades now – and also in Europe, like supporting La Lega, Rassemblement National, FPÖ and the AfD. By the way, those colleagues all fled this debate like the Russians flee from the Ukrainian forces.

But also, the biggest target group for Russia is in Russia. Russians have been brainwashed for ages, have been fed that the world hates them, that only Putin can save them, that every war is justified for Russia to free the world from ... from what? From freedom? From liberty?

This we must tackle urgently, and this means we need to be active also in Russia. Please Commissioner, we cannot expect old people to go to the internet, get a VPN and get the information themselves. We have to address them through the radio, through TV, and we have to make sure that they are informed with the truth and that they know one thing – we are not the enemies of the Russian people. The enemies of the Russian people, the thieves of Russian money, the murders of Russian sons and husbands ... sit in the Kremlin!

**Zdzisław Krasnodębski (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Ja nie będę wymieniał nazwisk, tylko wzywam kolegów do zrobienia rachunku sumienia. Nie będę wymieniał tutaj socjaldemokratów czy chadeków, ale mógłbym mówić o Manueli Schwesig, jak mówił mój kolega, o Larsie Klingbeilu, o Sarze Wagenknecht naturalnie i wielu innych politykach. Więc proszę zrobić rachunek sumienia i się zastanowić, socjaldemokraci, chadecy, kto wspierał, kto uczynił Putina silnym.

Chciałbym powiedzieć o czymś innym, bo uważam, że najbardziej niebezpieczni są ci, którzy powtarzają rosyjską propagandę o tym nie wiedząc, nie w pełni świadomie. Ostatnio w dyskursie politycznym w Europie padają często zarzuty o faszyzm, post faszyzm. Każdy, kto się nie zgadza z mainstreamem, jest faszystą itd. Jest to powtórzenie oczywiście retoryki Frontu Narodowego lat 30tych XX wieku. Jeżeli Państwo sięgną do historii, to będą wiedzieli, że to było inspirowane przez Stalina. Więc powtarzamy język sowiecki czy postsowiecki. Nie mogę już konkludować, ale bardzo proszę o refleksję.

**Traian Băsescu (PPE).** – Domnule preşedinte, domnule comisar, cu certitudine propaganda rusă este extrem de eficientă. Pe de altă parte, trebuie să observăm că în ultima perioadă și combaterea acestei propagande mincinoase a devenit tot mai puternică în statele membre ale Uniunii Europene și este făcută chiar de foarte mulți oameni politici și oameni simpli, oameni politici nu de prim rang, dar care se implică, și simplii cetățeni, tineri, ONG-uri.

Cred că din acest punct de vedere suntem pe un drum bun. Avem însă o altă mare problemă, problema consolidării lui Putin de către demnitarii ai Uniunii Europene. Și aici o să vă dau, o să enumăr câțiva premieri ai Uniunii Europene care s-au pus în slujba lui Putin după terminarea mandatelor: Schroeder e pe buzele tuturor, Matteo Renzi, fost premier italian, angajat la firmă rusească, Christian Kern, fost cancelar austriac, François Fillon, fost premier al Franței, Esko Aho, fost premier finlandez, Paavo Lipponen, fost premier finlandez, Karin Kneissl, fost ministru de externe austriac, Hans Schelling, fost ministru de finanțe austriac și sigur, nu putea să lipsească, Dominique Strauss-Kahn.

Cu astfel de oameni în jurul său și ... (Preşedintele a retras cuvântul vorbitorului).

**Gabriele Bischoff (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Minister Bek, Herr Kommissar, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wenn in diesem Hohen Hause die AfD von der Notwendigkeit objektiver Debatten spricht, kann ich nur sagen: Obacht! Herr Beck ist leider nicht mehr da. Aber ich möchte hier noch einmal sagen: Es war in der Tat ein Fehler von vielen Parteien, Putin so lange zu vertrauen. Aber es ist seine Partei, und es ist sein Landesvorsitzender Höcke, der im August in diesem Jahr gefordert hat, Nord Stream 2 zu öffnen. Nur mal so viel zu den Fakten hier im Haus.

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Und welche Parteien sind es denn, die jetzt die Ängste und Sorgen der Menschen instrumentalisieren, sie auf die Straße treiben, versuchen, die Demokratien zu destabilisieren? Das sind genau diese Rechtspopulisten. Das sind genau diese Postfaschisten, und sie erledigen Putins Geschäft damit. Der kann sich doch die Hände reiben, denn das ist es, was er versucht. Und er hat eine Armee von Bots, die ihn dabei unterstützen, und jede Menge nützliche Idioten, die das dann auch noch weiterverbreiten.

Und es war doch der US-Geheimdienst, der unlängst darauf hingewiesen hat, dass rechtspopulistische Parteien und Kandidaten 2014 nach der Annexion der Krim über 300 Millionen Franken erhalten haben, um unsere Demokratie zu destabilisieren, und da müssen wir einen Riegel verschieben. Das darf nicht möglich sein.

Deshalb legen aber auch die, die jetzt davon sprechen, dass ukrainische Flüchtlinge Wohlfahrtstouristen seien oder Sozialtouristen, hier in einer solchen Situation die Zündschnur an. Lassen Sie uns gemeinsam dagegen vorgehen, damit Putin nicht gewinnt!

**Dragoș Tudorache (Renew).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, this is what history will remember of this war: a mad dictator invaded his neighbour, caused death and destruction, but failed in the face of bravery and solidarity. Ukraine wins, Putin loses and Europe grows more united.

There is but one problem, and it remains horrible: Putin's lackeys are still here around us. They continue to poison our societal debates. They continue to undermine our democracies. They spread disinformation and turn citizens against each other.

We must therefore build tools to stop them from winning elections through lies and manipulation, from feeding on the fears and insecurity of all citizens. We must therefore bring to light, and then forbid, any funding of our politics from Russia. You cannot run for office in Europe on Russian money. Full stop.

Second, we need to secure our ability to act as a Union. We need to move away from the blackmail of unanimity and maintain our ability to push back against Putin and others like him. Let us bring down Putin's cronies wherever they are in our governments, in our parliaments, in our democracies!

**Alexandr Vondra (ECR).** – Pane předsedající, ano, ruská propaganda jede na plné obrátky. A čím je Putinova pátá kolona početnější, tím je silnější. Musíme se bránit, ale řešení nemohou být jenom zákazy a náš pláč. Musíme si také sáhnout do svědomí. Ten výčet těch *cronies* tady jde napříč zleva doprava. Ano, kdo nás dostal víc do té Putinovy oprátky? Angela Merkelová a její *Energiewende*, Gerhard Schröder, holanďští politici a jejich Gazprom nebo Matteo Salvini, madam Le Penová a další, kteří tam hledají financování a zastání? Myslím si, že to jde bohužel tady napříč a že dokud si nesáhneme my sami do svědomí, dokud nepřestaneme nahánět tady tou dominancí progresivismu konzervativce do ruského náručí, tak pak budeme teprve silnější a více schopni se propagandě bránit.

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, povjereniče, kolegice i kolege, destabilizacija demokratskih procesa putem dezinformacija ozbiljno je bojište. Pripremajući vojnu agresiju, Rusija se angažirala u propagandnom i medijskom smislu kako bi prikazala Ukrajinu kao državu u kojoj su na vlasti nacisti koji ugrožavaju rusku manjinu. Iako je ukrajinski narod, slobodnom voljom na demokratski provedenim izborima, nekoliko puta jasno izabrao put prema euroatlantskim integracijama, ruska propaganda nastojala je prikazati, ne samo vlast u Kijevu kao pučističku i time nelegitimnu, nego je išla tako daleko da je cijeli jedan narod optužila za pokušaj provođenja genocida.

Te laži, koje su se čule i s pozornice najvećeg svjetskog foruma Opće skupštine Ujedinjenih naroda, godinama se nastoje plasirati i u europski medijski, nažalost, akademski, prostor, iako je jasno da se radi, prvo o pripremi za agresiju, a poslije i opravdanju nezakonite i neizazvane vojne invazije susjedne suverene države. Optuživanje Europske unije i Sjevernoatlantskog saveza, da su svojim političkim prihvaćanjem u članstvo svih onih koji dijele iste vrijednosti ugrozili samu opstojnost Ruske Federacije te da su svojim ponašanjem izazvali Kremlj na vojnu intervenciju, može se čuti u nekim medijima, u političkom prostoru i u izbornim kampanjama pa i tijekom prosvjeda u nekim državama članicama zbog ozbiljno narušenog gospodarskog stanja, koje je upravo posljedica razarajućeg djelovanja ruskog političkog vodstva, a ne odgovora iz država i institucija Europske unije.



Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Marina Kaljurand (S&D).** – Austatud isungi juhataja! Desinformatsioon ei ole uus nähtus ja on kahetsusväärne, et Venemaa on jätkuvalt edukas oma propagandas, mille eesmärk on õhustada demokraatiat, lõhestada Euroopa Liitu ja õigustada kuritegelikku sõda Ukrainas. Sellele saab ja tuleb vastata kõigil võimalikel tasanditel. Euroopa Liit on astunud mitmeid väga õigeid samme võitluses Vene väärinformatsiooniga. Meil on idasuunalise strateegilise kommunikatsiooni rakkerühm, uus väärinformatsiooni vastu võitlemise koodeks ja digiteenuste akt. Aga ka liikmesriikidel tuleb teha oma osa, kaitsta demokraatiat ja kaitsta oma ühiskondi. Eesti puhul tähendab see ka palju aktiivsemat suhtlemist venekeelse elanikkonnaga: kuulamist, selgitamist, veenmist. Ees ootavad raske sügis ja raske talv, kus lisaks Ukraina sõjale hakkavad inimesi mõjutama kõrged elektri- ja toiduhinnad. Kreml ainult ootab, et kasutada seda keerulist olukorda ja poliitilisi kasulikke idioote ka Euroopa Liidu poliitikute seas. Ärgem laskem Kremlil propagandasõda võita!

**Katalin Cseh (Renew).** – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, colleagues, let me start with a quote from the Hungarian public broadcaster: 'the United States trains the pro-Russian government in Ukraine to a pro-American regime, reprogramming Ukrainian politics, driving it further away from Russia, which resulted in the current situation.'

So this is how the Hungarian state media explains geopolitics to its viewers in the centre of the European Union, funded by the tax money of European Union citizens. Ukrainians are repeatedly being compared to Nazi Germany, their right to exist is repeatedly called into question and Putin's war crimes are regularly whitewashed as self-defence. This is so prevalent in the Hungarian state-sponsored media that the Russian channels often even quote them directly to justify their own position.

The results are staggering. Three per cent of Hungarian government sympathisers believe that Russia is responsible for beginning the war. Three per cent, colleagues – think about it. We have to have the tools to fight this. The East StratCom Task Force has to adapt to debunk Russian propaganda, even when it is coming from a Member State. Not every country is a benevolent actor. Putin's mouthpieces have no business spreading lies as a full-time job in our Union.

**Patryk Jaki (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo, szukacie przyjaciół Putina jak zwykle w prawicy. Ja jednak proponuję, żeby najpierw spojrzeć w lustro. Jak Putin w swoim ostatnim wystąpieniu uzasadniał możliwość użycia broni jądrowej? Wiecie jak? Otóż powiedział, że Stany Zjednoczone zaatakowały Nord Stream. A skąd to wiedział? Wiedział od waszego posła Radosława Sikorskiego. Co zrobiliście w tej sprawie?

Co więcej, najśmieszniejsze jest to, jak lewica szuka wszędzie współpracowników Putina, a sama w swoim składzie ma Gerharda Schrödera i trzech polskich komunistycznych kacyków, którzy na zlecenie Moskwy organizowali w naszym kraju aparat represji wobec obywateli.

Wy sami powinniście zrobić rachunek sumienia, dlatego że całkiem niedawno większość Parlamentu przegłosowała, w sporze Polska przeciwko Łukaszenko i Putinowi, rezolucję, w której staliście wprost po stronie Łukaszenki i Putina, kiedy atakowano polskie granice.

Co więcej, mówicie, że do kryzysu, wojny i inflacji doprowadziła pycha i brak wysłuchania Polski i państw bałtyckich. No piękne. Tylko jaką receptę w tej chwili proponujecie? Otóż proponujecie więcej tego, co było, to znaczy likwidację weta, więcej kompetencji dla Niemiec i eurokratów. To się musi źle skończyć.

Co więcej, zastanówcie się, komu teraz sprzyja to, że na Polskę nałożyliście więcej sankcji niż na Rosję? Bo odliczając te pieniądze, które się Polsce należą, tak właśnie jest. Komu to sprzyja?

Co więcej, chcecie uchodzić za imperium moralne. To ja mam dla Was propozycję. To niech najpierw Niemcy rozliczą się za swoje zbrodnie i zapłacą reparacje Polsce. Bo Putin Was bardzo dokładnie obserwuje i myśli sobie tak: mogą zrównać Ukrainę z ziemią i tak nigdy za to nie zapłacę. A dlaczego? A dlatego, że jak ktoś o to zapyta, to ja powiem, że postępuję dokładnie tak samo, jak Niemcy. Że przeszłość nie ma już znaczenia. Rozmawiajmy o przyszłości. To się dzisiaj tylko liczy.

I co? I kto jest rosyjską onucą?

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Liudas Mažylis (PPE).** – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, esminis „kontrpropagandos“ bruožas yra atsakymas tiesa į propagandinį melą. O tas Kremliaus ir jo sekėjų – pavienių veikėjų, interesų grupių ir kraštutinių politinių judėjimų Europoje – melas yra įmantrus, ilgai ir kruopščiai ruošiamas, dosniai finansuojamas ir visa savo esme nusikalstamas, taigi gali ir privalo būti baudžiamas. Melagingų teiginių klišės darosi atpažįstamos: abejonės dėl Kremliaus nusikaltimų, dėl karo priežasčių, o Ukrainai perlažus situaciją frontuose, jau siūloma tą stabdyti diplomatinėmis priemonėmis.

Mechanizmai tai propagandai užkardyti egzistuoja, bet turi būti kur kas griežčiau taikomi. Draudimas transliuoti Rusijos valstybinę žiniasklaidą buvo teisingas, bet to nepakanka. Sąmoningumo didinimas, visuomenės švietimas, parama ekspertams, organizacijoms, dirbančioms propagandos ir dezinformacijos klausimais, – veiksmai, kurių prašome jau ne vienerius metus.

Atidavę eterį Kremliaus veikėjams, išgirstame tik smurto, propagandos kurstymą, betgi to kaip tik neleidžia ES skaitmeninių paslaugų aktas, taigi to ir laikykimės. 300 milijonų, Rusijos išleistų politiniams judėjimams finansuoti užsienyje, tai yra pas mus, – tiesiogiai prieštarauja Kovos su terorizmu finansavimo direktyvai. Taigi asmenys, aktyviai siekiantys paveikti paramą Ukrainai, turi būti patraukti atsakomybėn, turi būti išviešintos jų užmaskuotos finansinės sąsajos su kilmės šalimi Rusija.

**Nils Ušakovs (S&D).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, there are roughly five to seven million Russians or Russian speakers who live right now in Europe. In countries like Latvia, absolute majority of them are Latvian citizens, that is citizens of the European Union. And that's exactly why, stronger than ever, we must support enhancing, or in some cases establishing, European identity of Russian-speaking residents of our Union.

European Union has to think outside the box, demonstrate strong leadership and provide support for European media in Russian language. Moreover, we have to support cultural and educational activities in Russian, various integration programmes.

We should not rely at this moment on national governments in their capacities only. Support must come from the European Union and must be provided across the continent. Millions of pro-European-minded Russians can certainly become another powerful tool to cope with propaganda from Russia and probably to cope with propaganda in Russia itself.

**Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (Renew).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, θεωρώ μεγάλη επιτυχία την ευρωπαϊκή απεικόνιση έναντι του Πούτιν στο θέμα των ιδεών και της πληροφόρησης. Ο Πούτιν εξαπέλυσε έναν υβριδικό πόλεμο για να διχάσει την ευρωπαϊκή κοινή γνώμη και να προετοιμάσει τις επιθετικές του ενέργειες. Στην αρχή σημείωσε επιτυχίες, αλλά τώρα το τοπίο έχει αλλάξει δραστικά σε βάρος του. Οι Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες που του έχουν εμπιστοσύνη έχουν περιοριστεί σε μονοψήφια ποσοστά σχεδόν σε όλες τις χώρες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, ενώ η ρωσική κοινή γνώμη έχει αρχίσει να προβληματίζεται με τις επιλογές του και το κόστος που έχουν για τη ρωσική οικονομία και κοινωνία. Αποδεικνύεται έτσι στην πράξη ότι η ελευθερία στον χώρο των μέσων ενημέρωσης οδηγεί σε σωστά αποτελέσματα σε ότι αφορά την κοινή γνώμη όταν περιορίζουμε τις δυνατότητες διείσδυσης και υπονόμευσης από αυταρχικά καθεστώτα και δικτάτορες. Είμαστε σε καλό δρόμο.

**Kosma Złotowski (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Na wojnie walka z dezinformacją jest równie ważna jak niszczenie czołgów czy samolotów przeciwnika. Rosjanie od lat wykorzystują możliwości oferowane im przez internet do wpływania na europejską opinię publiczną. Niestety wielu dziennikarzy, polityków czy artystów w państwach członkowskich mniej lub bardziej świadomie wspiera narrację Moskwy. Nadal nie umiemy skutecznie temu przeciwdziałać. Mogliśmy się o tym przekonać także w Polsce podczas sztucznego kryzysu migracyjnego, gdy próbowano sabotować stanowcze działania naszego rządu w obronie granic Unii Europejskiej. Krytyka takich przedsięwzięć jak kanał przez Mierzeję Wiślaną, gazociąg Baltic Pipe, czy rozbudowa polskiej armii to także służy wyłącznie interesom Putina. W wojnie informacyjnej każdy z nas jest żołnierzem, ale jak mogliśmy się ostatnio przekonać, jeden nieprzemyślany wpis na Twitterze może mieć siłę rażenia bomby atomowej.

**Geoffroy Didier (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, le gouvernement de Vladimir Poutine n'a aucune valeur et n'a aucune limite, ses armes sont illégitimes de toutes natures. Face au silence d'une Europe longtemps endormie, prostrée et brouillonne, Vladimir Poutine a avancé méthodiquement ses pions durant plusieurs années.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Selon de nombreuses sources concordantes, 300 millions de dollars auraient permis à la Russie de financer des partis politiques étrangers européens depuis près de dix ans. Il y a bien sûr l'extrême droite, mais cela, nous le savions déjà et nous n'avions rien à espérer d'eux. Mais le plus édifiant, et devrais-je dire, le plus écœurant, est que des ONG européennes qui se prétendent pourtant porteuses de combats salutaires comme l'écologie et qui ont même fourni certains ministres à des pays d'Europe, auraient elles aussi été financées par des intérêts et entreprises russes telles que Gazprom. De soi-disant écologistes, littéralement achetés pour défendre la sortie du nucléaire et maintenir ainsi la dépendance européenne vis-à-vis du gaz russe.

Qui parmi eux se sont fait les complices de Vladimir Poutine? Cette question mérite d'être posée dans cette enceinte, dans cet hémicycle. Cette question mérite d'être posée par les peuples européens, qui ont le droit de connaître la vérité. Parce que, mes amis, nous le savons désormais, derrière le paravent de l'écologie politique se cachent parfois des intérêts bien sombres et parfois même le pire qui soit.

**Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, propaganda antieuropeană a început deja de câțiva ani și unele discursuri de acum câteva minute ne arată acest lucru chiar și în această instituție. Campaniile antieuropene nu sunt duse doar de partidele susținute de Putin, ci și de acele partide care nu știu să vină cu soluții și au nevoie de un țap ispășitor. Libertatea de opinie a fost distorsionată în libertatea de a minți, de a manipula oamenii.

Toate aceste discursuri pot fi trecute cu vederea în timp de pace, dar sunt extrem de greu de acceptat în perioada războiului, când vedem în fiecare săptămână alte și alte dovezi ale masacrelor comise în Ucraina, în teritoriile ocupate, când avem printre noi atâtia oameni, copii, femei, bătrâni, ucraineni, care au fost nevoiți să își lase în urmă soții, frații, tații, copiii, fără a ști când se pot întoarce și când îi vor mai vedea, să-și lase în urmă viața normală pe care o aveau.

Este nevoie de acțiuni concrete și coordonate pentru a opri această propagandă mincinoasă. Este nevoie de măsuri rapide și clare pentru a demasca legăturile directe sau indirecte dintre cei care susțin campaniile antieuropene.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovani povjereniče, kolegice i kolege, sastavni dio ruskog velikodržavnog koncepta je širenje kontrole i dominacije izvan svojih granica. Propagandom, hibridnim djelovanjem, dezinformacijama i krivotvorenjem povijesti, a od 24. veljače, nažalost i vojnom agresijom na ukrajinski narod.

Sličnim takvim pokušajima Hrvatska je svjedočila prije 30 godina, kao žrtva agresije velikosrpskog Miloševićevog režima, ali nažalost i danas srbijanske vlasti već standardno perfidno provode hibridnu verziju politike Srbije iz devedesetih godina prema susjednim državama. Zloupotrebom pravosuđa, svojatanjem kulturne baštine, manipulacijom povijesti i kršenjem prava manjina.

Takvi otrovni refleksi, koji svoj uzor i danas pronalaze u Rusiji i povlaštenim političkim energetskim i ekonomskim vezama u odnosima s Moskvom, štete Srbiji, štete i cijeloj Europi. I dok je god tome tako, kolegice i kolege, mislim da je potpuno jasno da Srbiji nije mjesto u Europskoj uniji i da će se Srbija, ne samo formalno udaljivati od pregovora s Europskom unijom, nego da će se i temeljno, dubinski, nažalost, udaljivati od cijele europske civilizacije.

**Róza Thun und Hohenstein (Renew).** – Mr President, it's good that at last we are starting to treat this aspect of the war completely seriously. It's encouraging to see the determination of Minister Bek and of Commissioner Schinas and the activities presented, but we need them not as words – we really need them as facts.

I would like to quote the numbers evoked here already by Guy Verhofstadt. Out of 6 676 names identified by the Navalny Foundation as a propaganda machine, 135 were proposed for sanctions and only six were sanctioned – only six were sanctioned.

Facebook identified 60 disinformation sites. They hid under the names and visualisation of well-known media like *The Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, *Bild*. They used false profiles, false accounts in seven languages.

I remember when Barack Obama, proud about the US IT companies, declared 'the internet is ours'. But it is Putin who successfully uses it as a war tool...

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

*(The President cut off the speaker)*

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – *A Uachtaráin*, we've entered a new phase in the unnecessary and callous war waged by Vladimir Putin. His shambolic and illegal referendums have served as a fickle means for Russia to try to absorb thousands of square kilometres of Ukrainian territory in what will be the largest forced annexation of land in Europe since 1945. Like the heinous war crimes that are part of Russian standard military tactics, disinformation has now become a fundamental element of Russia's international relations.

Last week, within hours of the Nord Stream pipeline explosion, disinformation, fitting the pattern of Russian information warfare was immediately circulated on social media platforms. This is a very sophisticated and covert operation, which at this stage is a well-oiled machine that has proven to be effective in many circumstances. It's amplified to social media algorithms.

The aim is to flood social media with false information, to blur the lines of fact and deter public opinion from supporting Ukraine, depicting it as a failed, corrupt, Nazi state. Disinformation has been so effective that many so-called 'free thinkers' have been reduced to unwitting Kremlin spokespersons. It is time to strongly counter this disinformation in the EU.

**Engin Eroglu (Renew).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wegen Putin sterben seit Februar täglich Menschen in der Ukraine. Und natürlich schauen wir als EU dort nicht tatenlos zu. Wir sind das globale Friedens- und Freiheitsprojekt und werden niemals tatenlos zuschauen.

Sanktionen sind das Mindestmaß, was wir machen können, müssen, um diesen Kriegstreiber nicht mehr zu finanzieren. Diese Sanktionen werden jedoch in Frage gestellt. Uns ist klar, dass Putin seit Jahren Geld in der EU in seine Propagandamaschine investiert. Putins Helfer, die sich hier offen ordinär an seine Seite stellen – ob jetzt hier bei uns im Parlament oder in nationalen Parlamenten –, sind nicht unser primäres Problem.

Unser primäres Problem ist die Desinformationskampagne von Putin in den sozialen Netzwerken und in den Medien. Dies müssen wir ganz klar aufdecken und dagegen vorgehen. Deshalb sind diese versteckten Kanäle aufzudecken und zu bekämpfen. Wir müssen besser sein als die russische Propaganda. Wir müssen besser sein darin, die Menschen in der Europäischen Union aufzuklären, und – das ist das Allerwichtigste – Putin darf diesen Krieg nicht gewinnen, weder in der Ukraine noch in unserem Informationsraum.

**Miriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, for many years, Russia has continued to use information warfare and other hybrid threats to weaken our democracies. Russian aggression against Ukraine has only deepened this, from spreading lies about the brave people of Ukraine, to cynically claiming that Putin's Russia is a defender of traditional values. We must fight Putin's propaganda, and there are concrete measures we can take.

First, we must strengthen our StratCom units on both national and EU level, including the under-funded and understaffed East StratCom unit. We must actively expose the Kremlin's lies and, at the same time, actively communicate to our citizens our policies and actions.

Second, although propaganda is not a new phenomenon, it has been exacerbated by social media. We can only successfully fight Russian propaganda if social media are part of the solution.

Third, we must defend freedom of speech, and that's why we mustn't allow 'cancel culture' or any similar trends. At the same time, we must understand that freedom of speech belongs to individuals, and not to bots or any anonymous social media accounts.

Dear colleagues, just as the Ukrainian people are bravely fighting Putin's aggression, so must we not be afraid to give them all our support, and to fight Putin's propaganda and lies. Truth will conquer, and it will win over lies.

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**Karin Karlsbro (Renew).** – Herr talman! Kommissionär, minister, kollegor! Ingen kan blunda för vad Ryssland har gjort och gör när det gäller att göra lögnen till sanning för att nå sina syften. Vi kan inte säga att vi inte visste, att vi inte såg det komma. Rysslands annektering av Krim och kriget i östra Ukraina var ju nämligen inget annat än en smäll på käften på den europeiska säkerhetsordningen. Att gasledningarna på Östersjöns botten hade fler syften än ren business – det var uppenbart.

Sedan invasionen av Ukraina har nu desinformationen nått nya höjder. När ukrainska trupper är på väg att ta tillbaka sitt eget land, fortsätter en desperat Putin att göra lögn till sanning.

I fredags annekterade Ryssland fyra nya ukrainska regioner med uppbackning av så kallade folkomröstningar. Det värsta med desinformation är ju att den fungerar. Se bara vad Elon Musk twittrade häromdagen! Nej, ett oprovocerat anfallskrig är inte en fråga om två parter som ska komma överens, utan Ryssland måste lämna tillbaka varenda kvadratmeter.

Vi måste sluta spela med i Putins teater. Det är slut på lögnerna. Sanningen måste vinna.

**Michaela Šojdrová (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, vážený pane ministře, kolegyně a kolegové, dnes a denně cítíme, jak silnou zbraní je ruská dezinformační kampaň. Šířitelé dezinformací využívají také strachu ze zvyšování cen energií a provokují nenávisť mezi lidmi. Proto jsou tak velmi důležitá opatření proti zdražování na evropské i národní úrovni. Proti dezinformační válce musíme bojovat vyvracením lží a polopravd. A protože dnes při této debatě nemáme možnost položit modrou kartu, chci požádat pana kolegu Davida, aby mi písemně odpověděl. Kdo tedy financuje zablokované dezinformační weby, když tvrdí, že to není Rusko a jeho spojenci? Pokud nezná skutečného investora, pak ať nešíří tyto dezinformace. Komisi a českému předsednictví děkuji za jeho úsilí a vyzývám k ještě větší finanční podpoře účinných nástrojů, jako je StratCom a Evropská digitální observatoř. Dámy a pánové, naší největší zbraní je přesvědčení, že pravda je na naší straně.

**Jordi Cañas (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, Ucrania está en guerra contra Rusia y Europa lleva años inmersa en una guerra híbrida contra Rusia. Una guerra híbrida de desinformación, propaganda e injerencia política que ha apoyado a la extrema derecha, a la extrema izquierda y a los partidos separatistas.

Aquí hemos oído hablar de Salvini. Sí. Hemos oído hablar de Berlusconi. Sí. Hemos oído hablar de Le Pen. Sí. Pero ¿saben de quién no hemos oído hablar hoy? ¿Saben quién se reunió tres veces en Moscú, una vez en Ginebra y una vez en Barcelona para pedir ayuda a Rusia, a sus servicios secretos, para la independencia de Cataluña, ayuda económica, política y militar, con el envío de diez mil soldados para apoyar la independencia de Cataluña? Carles Puigdemont, expresidente de la Generalitat de Cataluña y su núcleo duro político.

Esto es una realidad. Son hechos. Hechos, no insinuaciones, hechos reales: comunicaciones con servicios secretos, con el entorno directo de Putin, para pedir ayuda para la independencia de una parte del territorio europeo.

Los ucranianos ganarán la guerra, pero ¿vamos a ganar la nuestra nosotros contra los rusos?

**Inese Vaidere (PPE).** – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Dārgie kolēģi! Kremļis ir gadiem ilgi indējis Eiropu ar propagandu. Tādēļ nebija stingras Eiropas atbildes Krievijas agresijai Gruzijā un Krimā, kas, iespējams, būtu novērsis karu Ukrainā.

Putins nespēj uzlabot vienkāršo krievu dzīves līmeni. Tā vietā kultivē mītu par labajiem Eiropas atbrīvotājiem no fašisma. Šo atbrīvotāju toreizējo zvērību nesodišana iedrošināja Krieviju uz pilnīgu necilvēcību Ukrainā. Patiesībā tieši Krievijā šobrīd valda fašistisks režīms.

Eiropas Savienības budžetā jau iekļauts manis izstrādātais pilotprojekts cīņai pret Krievijas dezinformāciju, taču tam jānovirza vēl nopietnāki līdzekļi. Dezinformācija padarījusi Krievijas nāciju slimu, par ko liecina plašais atbalsts baismīgajam karam Ukrainā. Jābloķē pieeja visiem Kremļa medijiem. Nav runas par vārda brīvību, jo Krievija nepārtraukti melo.

Jāatbrīvojas no Kremļa ideoloģijas pārstāvjiem Eiropā un jāpalielina ieroču piegādes Ukrainai. Cīņā pret Krievijas propagandu mums jābūt tikpat apņēmīgiem kā ukraiņiem karalaukā. Paldies!

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**Claudia Gamon (Renew).** – Herr Präsident! Eine russische Zeitung hat heute eine Kolumne der ehemaligen österreichischen Außenministerin der FPÖ, Karin Kneissl, veröffentlicht. Europa brauche das russische Gas, versicherte sie ihren russischen Leserinnen und Lesern. Die Putin-Versteher in Österreich und der Europäischen Union stehen nicht nur für den buchstäblichen Kniefall, wie im Fall der Karin Kneissl, sondern für den vollkommenen moralischen Verfall.

Ein steirischer Abgeordneter der Kommunistischen Partei bezeichnete die Ukraine als verkrüppelten Staat und wiederholte bekannte Lügen, zum Beispiel in dem Sinne, die Sanktionen seien völkerrechtswidrig. Was macht das offizielle Österreich? Kanzler Nehammer trifft ein paar der einflussreichsten Putin-Versteher: Viktor Orbán und Aleksandar Vučić.

Russland hat den Lügenkrieg perfektioniert, aber die Wahrheit bleibt: Russland ist der Aggressor, Wladimir Putin ist ein Kriegsverbrecher, und die Ukraine muss diesen Krieg gewinnen.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, Evropská unie je pod tlakem dezinformací zvnitřku i zvnějšku, nejen z Ruska, již dlouhodobě. Když se podíváte na ruský rozpočet, tak zjistíte, že právě to příslušné oddělení, které má dezinformace na starosti, roste rozpočtově každý rok. Ne, že bychom v této věci nic neudělali, ale myslím si, že je nutné udělat v boji proti zejména ruským dezinformacím více. A musím připomenout návrh, který jsme zde projednávali již v minulém období, já jsem ho podával, o nepřípustnosti financování národních politických stran třetími zeměmi. Tento návrh neprošel. A čeho jsme svědky dlouhodobě? Bohužel ve většině členských států EU najdete jednu, dokonce více stran, které mají nepochybně ruské financování. Takovýto stav je nepřípustný a musíme se vypořádat s ruskou propagandou jednou provždy, vyhnat ji z našich vlád, vyhnat ji z našich politických stran, z našich kanceláří a být jednotní.

**Margaritis Schinas, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for this rich and at times passionate debate. The only real security concern that Russia is facing is our model society, our democracy, and our way of life. This is what they fear, and this is what they're fighting against in Ukraine.

Defending our democracies includes defending the foundations on which they stand: media freedom, open discourse, and informed decisions by voters. We are acting on all these fronts. We are fighting disinformation with everything we've got, but more is yet to come. We shall come forward before next summer with a Defence of Democracy package, which will address the problem of foreign agents and review the European Democracy Action Plan, notably ensuring it is still fit for purpose regarding the fight against disinformation.

But we should also ask ourselves collectively a question: why is disinformation so easily possible in Europe? Why is it so easy to seduce Europeans with toxicity, with ideas that are spread through propaganda campaigns using decades old manipulation tools, and to disseminate lies so quickly? Why are we so lacking in resilience? Where is the immunity we should collectively have as a Union of democracies?

I think that these are real questions we should be asking ourselves these days, and we should try to seek remedies and solutions. The quest for a more resilient European society is more pressing than ever before, and we can indeed look around and take examples from countries like Finland, for example, where a robust democratic education system helps people not to become victims of propaganda and to acquire resilience, defence and immunity.

I agree with Guy Verhofstadt when he says that we should also do more with our partners, that our partners should and can do more – especially some of them who are EU candidate countries. They cannot be at the same time with us and with those who are aiming to harm us.

The moment of truth is coming. Our people will not understand that in these difficult times, some of our EU countries that aspire to be members of the family can act on both boats. If they forget it, let me assure you that we shall remind them of this obligation.

**Mikuláš Bek, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, Vice-President of the Commission, honourable Members, today's debate shows once again the complexity of the interference in our democratic life. We must continue to work on strengthening our resilience while also clearly showing that we will not accept actions against our right to have an information space free from manipulation.

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We will continue to take active and determined actions against it. The Council as a whole attaches particular importance to protecting our democratic processes, institutions and societies from any foreign interference, be it information manipulation or other means.

Let me recall some of our actions from past month. On 2 March 2022, the Council suspended the broadcasting activities of Sputnik and Russia Today in the EU or directed at the EU until the aggression to Ukraine is put to an end and until Russia ceases to conduct disinformation and information manipulation actions against the EU and its Member States. As you may remember, this decision has been confirmed by the European Court of Justice.

In June 2022, the Council adopted the conclusions in which it introduced a framework for a coordinated response to hybrid threats and campaigns affecting the EU Member States and partners. The next step is the development of the EU hybrid toolbox, and here the work is actively ongoing under the Czech Presidency. It demonstrates the new level of ambition at EU level to counter hybrid threats, including foreign interference and manipulation and the war in Ukraine was one of the accelerators pushing the political agenda further.

In July 2022, the Council adopted conclusions in which it reiterated that the EU and Member States will step up their efforts to reach out to third countries in order to support Ukraine in agreed dimensions and to counter the false Russian narrative and manipulation of information. And concerning the sanction regime in this area, the Council is, of course, willing to examine any proposal from the Commission on possible extension of sanctions lists.

Honourable Members, rest assured that the Council will continue to support the joint efforts with the Parliament to make progress on devising ambitious and firm European responses to the issues we have been debating today. Thank you very much for your attention.

#### **Puhetta johti HEIDI HAUTALA**

*varapuhemies*

**Puhemies.** – Keskustelu on päättynyt.

### **7. Skład komisji i delegacji**

**Puhemies.** – ECR-ryhmä on ilmoittanut puhemiehelle päätöksestä, jolla muutetaan valiokunnan nimityksiä.

Kyseinen päätös merkitään tämän päivän istunnon pöytäkirjaan ja se tulee voimaan päivänä, jona siitä on ilmoitettu.

### **8. Przystąpienie Rumunii i Bułgarii i do strefy Schengen (debata)**

**Puhemies.** – Esityslistalla on seuraavana neuvoston ja komission julkilausumat Romanian ja Bulgarian liittymisestä Schengen-alueeseen (2022/2852(RSP)).

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the Schengen area is one of the greatest achievements of our Union. In recent years, it has been under considerable strain.

Successive crises such as the 2015 migration wave, COVID-19 pandemics, or the impact of the current Russian war of aggression against Ukraine have tested our response capacity. Therefore, considerable efforts were, and continue to be, required to ensure the resilience of the Schengen area. Inter alia, adoption of the Schengen Borders Code would be an important step in that direction, and the Council is ready to start a dialogue as soon as possible.

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Furthermore, the Presidency considers the pending completion of the enlargement of the Schengen area as a key missing element. As you are well aware, Bulgaria and Romania have completed the necessary conditions for the Council to be able to discuss the lifting of controls at internal borders. In this context, the Czech Presidency is committed to making progress so as to enable Bulgaria and Romania to be fully part of the Schengen area.

More concretely, the Presidency is working towards the adoption of the required Council decision by unanimity at the December Council. In this regard, we are engaging with Member States to prepare the ground for a substantive discussion on the lifting of controls at internal borders with Bulgaria and Romania.

In our effort to secure the necessary unanimity in the Council, the Presidency facilitated the expert visits in Bulgaria and Romania next week, as conducted by the Commission. The visits, which are hosted by both Member States on a voluntary basis and in the spirit of mutual trust, will ascertain the implementation of the fundamental elements of the Schengen acquis.

In parallel, the Presidency fully supports the full Schengen accession of Croatia. We trust that the European Parliament will issue its opinion on the matter in due time. The Council will be informed about the state of play regarding the Schengen enlargement process in mid-October.

The completion of the Schengen enlargement would constitute another milestone in the functioning of the Schengen area, and the Presidency remains committed to that effect, in full cooperation with the European Parliament, as well as with the Commission.

**Margaritis Schinas**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Minister, honourable Members, Schengen together with the euro, the single market and Erasmus is one of the most emblematic achievements of the European Union. Schengen is the jewel in our crown.

It is the largest area of borderless travel in the world, including 26 countries so far, and benefiting 420 million people. It is part of our way of life and an important element for making us feel not only nationals but also Europeans. It is also one of the most travelled regions in the world. Today, Schengen travellers make 1.25 billion journeys in the Schengen area every year.

One third of our population lives in border regions and there are 3.5 million people crossing a border every day. We also count 24 million business trips per year. These are not numbers. This is the fuel of our economy. This is what fertilises our society.

For the last 35 years, we have built an entire Schengen architecture to better protect this borderless area without controls. We must continue to build and improve the architecture of Schengen, because no system can bear the test of time without renewal. To reflect this, this year we have started an annual cycle of Schengen governance, kicked off by a new 'state of Schengen' report.

The idea is to give Schengen strong political direction from the Commission, Parliament, the Council, to boost our important efforts on the ground, on border control, police cooperation, returns, visa, data protection. We will continue delivering on parts of these strategies for the next two years, strengthening them and the management of our external borders, ensuring that internal border checks are measures of last resort and strengthening internal security through reinforced police cooperation.

It is key that we advance on both the operational and the legislative track. Our proposal for the Schengen Borders Code put forward in December last year will make us better prepared to handle any future crisis, ensuring free movement and incorporating the lessons that we learned during the pandemic.

The new online Schengen Information System, complemented by other IT systems, will also allow us to achieve full interoperability in Europe by the end of the next year. This will be, at the time, the most advanced border protection system in the world, politically, operationally and legislatively.



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Honourable Members, it is also true that Schengen has faced repeated challenges. First, the refugee crisis of 2015/2016, the pandemic, persistent terrorist threats, the instrumentalisation of migrants from authoritarian leaders at our external border, and now the war of aggression against Ukraine.

In spite of all these challenges, we have consistently succeeded in preserving this crown jewel of European integration thanks to the unwavering commitment amongst Member States, but also of the Members of this House, whom I would like to profoundly thank for their commitment to our collective Schengen achievements. According to last year's Eurobarometer, our people understand this. The overwhelming support of Europeans across our continent fully support Schengen.

Honourable Members, for the best part of more than four decades now, and despite these problems and challenges, the Schengen area has continued growing and deepening. It is now high time it grew further. Already, since 2011, the Commission has been actively advocating for the completion of Schengen, urging Member States to rapidly take the necessary steps to allow those Member States that are not yet fully part of the area to join. This will increase not only our security but also broaden our cohesion.

We have made tremendous progress in the last months, with important political steps that have been taken. In December, the Council recognised that Croatia fulfilled all the necessary conditions for the application of all parts of the Schengen acquis, and the European Parliament is now to give its opinion.

A lot of progress has also been made for the accession of Romania and Bulgaria. Both countries are waiting for the decision of the Council for more than 11 years now, when the Commission confirmed that they fully fulfil the necessary conditions to join. In the meantime, both countries continue to actively apply the Schengen acquis and contribute to our common security at the EU external border.

I wish to highlight and praise both our Romanian and our Bulgarian partners for the manner in which they have managed the external borders in the face of the large number of refugees from Ukraine. Their stance was exemplary and made us all proud. It is therefore excellent news that the Czech Presidency here present took Schengen enlargement on board as one of their main priorities.

Bulgaria and Romania remain fully committed to continue correctly applying the Schengen rules and to contributing to the proper functioning of the area as a whole. Schengen is a success built on mutual trust and the proper implementation of the acquis.

The new Schengen Evaluation and Monitoring Mechanism Regulation is clear. The verification, in accordance with the applicable evaluation procedures concerning Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia had already been completed. Despite this, and with a truly cooperative attitude, although such verification should already have been relaunched, Bulgaria and Romania have invited a team coordinated by the Commission to assess the application of the latest developments.

This upcoming voluntary reassessment of Bulgaria and Romania, by means of a fact-finding mission of Commission and Member State experts, will take place later this month. It is a very important gesture of transparency that I salute. This is not – and I want to be very clear on this point – this is not about re-evaluating Bulgaria and Romania. It is rather about allowing Member States to get the latest updates and reassurances that the Schengen acquis is still fully applied.

This team of experts will look into external border management, police cooperation, including returns, Schengen and visa information systems and visa policy developments in general. But they will look equally into the fundamental rights and data protection frameworks as horizontal topics.

Let me conclude by reiterating the Commission's full support to the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen. This can only strengthen our collective resilience and deepen our cohesion. We now have a real opportunity in December to make at last this historic decision and let the citizens of Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia benefit fully from our cherished Schengen success, making us stronger and safer together.

I remain convinced that by working together we can fortify and expand this so emblematic European success story for the benefit of our citizens, the internal market and our economies.

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**Manfred Weber**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Schengen is a great success story for Europe. It has broken down barriers, brought European citizens closer together and strengthened our European economy.

With Bulgaria and Romania, we have two EU Member States who fulfil all conditions to join this area. They are ready for Schengen, but they are still waiting for the Council's green light. Since 2011 — 11 years — there has been no progress. This is simply unacceptable.

We in the EPP, like all parties in this House, strongly support Romania and Bulgaria becoming members of the Schengen area, and we have always fought as the EPP for this endeavour. Romania and Bulgaria's place is within Schengen, especially now when we face many humanitarian and security challenges at the EU borders. For us, there is no first and second-class European; there are no objective reasons to deny Bulgaria and Romania this success. They have made all the necessary steps. Let me assure our friends in Sofia and Bucharest that you have the full support of us in the EPP. Your place is within Schengen.

We call now on the Council to finally grant Bulgaria and Romania the access they deserve. The war, in particular, is again a test for us on whether we can reinforce the unity. This Schengen enlargement is a test case for this. The years of waiting must come to an end. We need no more excuses, but actions. With these two countries joining Schengen, we can better protect our external borders and strengthen the whole Schengen area. Let us continue the Schengen success story with Bulgaria and Romania on board, and let's do it now.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, once años. Once años llevan esperando Bulgaria y Rumanía sin que exista ninguna razón objetiva para bloquear su entrada en Schengen.

La libertad de movimiento, como ya hemos escuchado aquí, es uno de los pilares fundamentales de nuestra Unión. Y los ciudadanos de Bulgaria y de Rumanía tienen el mismo derecho que los de otros Estados miembros. No tienen más derechos, pero tampoco menos. Es una cuestión de justicia. No puede ser que un ciudadano búlgaro que vive en otro Estado miembro de la Unión y quiere viajar a su país en coche, tenga que estar pasando controles en las fronteras. Es discriminatorio. Es discriminatorio que tengan que pasar por colas diferentes en algunos aeropuertos. Es discriminatorio y, además, tiene un coste económico que los camiones rumanos tengan que esperar colas para pasar controles fronterizos dentro de la Unión Europea.

Este bloqueo en el Consejo tiene que acabar. Porque si no acaba, a quienes se les va a acabar la paciencia es a los ciudadanos y ciudadanas de esos países.

Hablamos mucho de solidaridad en estos días, pero la solidaridad tiene que aplicarse a todos. No se puede pedir solidaridad a Rumanía y a Bulgaria cuando la Unión Europea no está cumpliendo con sus propias normas. Es la mejor receta para alimentar la desafección hacia Europa y el apoyo a mensajes populistas antieuropeos.

Espero que este Parlamento adopte una Resolución con un mensaje muy claro dirigido al Consejo y que el Consejo lo escuche y actúe.

Me parece que ya es hora.

**Sophia in 't Veld**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues. As we have heard, the assessment that Bulgaria and Romania are ready for accession to Schengen has been made a long time ago by the experts and by the Commission already back in 2011.

It is now 2022, 11 years later and, colleagues, I feel ashamed. I feel ashamed towards the Bulgarian and the Romanian citizens who rightly feel that they are not treated equally and that they didn't get the same right to borderless travel. I feel ashamed for the Council to have stalled this long for not honouring its commitment.

We have established common procedures and evaluation mechanisms, and we should respect the outcome. No moving goalposts, and the Schengen process should not become a proxy battlefield for other political issues.

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And last but not least, colleagues, I am ashamed for the Dutch Government because it's the Dutch Government that has been one of the main obstacles here, and largely for political reasons, domestic political reasons.

Respect for European rules is not a one-way street. There cannot be double standards. So from this position, I would like to call on Prime Minister Rutte to respect the rules and support the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the Schengen zone. Because I think in these times we have to put European unity before national politics. Bulgaria and Romania belong in Schengen.

**Tineke Strik**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, it is in the common interest of the EU to have all Member States be the Schengen area. And, therefore, we welcome today's discussion to overcome the current two-tier system and bring in Member States that are still in the waiting room and, thus, lift the unequal treatment of citizens of the EU.

Yet, accession to the Schengen area is not a right, it's a responsibility as well. It means carrying out the Schengen acquis in full compliance with fundamental rights. And this is where we still have some serious concerns. In the past years there has been mounting evidence of systematic pushbacks and border violence in Bulgaria as well as Romania. Human Rights Watch reports that Bulgarian authorities were beating, robbing, stripping and using police dogs on asylum seekers and migrants as they pushed them back to Turkey. In Romania, uniformed border guards were seen pushing back people to Serbia.

Allowing Schengen accession in the face of such reports de facto also means condoning these grave violations of the rights of migrants and refugees. But my group, let me be clear, my group urges for a merit-based, objective decision on a Schengen accession for both countries. So I call upon all Member States to do the same: assess the merits, take the Schengen standards seriously, but don't mix it up with other more political considerations just only because you can, because you have a veto.

And if Bulgaria agrees with this position, it has to act consistently and stop using its veto during the accession process of North Macedonia to the EU. So, President, Schengen can only remain the jewel in the crown if we all live up to the standards of Schengen before, but also after the accession.

**Guido Reil**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir reden heute über den Beitritt von Rumänien und Bulgarien in den Schengen-Raum, und viele in Deutschland denken sich doch jetzt: Ja, das ist doch schon so! Deswegen leben doch in Deutschland jetzt circa zehnmal so viele Rumänen und Bulgaren wie vor zehn Jahren. Und diese Menschen beziehen oftmals Sozialleistungen, beziehen oftmals Kindergeld für Kinder in der Heimat, und sie arbeiten oftmals im Niedriglohnsektor, gerne in der Fleischindustrie, wo sie unter sklavenähnlichen Bedingungen ausgebeutet werden und zum Lohndumping beitragen. Also alles nichts wirklich Positives.

Etwa vor einem halben Jahr bin ich auf meiner Reise in die Ukraine durch Rumänien gefahren, und ich habe Rumänien kennengelernt. Ich möchte Rumänien mal freundlich so beschreiben: Rumänien ist der Wilde Westen von Europa. Also Wilder Westen mitten in Europa! In der Ukraine habe ich eine deutlich bessere Infrastruktur gesehen und deutlich mehr Ordnung.

Die Frage ist: Wie konnte es das passieren? Wie konnte ein Land mit solcher Infrastruktur, ein Land, das so korrupt und so kriminell ist, Mitglied der Europäischen Union werden? War da keiner mal gucken, habe ich mich da gefragt, als ich so durch dieses Land gefahren bin, war da keiner mal gucken? Anscheinend nicht.

So, und nun ist viel Geld geflossen in den letzten Jahren. Man meint ja immer, wenn man in korrupte Länder Geld investiert, dann wird alles besser. Nein! Diese korrupten Strukturen nutzen dieses Geld. So stellt zum Beispiel eine Studie des Zentrums der Demokratie fest: Der Betrag an EU-Geldern ist vergleichbar mit den größten Märkten der organisierten Kriminalität wie Menschenhandel – damit meinen die Prostitution und Schlepperei –, Drogenhandel und illegalem Kraftstoff. So viel Geld bringt das Geld der EU. Circa knapp 2 Milliarden sind da verpufft in kriminelle Strukturen. Die bulgarisch-türkische Grenze war jahrelang in der Hand der Mafia. Jetzt wurde sie zurückerobert, munkelt man. Das heißt, die Mafia trägt da jetzt Uniform. Das sind unerträgliche Zustände! Damit muss Schluss sein. Wir brauchen Rumänien und Bulgarien nicht im Schengenraum und auch nicht in der EU.

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**President.** – Dear colleague, I have to remind you about Rule 10, which says that improper behaviour is not acceptable in this Chamber, and I would interpret your words about a Member State, calling the Member State ‘the Wild West’ in a very degrading way, is not acceptable. I will convey this message to the President to take potential measures.

**Ангел Джамбазки, от името на групата ECR.** – Г-жо Председател, надявам се наистина да вземете мерки, както заявихте. Уважаеми колеги, непристъпването на България и Румъния към Шенген е истински политически позор за ръководството на Европейския съюз. Истински политически позор, защото всички вие в тази зала, за което между другото ви поздравявам, потвърждавате факта, че и България, и Румъния са изгълнили всички критерии и трябва да бъдат част от Шенгенското пространство.

Обаче не става. Защо не става, колеги? Защото една държава официално – това е Нидерландия, правителството на Нидерландия, не цялата Нидерландия, и останалите държави са се запънали и пречат на това по вътрешнополитически причини, за да не си причинят някаква вреда вътре в къщи. Ето това е двоен стандарт. Вие тук ни показвате, че има повече европейци и по-малко европейци. Показвате, че има европейци първа ръка и европейци втора ръка. Ето това е лицемерие, това е двуличието и това е неприемливо за нас. И това е срам и позор за тези държави, които го правят.

Точно те, които нас ни учат как да се държим с държавите, които да бъдат кандидати за членство, как трябва да разширяваме Европейския съюз, как трябва да сме едно голямо, весело, щастливо семейство. Какво правят? Оставят България, Румъния и Хърватска отстрани и това е лицемерие, и това е двуличието, и това е изключително, изключително непочтено.

Ние всички знаем защо е така. Основната причина не е дори политиката, а икономиката. Когато ние и румъните сме извън Шенген, ние не можем да возим. Ние сме едни от най-големите превозвачи. Нашите камиони чакат по границите, нашите шофьори се бавят, нашият бизнес загива. Взема се хляб от ръцете на българските предприемачи и на румънските предприемачи. И това е позор. Вземете мерки и си накарайте правителствата да свършат работа.

**Clare Daly, on behalf of The Left Group.** – Madam President, I want to welcome and support the accession of new countries to Schengen. I firmly believe in the free movement of absolutely everybody, but I find it very hard to separate Schengen expansion from the violence that is going on at the edges of Europe.

The grotesque and spectacular violence and abuse against refugees trying to enter Croatia and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria and Romania makes it very hard to shake the impression that the EU is demanding that these countries prove that they’ll stop at nothing to keep migrants out as a price for free movement.

The EU seems to have developed a habit of rewarding appalling behaviour with free movement. Qatar murders thousands of migrant workers – we reward them with visa-free travel. Croatian border guards beat, torture, rape, imprison and push back migrants – and we reward them by fast tracking their Schengen accession application.

This is the same Croatia which tried to suppress a report of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture into horrifying abuse. It is the same Croatia that lied to this Parliament about what’s going on at its borders, and the same Croatia whose sham monitoring mechanism could not find any evidence of push-backs.

We can only hope that Bulgaria and Romania don’t look at Croatia’s reward and decide to escalate their violence against migrants in the hope of impressing the psychopathic EU establishment with their commitment.

**Balázs Hidvéghi (NI).** – Thank you, President, dear colleagues, free movement between Member States without internal border controls is one of the most tangible achievements of EU cooperation. If one has to summarise why it’s a good thing to have the European Union despite all its failings and imperfections, then the provision of this fundamental human freedom to our peoples is certainly one of them.

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So it is ever more important then to ensure that this freedom is granted to all who fulfil the necessary criteria. Now, Romania and Bulgaria fulfilled the necessary conditions more than 10 years ago. Four Member States, however – the Netherlands, Germany, France and Finland – have blocked their accession, citing mainly rule-of-law concerns.

Now, those concerns, if they were real, should have been addressed directly and immediately. The more than 10-year-long delay, however, does give one the impression that perhaps other reasons played a part. Reasons related to commercial interests, internal political matters, or perhaps just double standards so often applied by the West against eastern Europeans.

We haven't really heard any convincing argument yet of why to keep Romania and Bulgaria out and excluded. It is high time to pay this old debt and allow these countries to join the Schengen area immediately.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Madam President, Minister, Vice-President, first, I would like to say to Mr Reil that there are only two countries that are the far west. One is Portugal and the other is Ireland, because they are geographically the far west of Europe. Nothing more.

Let me tell you that, 11 years after stating that Romania and Bulgaria are ready to be full members of Schengen, the Council has not been able to issue the decision that we – the European Parliament, the European Commission, Romanians and Bulgarians and all European citizens that love freedom – are expecting and are impatiently waiting for.

Romania and Bulgaria have passed all the stress tests. They had the migration crisis of 2015; they had the pandemic, which was a challenge for Schengen; and now they have the Ukrainian refugees, which was a huge challenge. They were really impeccable in the way they implemented all the rules and principles of the Schengen area. Therefore, they deserve that now, this time, before 2023, we are able to decide that they are full members of the Schengen area. This was always an EPP flagship, and we want this to be the reality in the next months.

**Gabriele Bischoff (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Minister Bek, Herr Kommissar, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! In der Tat, elf lange Jahre warten Rumänen und Bulgaren hier darauf, dass die Tür zum Schengen-Raum endlich aufgeht und dass sie dieses Privileg, das alle Europäerinnen genießen wollen, auch bekommen. Es ist gesagt worden: Es sind 27 Millionen Menschen, die das betrifft, zigtausende Unternehmen, und beide Mitgliedstaaten erfüllen alle Kriterien.

Jetzt fragt man sich: Okay, das Parlament hat längst grünes Licht gegeben. Die Kommission hat auch noch einmal betont, dass sie grünes Licht gegeben hat. Aber es ist der Rat, der kein grünes Licht gegeben hat. Und ich will noch einmal einen Punkt sagen zu Ländern, die das blockieren: Es sind genau die geistigen Brandstifter wie dieser Schreier hier in diesem Raum, der den Regierungen Angst macht, die das verhindern. Und die müssen dagegen vorgehen, denn es zu dulden, zu übernehmen, schafft noch viel mehr Spaltung in Europa.

Aber ich wünsche mir vom Rat: Ich finde, es ist eine große Chance für die tschechische Präsidentschaft, nach elf Jahren diese Tür mit aufzustoßen. Deshalb ist es wichtig, dass wir hier nicht nur beschwören, was für eine Errungenschaft das ist, sondern es tun.

Aber erlauben Sie mir auch eine Bemerkung: Es ist mal wieder die Einstimmigkeit, die es möglich macht, dass ein einziges Land elf Jahre verhindern kann, dass, wenn alle Kriterien erfüllt sind, trotzdem das Recht nicht zum Recht kommt und dass man das verhindern kann. Auch das müssen wir ändern. Es ist hier wirklich betont worden: Wenn wir auf Dauer weiter eine Freizügigkeit erster Klasse und eine Freizügigkeit zweiter Klasse haben, erschüttert das das Vertrauen in europäisches Recht und auch in die Institutionen. Deshalb mein Appell, Herr Bek, schaffen Sie als tschechische Präsidentschaft hier den Wandel, machen Sie Mut, damit der Rat auch wirklich diese Entscheidung fällen kann. Es ist seit elf Jahren überfällig. 22 ist das Jahr dafür.

**Fabienne Keller (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Vice-Président – cher Margaritis Schinas –, Monsieur le Ministre – cher Monsieur Bek –, la Roumanie et la Bulgarie font partie de la famille européenne. Il est temps, il est grand temps de les associer pleinement à notre espace de libre circulation et d'offrir à tous leurs citoyens les mêmes droits. Ce n'est pas qu'un symbole, c'est une nouvelle étape clé, après l'entrée de la Roumanie et de la Bulgarie dans l'Union, il y a déjà quinze ans, en 2007.

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Toutefois, Monsieur le Commissaire, le renforcement de Schengen est aussi un impératif sécuritaire, pour garantir une protection efficace à tous les citoyens européens contre les menaces qui pointent aux portes de l'Europe – la guerre russe en Ukraine en est un triste exemple.

Dans le cadre de la présidence française, le président Macron a impulsé l'instauration d'une nouvelle gouvernance politique de l'espace Schengen. Avec mon groupe, Renew Europe, nous sommes pleinement engagés dans la mise en œuvre de ce projet de renforcement de l'espace Schengen, avec la Roumanie et la Bulgarie.

**Jean-Paul Garraud (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, alors que l'existence d'un espace de libre-circulation devait avoir pour contrepartie la création de frontières extérieures européennes infranchissables – ce qui n'a pas été le cas –, alors que l'Europe a été envahie par 2 millions de personnes en 2015, alors que la Commission européenne refuse de financer des barrières physiques – pourtant demandées par douze États membres –, alors que la Grèce a bloqué l'entrée d'au moins 150 000 migrants à ses frontières – terrestres et maritimes – depuis le début de l'année, alors que Bruxelles vient d'obliger le directeur exécutif de Frontex à démissionner car il a voulu faire son travail de protection des frontières extérieures de l'Union, alors que cette même Union n'entend pas interrompre le versement de fonds européens aux pays qui refusent de reprendre leurs ressortissants clandestins ou déchus du droit d'asile, alors que les auteurs des attentats survenus au sein de l'Union européenne en 2021 sont tous d'origine extra-européenne – ce qui confirme ainsi l'existence d'un lien entre immigration et terrorisme –, alors que l'actualité quotidienne en Europe démontre le lien majeur entre immigration et insécurité, alors que le pacte pour l'asile et la migration, négocié en ce moment à Bruxelles, pourrait entraîner l'arrivée de 50 à 60 millions d'individus en quelques années, le débat qui a lieu ici aujourd'hui a pour but l'élargissement de l'espace Schengen, afin qu'un nombre toujours plus élevé de personnes puissent circuler sans contrôle en Europe.

Quel décalage entre ce qui se passe dans cet hémicycle et les aspirations de nos peuples! La victoire éclatante des forces souverainistes en Hongrie, en Suède ou en Italie marque le refus de ces peuples de poursuivre dans cette voie. Tout élargissement de l'espace Schengen, alors que les frontières extérieures de l'Europe sont inexistantes, est pour nous exclu. Tout élargissement de l'espace Schengen, alors que Frontex n'a pas pour mission de refouler les migrants illégaux, est pour nous exclu.

La protection des Européens est une priorité absolue. Élargir Schengen les exposerait encore davantage. Il ne peut donc en être question.

**Cristian Terheș (ECR).** – Doamna președintă, dragi colegi, stimată reprezentantă a Comisiei, a Consiliului, vorbesc din perspectiva unui cetățean european, cetățean al României, și am stat și am ascultat cu foarte mare atenție ceea ce s-a spus în acest plen și nu pot să nu-mi ascund stupoarea și șocul la ceea ce am auzit. S-a confirmat și s-a agreat de către toți că de 11 ani România și Bulgaria îndeplinesc toate condițiile pentru a intra în Schengen și, cu toate acestea, în 2022 noi încă mai avem această discuție.

Avem colegi în acest plen care vin și spun că poate România și Bulgaria nu ar fi bine să fie primite în Schengen, ba, dacă se poate, și să fie excluse din UE. Vin alții care spun și oferă scuze că o țară profită și își folosește dreptul de veto pentru a opri integrarea României și a Bulgariei în Schengen. Avem însă reprezentanții Comisiei care vedem că au pârgii la îndemână să își folosească persuasiunea pentru a convinge țări. Și mă gândesc la Polonia și Ungaria pentru a acționa într-o anumită direcție.

Vă întreb: cetățenii din România și din Bulgaria care aud această discuție - că de 11 ani, deși și-au îndeplinit toate condițiile, nu sunt primiți încă în Schengen - ce pot crede? Ce pot crede despre Uniunea Europeană? Ce pot crede despre Parlament și, nu în ultimul rând, despre Comisia Europeană? Vă invit, de aceea, să întreprindeți toate demersurile pentru ca aceste țări, care de 11 ani și-au îndeplinit condițiile, să intre în Schengen.

**Siegfried Mureșan (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, domnule comisar, domnule ministru, stimați colegi, anul acesta, de la începutul invaziei forțelor armate ruse în Ucraina, România a găzduit peste un milion de refugiați ucraineni. Am dovedit că putem securiza frontiera de est a Uniunii Europene în cele mai dificile condiții și spun, clar și răspicat, România poate securiza o frontieră a zonei Schengen în orice condiții.

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Munca efectuată în acest an de poliștii de frontieră din România, de autoritățile din România, deschiderea, implicarea cetățenilor români, a miilor de voluntari, toate acestea au ajutat la stabilizarea situației la frontiera de est a Uniunii Europene. Am făcut acest lucru în interesul și în folosul întregii Uniuni Europene. Incluziunea României și Bulgariei în zona Schengen va face toată Uniunea Europeană mai sigură, va face toată zona Schengen mai sigură.

Așa cum anul acesta am acceptat Finlanda și Suedia în NATO pentru a deveni cu toții mai siguri, la fel cerem ca România și Bulgaria să fie incluse în zona Schengen, pentru ca toată Uniunea Europeană să fie mai sigură. Vor avea de câștigat în primul rând, da, cetățenii din România și Bulgaria, companiile din România și Bulgaria, dar vor avea de câștigat oamenii și întreprinderile din toată Uniunea Europeană, pentru că toți cetățenii europeni vor putea călători mai repede, mai simplu, mai sigur.

Toate companiile europene se vor putea mișca mai rapid, fără întârzierile de la frontieră. Comisia Europeană confirmă, din anul 2011, că România și Bulgaria îndeplinesc toate condițiile. De aceea, cerem Consiliului Uniunii Europene să își îndeplinească obligația să accepte fără întârziere Bulgaria și România în spațiul Schengen. Uniunea Europeană este puternică atunci când este unită. Vă cer și acum să dăm dovadă de unitate și să întărim Uniunea Europeană.

**Dan Nica (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, în primul rând vreau să vă încurajez să cereți de urgență președintei Parlamentului European să ia măsuri în privința aceluia domn care a vorbit mai devreme în această sală și a folosit un limbaj jignitor, suburban și sub demnitatea acestei instituții, sub demnitatea prestigiului pe care noi trebuie să îl avem în Uniunea Europeană.

Doamnelor vicepreședinte, și dumneavoastră vă mulțumesc pentru corectitudinea pe care ați arătat-o clar, spunând: Comisia Europeană a verificat, de 11 ani România îndeplinește toate criteriile, de 11 ani aplică acquis-ul comunitar în domeniul spațiului Schengen. Suntem printre primii care, de fiecare dată când apare o modificare, o punem în practică și faptul că a salutată că în mod voluntar am cerut: mai veniți o dată și vă mai convingeți încă o dată, dumneavoastră, Comisia și statele membre, că suntem în regulă din punct de vedere al protecției frontierelor Uniunii Europene.

Este un lucru pe care vreau să îl salut și vă mulțumesc. Vreau să salut și președinția ceahă pentru corectitudinea de care a dat dovadă și faptul că a stabilit că este o prioritate ca această nedreptate care durează de 11 ani să fie terminată în perioada președinției cehe. Vă mulțumesc, domnule ministru și stimați colegi, trebuie să spunem un lucru foarte clar: nu putem accepta ca o țară cum este România și o populație cum este România să fie umilită în permanență. Te duci într-un aeroport: cetățenii europeni într-o parte, românii în altă parte; te duci la frontierele Uniunii Europene, vrei să traversezi cu mașina: cozi, kilometri, ore, zile - aceeași umilință; vrei să transporti mărfuri: cozi de tiruri nesfârșite. Este o situație absolut umilitoare și intolerabilă și care, cu atât mai mult, nu are nici măcar o singură sau un singur motiv, sau o singură motivație, care să poată să fie spusă.

Această situație trebuie să înceteze, pentru că România este printre națiunile europene cele mai pro-europene. Nu trebuie să aruncăm nicio umbră de îndoială că spiritul european, solidaritatea europeană este un lucru și o valoare la care ținem cu toții și acest lucru trebuie să îl demonstrăm în acest an, prin ridicarea acelei obiecții care a fost impusă de un stat membru și accesul României și a Bulgariei în spațiul Schengen.

**Илхан Ключюк (Renew).** – Г-жо Председател, уважаеми колеги, години наред слушаме различни аргументи. На първо място, границата трябва да се охранява добре. Времето показва, че границите се охраняват добре. На второ място, Шенгенското пространство трябва да се реформира. Да, и там се направи огромен напредък. На трето място, трябва да има геополитическа ситуация. Нова, фундаментална. Има фундаментално нова геополитическа ситуация.

Какво трябва да се случи още, за да може България и Румъния да бъдат част от Шенгенското пространство? Трябват сериозни политически решения от отговорни политици. Не може едни да бъдат държани до вратата, въпреки че са част от Европейския съюз, а други да се ползват с големите блага и възможностите на Европейския съюз. Този двоен стандарт създава двойно качество на гражданите. Едни са повече граждани на Европейския съюз от други. Това е неприемливо. Нито е европейско, нито е цивилизационно, нито трябва да бъде изпълнявано от различни правителства.

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Така че моят призив е: силна позиция на Европейския парламент, силна позиция на Европейската комисия и е време Съветът да бъде на висотата на очакванията на европейските граждани България и Румъния да бъдат част от Шенген, защото по този начин ще допринесем за това да бъдем единни в рамките на един Европейски съюз. Посоката е ярна и трябва да продължим напред.

**Gunnar Beck (ID)**, – Frau Präsidentin! Als Bulgarien und Rumänien 2011 die Mitgliedschaft im Schengen-Raum beantragten, lehnte der EU-Ministerrat ab. Unter anderem Deutschland und Frankreich äußerten sich besorgt über Mängel bei Korruptionsbekämpfung und Rechtsstaatlichkeit. Plötzlich nun unterstützen Macron und Scholz den Beitritt beider Staaten als auch Kroatiens, obwohl laut dem Korruptionsindex von Transparency International Bulgarien, Kroatien und Rumänien in den letzten zehn Jahren keine Fort-, sondern Rückschritte bei der Korruptions- und Kriminalitätsbekämpfung gemacht haben. Wieso also jetzt grünes Licht?

Der Grund scheint klar: Mit ihrem neuen EU-Migrationspakt plant von der Leyen für Migranten neue, sogenannte sichere Zugangswege in die EU zu schaffen, die ihnen den gefährvollen Seeweg ersparen. Der bulgarisch-türkische Grenzzaun war bislang ein effektives Hindernis. Doch künftig sollen Migranten an der EU-Außengrenze direkt nach Nord- und Mitteleuropa umverteilt werden. Durch Bulgariens Beitritt zum Schengen-Raum können Nicht EU-Bürger – sprich: Migranten – dort in Bulgarien zudem Schengen-Visa erhalten, um sich nach Ablauf ihres Visums illegal in abschiebungssicheren Staaten wie Deutschland öffentlich alimentiert niederzulassen.

Statt Schengen um drei korrupte Mitgliedstaaten zu erweitern, sollten wir Schengen schleunigst überdenken. Wir brauchen zwei große Reformen. Erstens die Erweiterung der Schengen-Binnengrenzkontrollen. Die Coronakrise hat gezeigt: Dies ist rechtlich unbedenklich. Und zweitens einen effektiven Schutz der EU-Außengrenze. Denn was Sie hier planen, sind keineswegs Reiseerleichterungen, sondern neue bequeme Zugangswege für die Masseneinwanderung des Bevölkerungsüberschusses des Orients und Afrikas.

*(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Wortmeldung nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ zu beantworten.)*

**Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew)**, Wortmeldung nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. — Herr Beck, ich werde sie auf Deutsch fragen, weil ich Ihre Sprache kenne – ich weiß nicht, ob Sie meine Sprache kennen –, und ich will, dass Sie und Ihr Kollege Reil sich bei uns, beim rumänischen Volk, ein bisschen ... –, weil Sie uns mit Ihren Worten beleidigt haben. Es ist unglaublich, was Sie und Ihr Kollege Reil heute uns, dem rumänischen Volk, gesagt haben. Es ist eine Unverschämtheit! So etwas kann ich nicht von einem Deutschen hinnehmen. Ich bin in der deutschen Kultur aufgewachsen, und solche Töne gab es nicht in meiner Erziehung.

*(Beifall)*

**Gunnar Beck (ID)**, Antwort auf eine Wortmeldung nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Ich weiß nicht, was hier beklatscht wird, denn mir war die Frage nicht ganz klar. Hier war von Beleidigung die Rede.

Soweit ich mich erinnere und hier meine Notizen überblicke, habe ich im Wesentlichen zwei Dinge gesagt: Erstens dass der Beitritt Rumäniens und Bulgariens die Masseneinwanderung begünstigen könnte. Das scheint mir außer Frage.

Zweitens habe ich gesagt, dass Rumänien und Bulgarien weiterhin korruptionsanfällig sind. Ich berufe mich dabei auf Transparency International. Ich wünschte, es wäre anders, und ich würde dieselbe Kritik gegenüber jedem anderen Staate üben.

Ich hatte also nicht ganz besonders Bulgarien und Rumänien im Sinn, aber die Informationen, die ich fand, scheinen leider meine Aussage zu unterstützen. Ich wollte nicht beleidigen, und es tut mir sehr leid, wenn Sie das so auffassen.

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR)**, – Pani Przewodnicząca! Była tutaj mowa o tym, że tej naszej debacie przysłuchują się dzisiaj obywatele pięknych europejskich państw, takich jak Rumunia i Bułgaria. Ja chciałbym się zwrócić do właśnie tych obywateli. Szanowni Państwo! Jesteście Europejczykami i prędzej czy później będziecie w strefie Schengen. Naprawdę nie przejmujcie się takimi durnymi, niemądrymi, obrażającymi wystąpieniami jak te, które miały miejsce w tej Izbie. Rumunia, Bułgaria, Chorwacja to dumne, piękne europejskie państwa, a mój kraj Polska jest Wam wdzięczny za to, jak dzisiaj chronicie zewnętrzne granice Unii Europejskiej, jak pomagacie ukraińskim uchodźcom. Jesteśmy Wam wdzięczni również za to, że pomimo tych utrudnień, które od 15 lat dotyczą wasze państwa, wasze kraje, bo wstąpiście do Unii Europejskiej w 2007 roku, to jednak jesteście solidarnym i lojalnym partnerem Wspólnoty Europejskiej.



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**Андрей Ковачев (PPE).** – Г-жо Председател, г-н вицепрезидент на Комисията, г-н министър Бек, наистина от 11 години обсъждаме тази тема в пленарната зала. Искам да изразя моята огромна благодарност към огромната част от колегите, които винаги са защитавали справедливостта и приемането на България и на Румъния в Шенгенското пространство, което е записано още в предприсъединителните договори. То не е поискано от България и Румъния през 2011 година, както каза преждеговорящият, то е записано в предприсъединителните договори, че това ще бъде факт и този факт не се случил от 2011 година не по вина на България и Румъния.

И Комисията, и Европейският парламент, и на експертно техническо ниво винаги са давали оценката, че България и Румъния са абсолютно готови. Ние сме част от Шенгенската информационна система, захранваме с информация от нашите служби информационната система, допринасяме за сигурността на Европейския съюз, на всички европейски граждани, като защитаваме и външните граници на Европейския съюз, разбира се, солидарно с всички инструменти на Съюза, с Frontex и т.н.

Но гражданите са изморени от този дебат. Българските граждани са изморени всеки път да чуват едно и също нещо, че една или друга страна в Съвета не взема решението поради техни вътрешни проблеми.

Уважаеми г-н министър Бек, благодаря на чешкото председателство, че се е заело с тази тема и наистина този път Ви желая успех, успех на всички нас през декември тази година това да се случи, тази справедливост да бъде извършена и да няма различни категории европейски граждани. Българите и румънците заслужават да бъдат пълноправни граждани не само в Европейския съюз, но и в Шенгенското пространство. Българската икономика, а и всички справедливо мислещи хора смятат, че решението трябва да бъде взето.

**Петър Витанов (S&D).** – Г-жо Председател, г-н Комисар, г-н Министър, знаете ли каква е за българите най-голямата полза от членството ни в Европейския съюз? Това е правото на свободно движение, а свободата да прекосиш континента без визи за нас хората, израснали зад Желязната завеса, е може би най-видимата и ценна придобивка от членството ни в Европейския съюз. Тази свобода обаче за българските и румънските граждани идва под условие.

Вече 11 години Съветът не успява да вземе решение за пълното прилагане на правото от Шенген в България и Румъния. Повече от 11 години един проект събира прах – проект за решение, след всички проверки, препоръки, оценки на различни работни групи. 11 години Комисията и Парламентът признават редовно готовността на България и Румъния и в същото време 11 години българските и румънските граждани са заложници на политически игри, при които все нови и нови критерии се поставят пред двете държави, в пълен разрез с правото от Шенген. И тук изобщо няма да говоря за икономическата цена на това бездействие на Съвета. Всякакви оперативни и инвестиционни разходи за трансгранични работници, туристи, автомобилни превозвачи, товари, опашки по границите, пътни инциденти, включително и замърсен въздух.

Има и по-страшна цена и тя е подкопаването на доверието в Европейския съюз и неговите институции, усещането, че гражданите ни са втора ръка, че има едни правила за богатите и други – за бедните. Аз вярвам, че нашият Съюз може повече и трябва да бъде по-справедлив. Време е Съветът да вземе незабавно решение относно пълното прилагане на разпоредбите на достиженията на правото от Шенген в България и Румъния за премахването на проверките по всички, подчертавам всички вътрешни, сухопътни, морски и въздушни граници.

I would like to address some of our colleagues in the room who might be sceptical about our goal. If you care about the future of our Union, support us, vote with us on a strong resolution during the next plenary.

**Dragoș Tudorache (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, dragi colegi, mă alătur fără rezerve celor care susțin aici, în această casă, integrarea României și Bulgariei în Schengen și, de altfel, acest Parlament a fost mereu consecvent pe acest dosar. Salut, de asemenea, declarațiile Comisiei Europene, declarațiile Consiliului, dar să nu uităm că am mai avut astfel de dezbateri.

Au mai fost astfel de momente, am mai avut ferestre de oportunitate politică, am mai auzit astfel de declarații și, cu toate acestea, cetățenii noștri, firmele noastre, stau în continuare la cozi pe care nu le merită. Vreau să fiu foarte clar, responsabilitatea pentru aceste ratări repetate nu e doar în Consiliu.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Ea trebuie căutată și în parlamentele și guvernele noastre și de aceea fac un apel astăzi aici, către colegii mei: haideți, dacă suntem consensuali și aliniați aici, haideți să fim consensuali și aliniați și acasă, haideți să lucrăm împreună, să facem acel kilometru în plus, să nu mai lăsăm niciun alibi niciunui ... din Consiliu pentru a rupe unanimitatea, haideți să lucrăm împreună la pachetul de legi pentru justiție, să facem un pact în Parlamentul național pentru Schengen și atunci putem împreună să cerem socoteală oricărui lider european care va rupe sau care ar încerca să rupă solidaritatea europeană.

**Андрей Слабаков (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, аз ще се опитам да бъда максимално кратък. Фактът, че България и Румъния все още не са приети в Шенген, може да бъде определен само по един-единствен начин. Това е срам и позор за Европейския съюз и за неговите двойни стандарти.

Вероятно ще повторя неща, които са казали колегите. Колко пъти трябва да се потвърждава нашата техническа готовност и политическа воля? Преди повече от десет години доказахме, че сме изгълнили абсолютно всички критерии – и България, и Румъния. И оттогава всички аргументи, които се използват за блокирането на двете държави, са само политически.

Истината е проста, но е трудна за преглъщане – принципите за солидарност и равноправие всъщност са абсолютна илюзия и не съществуват в Европейския съюз. Това е изключително голям проблем и веднага биват забравени нашите две държави. Не знам по какъв принцип. Вместо равноправие получаваме неуважение, а вместо солидарност биваме игнорирани, все едно не съществуваме. Все едно нашите граждани са хора маргинали и втора ръка.

Не се заблуждавайте, колкото повече се демонстрира пренебрежението към нашите граждани, мога да ви кажа, че толкова повече ще ги отблъскват от Европейския съюз. Вие какво искате – да се създаде вътрешен конфликт ли? Това ли е целта на Европейския съюз? Вместо обединение, да има конфликт между различните народи. Време е да прекратим тази дискриминация и да присъединим България и Румъния към Шенген.

А на колегата от Германия мога да кажа, че всички коридори, които вървят към Европа с нелегални имигранти, са немски.

**Ioan-Rareș Bogdan (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, domnule comisar Schinas, domnule ministru Bek, de 11 ani, două țări europene pe care românii le tratează cu respect, îi umilesc sistematic, blocând aderarea la Schengen. Și asta, deși companiile lor au afaceri uriașe în România și dețin o bună parte din sistemul bancar și de asigurări.

Mereu, România și-a tratat partenerii cu respect. Ce trebuie să mai facem pentru a fi tratați de la egal la egal și respectați de către toți membrii UE? Să provocăm o criză alimentară la nivel european, să blocăm la graniță trenurile și sutele de camioane cu cereale care traversează zilnic România pentru a ajunge pe piețele occidentale? În Olanda, Belgia, Franța, Austria, Germania, Italia. Nu ne obligați să jucăm și noi dur.

Am fost mult prea eleganti și mult prea tăcuți până acum. Nu suntem mai puțin europeni decât cei din Vest. Nu-i trimiteți pe alegătorii români către populiști și eurosceptici. Blocarea României și Bulgariei în afara Schengen este o nedreptate față de un popor profund european. Acum 500 de ani, un român a fost primul european care l-a înfrânt și blocat pe cuceritorul Constantinopolului, Mehmed al II-lea. Se numea Iancu de Hunedoara. În onoarea lui, și astăzi toate bisericile catolice din lume trag clopotele la ora 12.

Vă avertizez că acum Mehmed al II-lea se numește Putin. A atacat Ucraina cu танкурите, dar a atacat și eurosistemul. Are două arme: minciuna și politicieni cărора le oferă sprijin. Are oameni care deja le spun românilor că eurosistemul i-a abandonat. Pentru a anula orice demers antieuropean și pentru a anula discursul eurosceptic în interiorul granițelor României și Bulgariei, țările noastre trebuie să fie obligatorii în Schengen.

Nu vă bateți joc încă o dată de România și Bulgaria. Ajunge! 11 ani au fost de ajuns!

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Rovana Plumb (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, domnule vicepreședinte, domnule ministru Bek, nu de puține ori am auzit că România, alături de Bulgaria, îndeplinește criteriile tehnice de aderare la spațiul Schengen. Criteriile tehnice le îndeplinim de 11 ani, iar acest lucru a fost confirmat în repetate rânduri atât de către Parlamentul European, cât și de către Comisia Europeană. România continuă să implementeze și să se adapteze evoluțiilor acquis-ului Schengen cu consecvență, beneficiind de accesul la Sistemul de informații Schengen și la Sistemul de informații privind vizele.

Am demonstrat și demonstrăm cu consecvență modul responsabil în care am înțeles să gestionăm frontiera externă a Uniunii, fiind garantul securității pentru 2 070 de kilometri de frontieră. Ultimele luni ne-au adus în situația nedorită de a dovedi că putem chiar gestiona în mod adecvat o situație de criză cu peste un milion de refugiați care au intrat deja în România, respectând în același timp toate normele Schengen în vigoare.

Trebuie să fim sinceri și să recunoaștem, amânările repetate au fost din motive politice și decizia care trebuie luată este una politică. Credem că suntem într-un moment în care Uniunea trebuie să înțeleagă că sunt necesare gesturi politice clare, care elimină orice ambiguități, gesturi care să arate soliditatea proiectului nostru comun, credibilitatea sa și care să recunoască meritele și eforturile acolo unde sunt făcute, în acord cu prevederile asumate prin tratate.

Ce dorim? Dorim ca până la sfârșitul acestui an să se decidă, evident, în mod pozitiv în Consiliu, asupra ridicării controlului la frontiere între România și Bulgaria și restul spațiului Schengen, iar asta nu este decât o respectare a prevederilor tratatelor, prevederi pe care noi ni le asumăm și le respectăm.

România merită, românii merită să fie tratați în mod egal ca toți ceilalți cetățeni europeni. România trebuie să intre în spațiul Schengen! Dorim ca și românii să circule liber în spațiul Schengen, ca toți ceilalți cetățeni europeni.

**Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew).** – Doamna vicepreședintă, stimați colegi, domnule comisar Schinas, domnule ministru Bek, aderarea României și a Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen este importantă pentru că ne aduce cu adevărat la același statut de cetățeni europeni pe care îl au toți ceilalți cetățeni din statele membre. Este un pas firesc și necesar, care a devenit după mai bine de 15 ani de la aderarea noastră în Uniunea Europeană.

Indiferent de conducerea țării, de regimurile mai mult sau mai puțin adecvate, cetățenii europeni ar trebui să aibă aceleași drepturi, iar dreptul de a călători liber în Uniunea Europeană nu ar trebui nici îngrădit, nici îngreunat. De asemenea, trebuie să urmărim și să ne asigurăm că, la nivel european, dreptul oamenilor de a călători nu va fi îngreunat de proceduri vama învechite și neconforme cu statutul de cetățean european. Și asta nu v-o spun doar din auzite, vă spun ca un cetățean european din județul Arad și văd cozile de tiruri la mine acasă zi de zi.

Propaganda antieuropeană, și am văzut și în această sală, este din ce în ce mai dură, iar faptul că românii și bulgarii sunt ținuți ore în șir la granița spațiului Schengen pentru a putea circula în Uniunea Europeană nu ajută cu nimic spiritul european pe care cu toții ne dorim să îl vedem la cât mai mulți cetățeni europeni.

**Андрей Новаков (PPE).** – Г-жо Председател, г-н Вицепрезидент и особено г-н Министър, „Желязната завеса“ не беше просто израз. Тя беше разделителна линия между два свята – един на бариери и бодлива тел и друг – на свободен личен избор. Това беше толкова силна разделителна линия, че превърна Берлинската стена в символ на Студената война. Толкова силна разделителна линия, че най-голямата победа в Студената война беше събарянето на Берлинската стена.

Но особено ценен урок ни преподадоха хората от двете страни на стената. Можеш да копаяш тунели, можеш да проектираш балони, можеш да плуваш в студените ледени води, но желанието за достоен живот побеждава, желанието да пътуваш спокойно побеждава. Тридесет и три години по-късно ние сме изправени пред същия урок, но изглежда не сме го научили. Шенген, от символ на единството и падането на границите, се превърна в нова желязна завеса и повод едни държави да сочат други с пръст.

Защо толкова години, след като България и Румъния са изпълнили всички изисквания, те не се допускат в Шенген? Защо повтаряме същата грешка? Уважаеми, България е част от Европа от хиляда и триста години. И българите, и румънците са европейци точно толкова, колкото и всички останали и заслужават достойно и справедливо отношение, а не чакане пред бариери и пред гишета.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Тридесет и три години по-късно Европа е поставена пред същия избор. Въпросът е този път от коя страна на стената ще застане – на европейското единство или на националните рейтинги? Не забравяйте обаче, че политиката вече съществува не за да строи стени, а за да ги събаря.

**Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, señor ministro Bek, me alegra verlo de nuevo en la Cámara. También al vicepresidente Schinas.

Lo primero que quiero expresar sobre este tema es mi agradecimiento, especialmente a Victor Negrescu, por su trabajo, ya en su época de ministro, encaminado a lograr la adhesión al espacio Schengen, y también por haber propuesto el debate que estamos teniendo hoy en el seno del Grupo Socialista, ya que ha sido él quien lo ha llevado adelante.

El espacio sin fronteras interiores de Schengen se ha visto tensionado, lo sabemos, por la cuestión de la pandemia y la agresión de Rusia a Ucrania. La Comisión ha reiterado que Bulgaria y Rumanía cumplen desde 2011 los requisitos necesarios para formar parte del espacio Schengen con plenos derechos. Lo sabe bien el vicepresidente Schinas.

Por tanto, ministro Bek, es hora de que el Consejo adopte una decisión positiva y dé un paso al frente, y reconozca que Rumanía y Bulgaria han cumplido. Y, además, que reconozca la ingente labor que están realizando a la Unión como países vecinos de Ucrania ante la crisis provocada por la guerra.

También, por cierto, hay que cumplir con Croacia.

No podemos hablar de una Europa unida cuando hay ciudadanos de Estados miembros que, habiendo cumplido sus obligaciones, son apartados de sus derechos a la movilidad.

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, aș vrea să-i transmit domnului Reil, care văd că nu mai e în sală, că dacă România nu și-ar fi făcut treaba la frontiera Uniunii Europene, ar fi văzut dânsul ce înseamnă Far West-ul cu adevărat! Pentru că, iată, la 15 ani de la aderarea la Uniunea Europeană, România este încă în afara spațiului Schengen. Cetățenii români contribuie la PIB-ul altor state membre și totuși nu au aceleași drepturi și aceași libertate de circulație pe care au cetățenii țărilor respective.

Este profund regretabil și inacceptabil că, din motive politice și datorită unor jocuri politice interne în câteva state membre, românii sunt privați, românii, și cetățenii români, și mediul de afaceri sunt privați de un drept conferit de tratatele Uniunii Europene. Și aș vrea să transmit liderilor europeni care ne ascultă și care pot să nu aibă încredere în unele partide politice, vreau să le spun doar atât: aveți încredere în societatea românească și în anticorpii politici pe care și i-a dezvoltat! Aveți încredere în sutele de mii de români care au apărut în stradă independenta justiției și democrația în România! Și orice amânare a aderării României la Schengen este o mână de ajutor pe care o dați partidelor extremiste și antieuropene din România. Cu România în Schengen și Schengen-ul, și Uniunea Europeană va fi mai puternică!

**Vasile Blaga (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, stimați reprezentanți ai Consiliului, ai Comisiei, dragi colegi, vă vorbesc în calitate de europarlamentar român, dar și fost Ministru de Interne al României, ministru direct responsabil pentru îndeplinirea condiționalităților în vederea integrării României, atât în Uniunea Europeană, cât și în spațiul Schengen.

Din acest motiv, integrarea României în spațiul Schengen este un subiect care mă preocupă și pe care îl tratez foarte personal și sunt trei argumente care trebuie să conducă la o decizie rapidă privind integrarea României și a Bulgariei în Schengen.

În primul rând, primul argument este tehnic și ar trebui să fie suficient, cum a fost pentru toate statele care sunt membre în spațiul Schengen. România îndeplinește toate condițiile tehnice pentru Schengen, mai mult, războiul din Ucraina a fost și un test pentru frontiera externă a Uniunii Europene, iar România l-a trecut cu brio.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Al doilea argument este cel moral. Europa ne-a predat și ne predă de ani de zile lecția solidarității. Solidaritate în fața războiului pentru refugiați și migranți, solidaritate în fața crizei energetice. România și-a făcut temele fără comentarii. A manifestat solidaritate fără rezerve, și nu pentru că ne-a obligat cineva. Am făcut-o pentru că cetățenii români cred în aceste valori. Întrebarea este: Europa este capabilă să pună în practică până la capăt lecția pe care o predă?

Al treilea argument este unul mai degrabă practic și se referă la viitorul Uniunii Europene. Viitorul Uniunii Europene este amenințat de euroscepticism și vedem asta din ce în ce mai des la voturile naționale. Viitorul Uniunii Europene depinde și de modul în care Uniunea înțelege să îi trateze pe cetățenii fiecărui stat membru. Oare refuzul de a lua o decizie legitimă de integrare a României și Bulgariei în Schengen nu creează premisele unui val de euroscepticism în aceste două țări?

Sunteți pregătiți pentru acest lucru? Oare lecția Brexitului nu este suficient? Cred că România și Bulgaria trebuie să devină rapid membri ai Uniunii Europene.

**Lukasz Kohut (S&D).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Na początku dobre nowiny z Polski: 79% obywateli Polski uważa, że polski rząd powinien zgodzić się na powrót do praworządności i cofnięcie deformy systemu sprawiedliwości oraz sięgnąć po pieniądze z KPO. 79%, droga Europo! Polska to nie PiS. Poparcie dla członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej ciągle utrzymuje się na poziomie 80% polskiego społeczeństwa pomimo siedmiu lat twardej, antyeuropejskiej propagandy w tak zwanych mediach narodowych.

Strefa Schengen jest symbolem udanego projektu europejskiego, podobnie jak Erasmus, waluta euro czy Europejska Stolica Kultury. Ale chyba jednak to właśnie Europa bez granic to nasze największe osiągnięcie w historii. I miejsce dla Bułgarii i Rumunii w strefie Schengen to absolutny symbol jedności Europy. Europa to będzie kontynent, gdzie z Bukaresztu czy Burgas będzie można przejechać do Madrytu czy Lizbony bez kontroli granicznej. To jest nasz obowiązek i nasza przyszłość. Odwagi, Europo! Tak dla Bułgarii i Rumunii w strefie Schengen. Jedenaście lat oczekiwania to stanowczo za długo.

**Nicolae Ștefănuță (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, azi, mulți colegi români și bulgari vă conving că merită să intre în Schengen și așa și este. Dar astăzi nu e numai ziua lor, este ziua Europei unite. Nu este patriotism european să continui integrarea europeană a lui Schuman? Nu este patriotism european să lași Dacia să ducă mașinile produse la Mioveni mai repede către clientul din Marseille? Nu câștigă francezul, nu câștigă și românul din asta?

La ce bun să dăm bani cu o mână și să taxăm aceste întreprinderi în ora cea mai grea a economiei europene? Nu este patriotism european să-l respecti pe domnul Popa, cel care ți-a construit casa în Berlin, dar care trebuie să stea la graniță cu zilele atunci când se întoarce acasă de Crăciun sau de Paști? Atunci nu mai suntem o familie? Atunci nu mai suntem frați?

Vorgestern vor 33 Jahren ist in Berlin die Mauer gefallen.

Il y a 233 ans, c'était le tour de la Bastille.

Iar acum 33 de ani, românii au dat jos comunismul și au strigat: Libertate! Ceea ce nu au mai strigat românii și ceea ce uită de multe ori europenii este acea solidaritate, acea fraternitate, acea egalitate. Să le arătăm că Europa este despre asta, să le arătăm că Europa este unită!

**Асим Адемов (PPE).** – Г-жо Председател, уважаеми колеги, това не е първият дебат по този проблем, но се надявам искрено да е последният, защото отдавна е време България и Румъния, а вече и Хърватска, да бъдат приети в Шенгенското пространство.

България и Румъния свършиха достатъчно работа, за да отговорят на изискванията за присъединяване, но повече от десетилетие те все още чакат. Година след година двете държави се игнорират без обективни причини. Причините са изцяло политически.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Единадесет години откакто някои правителства в Съюза наложиха вето на присъединяването на България и Румъния към Шенгенската зона. Време е тези правителства, начело с нидерландското, да се откажат от двойните стандарти и да демонстрират европейския дух на солидарност. Крайно време е да отпадне тази несправедливост. Не е справедливо да не се признават усилията и резултатите на двете страни. Не е справедливо да не се признава фактът, че при сполетялата ни бежанска криза България се представи най-добре.

Бъдещето на Европейския съюз зависи от това доколко страните ще бъдат единни и солидарни една с друга. Именно тази солидарност изисква България, Румъния и Хърватска да бъдат приети незабавно в Шенген. Време е мечтата да се превърне в реалност.

**Victor Negrescu (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, domnule comisar, domnule ministru, este suficient! În ultimii 11 ani am insistat în repetate rânduri pentru aderarea României la Schengen. Întrebarea reală este cine se opune și de ce? Toți liderii europeni social-democrați au declarat că susțin aderarea României. Nu am auzit acest lucru de la toate guvernele de centru-dreapta și îi rog pe reprezentanții lor nu doar să vorbească aici, ci să meargă să discute cu colegii lor politici, spre exemplu, din Olanda.

Dar dacă toți din sală suntem pentru aderare, atunci insist ca cei din Consiliu, domnule ministru, să ne spună clar dacă în decembrie va exista un vot pentru aderarea României la Schengen începând de anul viitor. Iar dacă nu se va întâmpla, ce facem? De aceea, vă propun ca noi, eurodeputații, să solicităm sprijinul chiar al Curții de Justiție a Uniunii Europene. Și sunt convins că mulți europeni ne vor susține.

Într-unul din zecile de mii de mesaje transmise de români liderilor europeni pe care le voi depune la sediul Consiliului, Irina, o tânără de 22 de ani din Alba Iulia, scrie că aderarea la Schengen înseamnă pentru ea că românii devin cetățeni europeni cu drepturi depline. Așa că realitatea este simplă: românii merită în Schengen!

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, România merită să fie în Schengen! Fiecare șofer de TIR care trece prin acest iad tot timpul, fiecare om care stă ore întregi la coadă! Chiar merităm asta! Sunt aici colegii din coaliția de guvernare, i-am auzit vorbind, au avut mesaje foarte puternice PNL, PSD și UDMR au avut post-aderare toate guvernele României, cu o singură excepție.

Cred că niciunul dintre aceste guverne nu s-a bătut destul, eficient și real pentru Schengen și nu am dat semnale de încredere când am vulnerabilizat justiția sau am cumpărat presa. E momentul să depășim asta. Așa că-i rog tare mult de data asta să ne batem real și eficient pentru Schengen. Împreună să reparăm legile justiției, să ne rezolvăm problemele de acasă și cred că asta va ajuta foarte mult, pentru că România merită în Schengen. Poate reușim de data asta împreună.

## SĚDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

*Priekšsēdētājas vietnieks*

**Daniel Buda (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, mulțumesc tuturor colegilor pentru sprijinirea procesului de aderare a României și Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen. Mulțumesc, domnule comisar și, de asemenea, mulțumesc, domnule ministru. Din 2011, România îndeplinește toate condițiile tehnice. A făcut investițiile necesare în sistemele de securitate, a consolidat legislația și a pregătit constant funcționarii din domeniu.

Războiul din Ucraina a demonstrat încă o dată în plus că autoritățile din România au capacitatea de a gestiona mari fluxuri migratorii. Am asigurat un tranzit constant de cereale din Ucraina către toate zonele lumii, prevenind foametea. Am fost și suntem parte integrantă a eforturilor comunității internaționale de a pune capăt acestui război dus de Putin. Ne-am exprimat, așadar, solidaritatea în momente dificile pentru Uniunea Europeană. Am fost și suntem furnizori de securitate și stabilitate în regiune.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Nu cerem altceva decât un drept pe care l-am câștigat. Cerem să fim primiți acolo unde ne este locul. În caz contrar, riscul apariției unor curente extremiste este imens, iar prețul plătit de proiectul european va fi unul mult prea mare. Un lucru să fie clar, domnule comisar, un lucru să fie clar, domnule ministru, putem să oferim mai departe solidaritate în vremuri de război, să garantăm stabilitatea în vremuri greu încercate.

Dar nu vom mai tolera să fim umiliți. Astăzi, românii și bulgarii, firmele din România și din Bulgaria, nici nu concep ca Uniunea să nu fie solidară cu ei și să le acorde ceea ce, în mod profund și nedrept, le-a fost refuzat atât de mult timp: accesul în spațiul Schengen.

**Matjaž Nemec (S&D).** – Gospod predsednik, dober dan! Zadnji širitvi schengna smo bili priča v letu 2007, ko so v območje brez notranjih meja vstopile nove države članice, med njimi tudi Slovenija, ter leta 2008 Švica. Nato je ta proces zastal in je v slepi ulici.

Romunija in Bolgarija sta že leta 2011 izpolnili vse pogoje, a so ju države članice vse do tedaj pustile v čakalnici. V skupini S&D odločno podpiramo širitev schengna in zahtevamo, da Svet odpravi blokado ter za Romunijo in Bolgarijo nemudoma sprejme odločitev o priključitvi.

Schengen je namreč eden izmed najbolj otipljivih dosežkov Evropske unije. A je že vrsto let v krizi. Danes tako še vedno šest držav nezakonito izvaja nadzor na notranjih mejah. Tudi Avstrija s Slovenijo. In to kljub temu, da je Sodišče Evropske unije, ki je odločalo o tem, v primeru iste grožnje te nadzore od leta 2017 deklariralo kot nezakonite. Če želimo zaščititi in ohraniti schengen, ne smemo pristati na tako nedopustno in grobo kršenje sodb sodišč.

Spoštovani, Komisija zato mora nemudoma ukrepati in z vsemi sredstvi zaščititi Schengen, preden bo za to prepozno.

**Valter Flego (Renew).** – Poštovani predsedavajući, poštovane kolegice i kolege, jasno je da puni smisao Europska unija, za građanke, za građane, za gospodarstvo, dobiva ulaskom te države članice u schengenski prostor.

Naravno, preduvjet je jasno ispunjenje svih strogih tehničkih uvjeta i, naravno, politička volja ostalih država članica u Vijeću da to i podrže. Želim od srca Bugarskoj i Rumunjskoj da to čim prije i ostvare. A danas, ovdje, želim izraziti veliku sreću jer sam uvjeren da će moja Hrvatska 1. 1. 2023. postati članica schengenskog prostora.

Hvala, drage kolegice i kolege, svima vama koji ste iskazali jednu takvu jasnu volju i siguran sam da će takva odluka biti donesena u nadležnom odboru, a i ovdje na plenarnoj sjednici, kako bi građanke i građani Hrvatske i gospodarstvo Hrvatske dobili toliko željeni, ali i zasluženi poklon za novu '23. godinu. I sve one, koji su danas ovdje iznosili paušalne i netočne informacije o Hrvatskoj, molim da se smire, molim da se ispričaju, da ne viču u ovom prostoru i da ne dijele građanke i građane Europe na građane prvog i drugog reda radi svojih internih političkih bodova.

**Радан Кънев (PPE).** – Г-н Председател, г-н Комисар, г-н Министър, нашата позиция в този Парламент е отдавна ясна по въпроса за присъединяването на България и Румъния към Шенген. Също отдавна е ясна позицията на Европейската комисия. Още по-ясен е интересът на българските и румънските граждани, на бизнеса в двете страни, но и на целия Европейски съюз принципите на свободното движение да важат на цялата територия на Съюза.

И тук възниква проблемът: Каква всъщност е пречката? Защо не се случи? Правителствата, които блокират приемането на България и Румъния в Шенген, дължат честен и ясен отговор. Искам да подчертая, че те не го дават. А това вече не отговаря на стандартите ни като Съюз, на принципите, по които работят институциите.

Често, макар и неофициално, се споменава корупцията и тук поставям въпроса: По какъв начин изолирането на България и Румъния помага за борбата с корупцията? По какъв начин затварянето на нашия бизнес в тесни рамки помага на това да бъде освободен той от корупционната хватка? Напротив, принципът тук е точно обратният. Не може гражданите и бизнесът да бъдат наказвани заради корупцията на своите управляващи. Гражданите и бизнесът трябва да бъдат подпомогнати. България и Румъния трябва да влязат в Шенген незабавно и трябва да получат по-голяма помощ при реформирането на службите си и на правосъдната си система, а не да бъдат изолирани.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, domnule ministru, stimați colegi, nu știu dacă puteți să mă înțelegeți, dar am un sentiment de frustrare. Și asta nu numai eu, ci toți cetățenii din țara mea. A câta oară, să mai dezbatem? A câta oară, să mai votăm în Parlamentul European? A câta oară să mai scrie Comisia Consiliului, celor 27 de șefi de stat și de guverne, care, iată, ce democrație ne învață: un președinte de stat sau șef de guvern contează mai mult decât zecile de milioane de cetățeni!

Asta este democrația europeană? Ar putea să ne spună - și mă adresez acum celor 27 de șefi de stat și de guverne, inclusiv președintelui din țara mea - ar putea să ne spună ce punct din tratat, ce punct din Regulamentul Schengen nu-l îndeplinește România sau Bulgaria? Și nu știu dacă acești domni șefi de stat au fost vreodată într-o afacere concretă, nu de celelalte tipuri, să înțelegească ce înseamnă să pierzi timp dacă ai avea o firmă de transport, ca cetățean. Nu știu dacă ar înțelege, dar îi întreb ca fost om de afaceri: dacă ar fi să calculăm, daunele morale și financiare de 11 ani create milioanele de cetățeni din țara mea, cum ar putea să plătească? Cer imperativ să intre România și cetățenii din țara mea să se bucure de același ... *(Președinta a retras cuvântul vorbitoarei).*

**Lena Düpont (PPE).** – Mr President, I was three when the Berlin Wall fell; I was 13 when Schengen became an integral part of the Amsterdam Treaties; I was about to finish school when 10 new Member States joined the European family, so Schengen and Europe have always been a part of my life. I have experienced it as an open, as a free, as a promising continent, and it has become even more so in recent times.

I would have been 24 when new Member States could have joined the Schengen Area: some 30 million citizens eagerly awaiting to experience that freedom as well, if the Council had acted. The steps needed had been taken, criteria had been met, cooperation and consultation was not only signalled but brought to life.

After all, Schengen remains one of the most important achievements of the European Union. It is more than a political showcase; it is a fundamental right of all EU citizens; it is lived by the people of the European Union; it's part of our European DNA. Can we do more to preserve it and to strengthen it? Yes, of course. It's an achievement. It must be cherished; it must be nurtured; it must be guarded. Would it be an enormous step, an important step ahead in welcoming new members to the Schengen Area? Of course, yes. It would foster our internal security, strengthen our union, and ease the burden for European citizens.

I'm 36 now and I would be more than happy to see these accessions before another birthday passes by.

**Цветелина Пенкова (S&D).** – Г-н Председател, г-н Вицепрезидент, министър Бек, Европейският парламент винаги е подкрепял пълноправното членство на България и Румъния в Шенген и днес отново препотвърждаваме тази позиция.

Всички технически изисквания са изпълнени и това е потвърдено от вътрешните министри на Съюза, но въпреки това вече повече от десетилетие двете страни са на вратата на Шенген. Равни сме по изисквания и задължения, но не и по постигнати резултати. Това не е ли двоен стандарт?

Българското членство се блокира заради политически възражения на определени държави членки в Съвета. Възражения, които нямат нищо общо с Шенген, и това е разочаровашо за всички европейски граждани.

Насред толкова кризи България разходва оскъден публичен ресурс, за да поддържа вътрешен граничен контрол с Румъния и Гърция, вместо да пренасочи този ресурс към натоварената външна европейска граница с Турция.

Съветът трябва да преосмисли позицията си и да даде незабавно зелена светлина за членството на България и Румъния в Шенген, с всички граници едновременно – въздушни, водни и сухопътни.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Mr President, dear Vice-President Schinas, dear colleagues, Romanian and Bulgarian citizens have been waiting now for 11 years to enjoy all the advantages of free movement and to enter into the Schengen area.



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Parliament has repeatedly emphasised its support for the Schengen enlargement, as we do today, because it is crucial for the equality of citizens within the EU. Stronger economic cooperation, enhanced connectivity, but also better protection of the external borders is in the interests of the whole European Union and not only in the interests of those two countries. This is especially true at a time of great uncertainty and damaged security architecture across the entire continent.

Ladies and gentlemen, soon we will discuss and vote here in the European Parliament on the report on Croatia's accession to the Schengen area. Let me be clear, in December it is high time for the Council to act not only for Croatia, but also for Romania and Bulgaria, because this is in the interests of these countries, but this is also in the interests of all Europe and of fostered security on the European continent.

**Leszek Miller (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Brak granic w Europie zjednoczył nasz kontynent. Jest symbolem europejskich wartości i europejskiego stylu życia. Bułgaria i Rumunia, które weszły do Unii w 2007 roku, 15 lat temu, wciąż są poza Schengen. Chorwacja czeka sześć lat, a przecież dopiero wejście do Schengen jest dopełnieniem procesu integracji rozumianego jako prawa, ale i poważne obowiązki. Co roku Bruksela szczegółowo bada przystosowanie Rumunii i Bułgarii do wymogów strefy i ogłasza rekomendacje. Jeśli zatem Komisja uznaje, że kraje aspirujące spełniają wszystkie kluczowe warunki, nie ma na co czekać. Trzeba podjąć decyzję. Unia musi dowieść, że nawet w trudnych warunkach wywołanych agresją Rosji na Ukrainę potrafi chronić swoje największe osiągnięcia, czyli swobodny przepływ osób – jedną z czterech podstawowych swobód, na których została zbudowana.

**Александър Александров Йорданов (PPE).** – Г-н Председател, имам усещането за дежавю, за една пиеса на абсурда. Всичко това, което днес говорим, се говори от десет години. Техническите критерии са изпълнени, приети са резолюции, Европейската комисия е казала своето „да“. И абсурдният въпрос е: Какво още очакваме да се случи, за да бъдат приети България и Румъния в Шенгенското пространство?

Обръщам внимание – разширяването на Шенген с България и Румъния ще бъде успех за Европейския съюз, а ново отлагане ще работи единствено в полза на хибридната война, която Кремъл води срещу Европа. Настоявам от тази висока трибуна Съветът да вземе единственото правилно решение – незабавно приемане на България и Румъния в Шенген. И нека това да стане на Съвета през месец декември и да посрещнем всички заедно като едно семейство Рождество Христово.

**Carmen Avram (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, de 11 ani, România stă în anticamera Schengen, așteptând să i se deschidă ușa. De 11 ani, țara mea nu e doar pregătită să intre, dar a dat dovadă de solidaritate și de acțiuni exemplare în situații de criză, a respectat legislația și pregătește acum implementarea noilor sisteme de securitate europene. Cu toate acestea, după 11 ani, încă ni se opun niște mari parteneri comerciali, pe care România i-a primit cu brațele deschise, tratându-i cu respect.

Și-i întreb astăzi de ce ne țin captivi într-o buclă de interese naționale și pretexte reinventate, afectându-i nu doar pe români, dar și pe propriii cetățeni și pe companiile lor? Oamenii țării mele vor să știe de ce, după toate sacrificiile mari, multe, dureroase, nu au dreptul să fie în Schengen, de care beneficiază chiar și state non-membre UE.

Acestea nu sunt vremuri de alienat prieteni. Valul eurosceptic din UE crește inclusiv din cauza unor astfel de greșeli. Încetați cu discriminarea României! Nu ne mai țineți în anticameră! E dreptul nostru câștigat cu greu, iar Europa, vă asigur, va avea doar beneficii.

**Eugen Tomac (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, domnule ministru, pun această întrebare: cui îi servește menținerea în afara frontierelor Uniunii Europene, a României și Bulgariei? Servește oare asta Comisiei Europene? Este în interesul Parlamentului European? Este în interesul cetățenilor Uniunii Europene?

Cred că se greșește fundamental atunci când, din rațiuni politice mărunte, două națiuni sunt ținute în mod nejustificat, incorect, la porțile Uniunii Europene. Suntem cetățeni europeni și am confirmat acest lucru. Peste un milion de cetățeni ai Ucrainei au trecut prin frontierele României în această invazie absurdă declanșată de Putin. Peste patru mii de copii fără părinți au fost primiți de polițiștii români în punctele de frontieră ale Uniunii Europene.

Avem dreptul să fim tratați în mod corect! Și fac încă o dată acest apel, încheind cu expresia: cui îi servește menținerea Bulgariei și României în afara frontierelor Uniunii Europene?

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**Иво Христов (S&D).** – Г-н Председател, през юни България сне ветото си върху амбициите на Скопие да се присъедини към Съюза. Сторихме го въпреки откритите въпроси, за да не спъваме разширяването.

През последните месеци над 100 000 украински бежанци намериха покрив и прехрана в България, с което поехме своето бреме от войната. Междувременно стотици хиляди българи, които работят в страните от Шенген и допринасят с труда си за тяхното благосъстояние, все още подлежат на граничен контрол.

Критериите са изпълнени. Време е Европейският съюз да спази собствените си правила и да приеме България и Румъния в Шенген. Време е да надраснем икономическия егоизъм на някои членове на Съвета, който държи три държави членки на прага на зоната под фалшиви предлози.

В тези много трудни месеци за Европейския съюз разширяването на Шенген е една от малкото възможности да докажем, че динамиката на Съюза не е изчерпана. Че солидарност, общо пространство и доверие между партньорите не са празни думи.

**Tomáš Zdechovský (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, vážený pane komisaři, vážený pane ministře, chci se vás na začátku zeptat, jestli si v demokracii můžeme vybírat pravidla pouze tehdy, pokud se nám to hodí. Pokud ne, tak tahle debata je zbytečná, protože my už jsme Bulharsku a Rumunsku v roce 2018 jako Evropský parlament jednoznačně řekli, že patří do schengenského prostoru. Evropská komise to tady znovu zopakovala, že splňují všechna kritéria. Tak proč jim zavíráme dveře? Proč zavíráme dveře také Chorvatsku, které splňuje všechna kritéria? Protože se to některým státům hodí? Protože některé státy mají demokracii jako supermarket, kde si vyzobávají ty věci, které jsou pro ně podstatné, a jiné, které jsou nepodstatné, se snaží zdržovat? Já si myslím, že je potřeba v prosinci na summitu, který bude pod českým předsednictvím, říci jednoznačně ne. A říct ano, přijmeme Rumunsko, Bulharsko i Chorvatsko do schengenského prostoru.

**Tudor Ciuhodaru (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, acum este momentul deciziei finale. Vreau ca românii să nu mai fie considerați cetățeni europeni de mâna a doua. Și pentru asta România trebuie să intre cât mai rapid în Schengen. Onorată Comisie, onorat Consiliu, v-am spus de nenumărate ori în plenul acestei Parlament, mai spun și astăzi, că îndeplinim demult toate condițiile de aderare.

Este incorect ca unii să fie mai egali ca alții și acest lucru trebuie să înceteze. Vreau, de fapt, drepturi egale pentru români, aceleași drepturi ca cele pentru olandezi, germani și francezi. Orice amânare de acum nu mai este justificată. Sper să susțineți toți demersul meu.

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, povjereniče, hvala vam na strpljenju danas, kolegice i kolege. Kao jedno od najvećih postignuća Europske unije, Schengen utjelovljuje načelo slobode kretanja, s više od 400 milijuna ljudi, i predstavlja onu najopipljiviju prednost članstva u Europskoj uniji.

U vremenima kada je europski projekt integracija nagrižen uslijed kriza s kojima se suočavamo, a pogotovo sukoba u Ukrajini, moramo dati jasnu političku potporu državama članicama, kroz primanje u schengenski prostor. Trebalo bi poduzeti mjere kako bi i Rumunjska i Bugarska, koje su ispunile sve tehničke uvjete 2011., mogle imati koristi od svog statusa. Vjerujem da će moja zemlja Hrvatska 1. siječnja iduće godine, u desetoj godini članstva u Europskoj uniji, istodobno ući u schengenski prostor i europodručje: dvije najuže integracije u središtu Europske unije.

Vanjske granice Europske unije moraju biti snažno zaštićene zbog brojnih izazova s kojima smo suočeni i na taj način moramo oblikovati zajedničku sigurnosnu politiku, a onima koji ne znaju ništa o mojoj zemlji i nazivaju je različitim kvalifikacijama, poručujem: nemojte se služiti *fake newsom*.

**Robert Hajšel (S&D).** – Mr President, the Schengen area is undoubtedly one of the core pillars and privileges of the European Union. I fully recognise the need to be extremely careful while judging the preparedness of the countries to fulfil the criteria, especially when it comes to the necessity to protect external borders.

Here we have to say that Romania and Bulgaria have since 11 years met all the technical conditions and passed all the stress tests, even the massive arrival of the Ukrainian refugees. But they have still not been granted membership of the Schengen area. On the contrary, they have been held hostage to the political games of some Member States.

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Already last year, when voting on the annual report on the functioning of the Schengen area, I supported the accession of both countries to Schengen and once again I appeal to the Council to grant the entry to Romania and Bulgaria immediately. The Romanians and Bulgarians deserve the privilege to use all the benefits that EU membership provides us with, including the genuine free movement of people without border controls.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Loránt Vincze (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, vorbim deseori de solidaritate europeană. Unele state sunt extrem de susținătoare când este vorba de terțe țări, dar mai reticente când trebuie să își dea acordul pentru desăvârșirea parcursului european al României, adică aderarea la zona Schengen. Nu este corect. Noi ne-am făcut temele, criteriile tehnice de acces sunt îndeplinite de mai bine de zece ani.

În ultimele luni, autoritățile românești au gestionat peste două milioane de refugiați ucraineni. România a arătat solidaritate deplină în contextul războiului din Ucraina și a demonstrat încă o dată că este pregătită să controleze eficient granițele externe ale Uniunii Europene. Întârzierea aderării la zona Schengen costă bani companiilor, transportatorilor și este o pierdere inutilă de timp pentru cetățeni. Plus un cost pentru mediul înconjurător din cauza miilor de camioane care stau zeci de ore în trafic.

Mesajul cetățenilor din România și Bulgaria este unul fără echivoc: nu mai acceptăm să fim considerați cetățeni europeni de rangul 2. Iată, Comisia Europeană și Parlamentul își reafirmă sprijinul ferm pentru aderare, iar Consiliul trebuie să urmeze această abordare justă, fără întârziere și fără condiții suplimentare.

**Tomislav Sokol (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, schengenski prostor jedno je od najvažnijih postignuća Europske unije. Važno je, stoga, sačuvati njegov integritet, naročito od sve češćih nezakonitih migracija i zloupotreba prava na azil od strane ekonomskih migranata koji na njega nemaju pravo.

Bugarska i Rumunjska obavljaju taj rudarski posao, čuvaju granicu EU. Odavno su zadovoljile sve uvjete i zato zaslužuju biti dio Schengena. Osim toga, moram se osvrnuti na ponovljene laži izrečene u ovoj dvorani na račun Hrvatske. Višegodišnji naponi koje je hrvatska vlada provodila rezultirali su ispunjenjem tehničkih kriterija za ulazak u schengenski prostor 2019. Time je potvrđeno da Hrvatska na najbolji mogući način štiti najdulju vanjsku granicu EU od ilegalnih migracija, sukladno europskom i međunarodnom pravu. Oni koji tvrde suprotno, uporno obmanjuju javnost zbog vlastitih sitnih politikantskih interesa.

Ulazak Hrvatske u Schengen u interesu je cijele Europske unije i to se ovdje još jednom mora istaknuti.

**Iuliu Winkler (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, voi repeta un adevăr pe care l-ați auzit în dezbateră de astăzi de cel puțin 100 de ori: de 11 ani, România îndeplinește toate cerințele tehnice pentru aderarea la spațiul european de liberă circulație. Doar din rațiuni politicianiste, accesul nostru în spațiul Schengen a fost blocat. Așteptăm să fim tratați în mod egal cu ceilalți cetățeni europeni și să circulăm liber.

Mediul de afaceri, de asemenea, așteaptă ca Uniunea Europeană să își respecte angajamentele politice și să ridice povara administrativă și financiară generată de faptul că am fost lăsați în afara spațiului Schengen. La toate nivelurile de reprezentare, partidul meu, formațiunea mea politică, Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, militează și lucrează pentru aderarea României la spațiul Schengen. Sper că vom avea în decembrie o decizie pozitivă a statelor membre în privința aderării noastre.

*(Brīvā mikrofonā uzstāšanās beigās.)*

**Margaritis Schinas, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Mr President, thank you all for this converging and cross-party support. What I take out of this debate are three very simple messages that you would allow me to share.

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Message number one is that the Schengen area is only possible because we have agreed to share responsibility, and to share responsibility means to be able to share sovereignty. There is no first class sovereignty and second class sovereignty. We are all responsible collectively for having decided to share our sovereignty together in managing our borders.

Message number two is that Schengen does not belong to politicians, to ministers, to prime ministers, to the Commissioner, or to my humble self. Schengen belongs to Europeans, to all Europeans.

I take this opportunity to publicly salute Sophia in 't Veld for finding the right words to remind her prime minister, the Dutch Prime Minister, that he is not the owner – as nobody else is the owner – of Schengen freedoms.

Message number three is that Schengen is a fundamental project that we will constantly always adapt and bring forward. But there is no going back for Schengen. Schengen will go deeper, Schengen will grow larger and will include Bulgaria and Romania.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, Vice-President of the Commission, honourable Members, thank you for this timely debate. I have well noted all views expressed here. I will be very brief now and simply reiterate what I said at the beginning.

Achieving progress to enable Bulgaria and Romania to be fully part of the Schengen area is among the priorities of the Czech Presidency. The Presidency believes that there is a historical momentum to achieve a breakthrough in the completion of the Schengen enlargement process.

Allow me just one empirical observation on the popular topic of unanimity, which has been mentioned in this debate. It has been suggested that, had the Schengen enlargement been subject to the qualified majority voting, the problem would not be there. Well, recalling the number and voting power of those Member States who have been opposing it at particular stages of the debate over the past 11 years, I am not entirely sure about it.

But as I said, the Presidency is committed to an open and constructive discussion with all stakeholders in order to advance as much as possible to that substantive and hopefully decisive discussion at the December Council.

With regard to Croatia, the Presidency considers that Croatia fulfils the criteria for the lifting of controls at internal borders. In this regard, the Council sent its draft decision to the European Parliament last June. We trust that the Council will receive the opinion of the Parliament in due course. Thank you for your attention.

**President**. – The debate is closed. The vote will take place during the next part-session.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Karol Karski (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – Zdecydowanie wspieram starania Bułgarii, Rumunii i Chorwacji o pełne członkostwo w strefie Schengen. Procedura formalnej oceny gotowości Bułgarii, Rumunii i Chorwacji do wejścia do strefy Schengen zakończyła się z pozytywnym wynikiem, więc proces ten powinien być najszybciej jak to możliwe sfinalizowany.

Już w ubiegłym roku Rada stwierdziła, że Chorwacja spełniła wszystkie wymagania, aby stać się członkiem Schengen, jednak kraj ten wciąż czeka na zakończenie tego procesu. Bułgaria i Rumunia wstąpiły do Unii Europejskiej w 2007 r., Chorwacja w 2013 r. Przez te wszystkie lata kraje te wypełniły zobowiązania, aby umożliwić swoim obywatelom korzystanie z przysługujących im praw wynikających z pełnoprawnego członkostwa w strefie Schengen.

Kraje te, w wyniku podjętych przez siebie starań, dysponują obecnie nowoczesnymi rozwiązaniami i technologią, które przyczyniają się do odpowiedniego wdrażania przepisów Schengen. Możemy być też pewni co do podejmowanych przez te kraje środków bezpieczeństwa, dzięki skutecznemu zarządzaniu przez nie przepływami migracyjnymi, i działań na rzecz walki z przestępczością. Są to ważne przesłanki, które pozwalają na bezpieczne zniesienie kontroli granicznych przez te kraje. Znacznie ułatwiłoby to podróżowanie i rozwinęłoby współpracę transgraniczną. Nic nie usprawiedliwia niezrozumiałej opieszałości w przyjęciu tych krajów do strefy Schengen. W mojej opinii już dawno te kraje powinny były się w niej znaleźć.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Marian-Jean Marinescu (PPE)**, *în scris*. – România trebuie să intre în Schengen la 1 ianuarie 2023, împreună cu Croația și Bulgaria. Cer Consiliului pentru Justiție și Afaceri Interne ca la reuniunea din 9 decembrie să ia decizia de admitere a României în Schengen.

Granița externă a UE din România este una dintre cele mai sigure, iar din punct de vedere tehnic suntem puși la punct de multă vreme.

Nu există niciun motiv pentru ca România și Bulgaria, țări membre UE din 2007, să intre în Schengen după Croația, devenită membră 6 ani mai târziu.

UE este un spațiu al bunăstării, iar circulația liberă a mărfurilor și persoanelor este un element esențial în construirea și menținerea acestei bunăstări. Or, situarea în afara Schengen a adus prejudicii majore mediului de afaceri, nu doar din România, din toate statele care fac afaceri în România, inclusiv Olanda, țara care s-a opus până acum intrării în Schengen a țării mele, dar care, pe de altă parte, este în topul investitorilor străini din România.

1 ianuarie 2023 trebuie să rămână în istorie ca data la care România, alături de Bulgaria și Croația, au aderat la zona Schengen.

**Dan-Ștefan Motreanu (PPE)**, *în scris*. – După cum bine știm cu toții, România îndeplinește criteriile tehnice de aderare la Spațiul Schengen de 11 ani și și-a demonstrat, în mod suplimentar, capacitatea de a proteja frontierele UE, prin modul în care a gestionat situația refugiaților ucraineni. Este de neacceptat ca cetățenii români, printre cei mai proeuropeni, să aștepte în continuare la cozi interminabile la controalele frontierelor terestre și aeriene, la fel cum este de neacceptat ca firmele românești să piardă miliarde de euro anual din cauza unor bariere birocratice inutile pe piața unică europeană.

Salut sprijinul exprimat astăzi din partea tuturor partidelor politice din Parlamentul European pentru aderarea României la Spațiul Schengen, precum și sprijinul Comisiei Europene, și solicit pe această cale minorității din Consiliu care s-a opus aderării României de-a lungul anilor să dea dovadă de discernământ și să se alature majorității covârșitoare la votul care va avea loc în reunirea Consiliului de Justiție și Afaceri Interne din luna decembrie.

**Gheorghe-Vlad Nistor (PPE)**, *în scris*. – Chestiunea Schengen reprezintă, pentru România și Bulgaria, nu doar un deziderat, parte a integrării continue în UE, însă și o obligație statutară pe care celelalte state membre au datoria de a o pune în aplicare. De 11 ani România îndeplinește toate criteriile tehnice pentru aderare, însă, alături de Bulgaria, este captivă obsesiei, marotei așa spune, unor state europene (din fericire, din ce în ce mai puține), cu privire la magnitudinea corupției din cele două țări.

Nimeni nu contestă acea realitate, dar a fost cazul cu ani în urmă; în prezent, instituțiile anti-corupție din România sunt printre cele mai funcționale și unanim laudate din Europa. Ca membri egali ai Uniunii Europene, cu obligații și beneficii, nu putem accepta șantajul sau abuzul din partea unor colegi ce se cred mai îndreptățiți în casa noastră comună. În aceste momente dificile pentru continent, România își îndeplinește cu sârguință și cu bună-credință toate obligațiile, și chiar mai mult. Dacă vom fi blocați, și pe mai departe, de la drepturile noastre, se va pune în discuție viabilitatea proiectului European și se vor deschide, și mai larg, porțile populismului anti-UE, în special în două state eminentemente proeuropene și pro-euro-atlantice.

**Емил Радев (PPE)**, *в писмена форма*. – Крайно време е България да получи правото да се възползва от пълното прилагане на разпоредбите на достиженията на правото от Шенген, в това число премахването на проверките по вътрешните граници. Единадесет години по-късно ние все още сме третирани като държава - втора ръка, по отношение на която се прилагат поредните двойни стандарти. Време е това да приключи! Време е Съветът на ЕС да вземе решение, което не е изцяло политическо, а основано на изпълнението на обективни критерии. Решение, което не поставя европейската интеграция в задънена улица, а напротив - дава й ново начало.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Доиде времето Европа да спре да се крие зад бюрократични хватки, като изтъква причини, които не са пряко свързани с управлението на границите, а да изпълни своите ангажменти. Позволете ми в тази връзка да припомня, че техническата готовност за опазването на външните граници от страна на България бе многократно потвърдена от различни институции на ниво ЕС - Комисия, Парламент, дори и отделни държави членки. Крайно време е обаче всички да разберат, че разширяването на Шенгенското пространство не е просто каприз на някои държави, то би било победа за целия ЕС и ще направи външните ни граници по-силни и по-устойчиви на кризи, каквито в последно време не липсват!

**Mihai Tudose (S&D)**, *în scris*. – Parlamentul European a adoptat numeroase cereri ca România și Bulgaria să devină membre cu drepturi depline ale zonei de liberă circulație. Cele mai recente rezoluții pe această temă au fost votate în decembrie 2018, iunie 2020 și iulie 2021. Această dezbatere și rezoluția pe care o vom vota în sesiunea următoare sunt utile cu atât mai mult cu cât evidențiază lipsa de teme a poziției Consiliului UE.

Atât Comisia Europeană, cât și Parlamentul European consideră că, încă din 2011, România îndeplinește criteriile de aderare la Schengen. Mai mult, în actualul context geopolitic, țara mea este garantul unei frontiere de maximă importanță și calea de acces în UE a exporturilor de cereale ale Ucrainei. Cu toate acestea, cetățenii și companiile din România suferă o discriminare umilitoare și costisitoare, dar și rușinoasă tocmai pentru cei care pretind că o impun în numele – câtă ipocrizie! – unor pretinse valori europene.

Noi, românii, ne-am îndeplinit obligațiile prevăzute în acquis-ul Schengen. De aceea, cer Consiliului UE ca, la reuniunea din decembrie, să ia decizia corectă, în conformitate cu valorile ce stau la baza construcției europene: România, membră a Spațiului Schengen! În caz contrar, mai târziu s-ar putea să fie prea târziu...

## 9. Wyniki przeprowadzonego przez Komisję przeglądu 15-punktowego planu działania w sprawie handlu i zrównoważonego rozwoju (debata)

**Sēdes vadītājs**. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par jautājumu, uz kuru jāatbild mutiski un kuru uzdeva **Bernd Lange** Starptautiskās tirdzniecības komitejas vārdā Komisijai, par Komisijas īstenotās 15 punktu tirdzniecības un ilgtspējīgas attīstības rīcības plāna pārskatīšanas rezultātiem (O-000029/0022 - B9-0021/2022) (2022/2692(RSP)).

**Bernd Lange**, *Verfasser*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Vizepräsident der Kommission, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich glaube, es ist inzwischen jedem klar, dass Handelspolitik in sich kein Selbstzweck ist. Handel ist kein *end in itself*. Handelspolitik hat zur Stärkung der nachhaltigen Entwicklung beizutragen. Handelspolitik hat dazu beizutragen, dass die Menschen vor Ort einen Mehrwert durch Handelspolitik haben.

Klar: Handel stimuliert Wachstum, aber wenn die Regeln nicht stimmen, dann verfehlt dieses Wachstum das Ziel, und mitunter leiden Menschen. Mitunter leidet die Natur, und auch die Ziele des Pariser Klimaschutzübereinkommens werden nicht erreicht. Deswegen ist es so wichtig, dass wir die Handelspolitik in das richtige Korsett setzen, damit wir klarstellen: Handel ist kein Selbstzweck, Handel hat Nachhaltigkeit zu fördern. Diese Erkenntnis, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, ist ja im letzten Jahrzehnt gewachsen.

Wir haben das erste Handelsabkommen mit einem ausgewiesenen Nachhaltigkeitskapitel 2011 abgeschlossen – das Abkommen mit Südkorea. Seitdem haben wir zwölf weitere Abkommen abgeschlossen – mit Kanada und vielen anderen Ländern –, in denen auch Nachhaltigkeitskapitel enthalten sind, mit Stärken und eben auch Schwächen. Wir haben in diesen Kapiteln vereinbart, dass internationale Normen zu akzeptieren sind – die Umweltstandards der UN, die ILO-Kernarbeitsnormen –, dass es kein Unterlaufen von diesen Normen aus Wettbewerbsvorteilsgründen geben darf. Wir haben festgelegt, dass es Promotion von besonderem Handel wie fairem Handel gibt. Wir haben festgelegt, dass es eine Beteiligung der Zivilgesellschaft gibt, und auch, dass es einen Schlichtungsmechanismus gibt. Aber, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wir haben gesehen, dass diese Zielsetzungen dieser Fünf nicht immer auch wirklich umgesetzt worden sind.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Noch einmal zu Südkorea: Südkorea hat massiv Arbeitnehmerrechte verletzt. Auch während der Wirksamkeit des Abkommens sind Gesetzgebungen beschlossen worden, die dem Abkommen widersprechen. Wir haben einen Streitlichtungsmechanismus genutzt, der sechs Jahre gedauert hat, 2019 dann in einem Verfahren, in dem dann dieses Gremium, dieses *Panel of Experts*, zu entscheiden hat, das dann auch 2021 entschieden hat, aber bisher ist nichts passiert.

Also da gibt es so eine Schwäche. Es gibt noch ein paar andere Punkte. Deswegen begrüßen wir sehr, dass die Kommission am 22. Juni endlich einen neuen Ansatz zur Verbesserung und zur Vermeidung dieser Schwächen auf den Weg gebracht hat. Das Parlament hat übrigens lange dafür gekämpft und gestritten. Ich selbst habe 2017 mal ein *model chapter* für einen anderen Ansatz in dem Nachhaltigkeitskapitel vorgelegt. Also jetzt sind wir auf dem richtigen Weg mit einer vernünftigen Herangehensweise an die Implementierung von Nachhaltigkeitszielen über eine Roadmap mit klaren Zwischenzielen. Wir stärken das Monitoring der Nachhaltigkeitsziele und von deren Umsetzung gerade durch die Stärkung der Zivilgesellschaft durch die *domestic advisory groups*, die jetzt auch Möglichkeiten haben, in das Verfahren einzugreifen und Klagen loszutreten. Und wir haben in der Tat Durchsetzungsmechanismen eingebaut, sodass letztendlich ein Fehlverhalten auch sanktioniert werden kann.

Allerdings sind noch ein paar Fragen offen. Wir haben kein *model chapter* bekommen, sondern nur die Prinzipien. Im Moment ist, glaube ich, das *model chapter* das Abkommen mit Neuseeland, wo wir in der Tat die Prinzipien das erste Mal vereinbart haben. Aber was passiert mit den alten Abkommen, mit den zwölf, die ich genannt habe, und den ganz alten? Klar ist, dass neue Abkommen, die hier auf den Tisch des Hauses kommen, diesen Ansprüchen zu genügen haben. Kann man nicht einige Elemente schon jetzt umsetzen, die *domestic advisory groups* stärken? Und wie sieht es eigentlich aus mit den Prinzipien für alle Länder, weil von *case* zu *case* kann man vielleicht in bestimmten Bereichen diskutieren, aber das Grundprinzip muss das gleiche sein. Und wir brauchen auch Nachhaltigkeit über den originären Bereich hinaus, gerade wenn es um Rohstoffe geht.

Handelspolitik ohne Nachhaltigkeit ist wie ein Auto ohne ein Lenkrad, und das kann ganz gefährlich in eine falsche Richtung gehen. Deswegen brauchen wir klare und strenge Nachhaltigkeitsziele.

**Margaritis Schinas, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, the Commission promised that trade policy would play a greater role in supporting our sustainability agenda, and we delivered on that promise in June by adopting our new approach to enhance the contribution of EU trade agreements to trade sustainable development (TSD).

We gave this approach a big boost three years ago, when we published the 15-point TSD review action plan. But we need to do more. The Commission believes the outcome strikes the right balance between our sustainability ambitions and the new geopolitical reality between supporting economic growth and promoting values.

I would like to commend the European Parliament and Bernd Lange, author of the report, for their strong contribution and support. I would also like to take the opportunity here, also on behalf of my colleague Valdis Dombrovskis, to address the questions that you cover in your resolution.

The biggest focus of the review is on implementation and enforcement. While our approach should remain centred on cooperation and engagement, there may be circumstances where sanctions are warranted as the last resort for serious violation of core labour standards and material breaches of the Paris Agreement. Concerning the methodology to determine the appropriate sanctions, the Commission intends to apply the same approach to TSD as to other breaches of FTA obligations.

The outcome of the TSD review will be reflected in future negotiations and in ongoing negotiations as appropriate. We already delivered in our agreement with New Zealand, concluded in June, including on sanctions.

As regards your interest in a draft modal chapter, the Commission believes that we should not necessarily follow one single template. This does not mean that we will lower our level of ambition, but that we will take account and prioritize specific needs with specific partners.

Implementation roadmaps will also play a key role. We can agree on roadmaps tailored to the needs of our partner countries, with clear timelines and milestones. We also want to increase coordination at EU level. We need to overcome silos when it comes to implementation. We are in all this together – all Commission services, EU institutions and Member States.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

The Commission welcomes, in particular, the active role of this House in implementing the new TSD approach. The process of negotiation and of implementation of the trade agreements will also allow for the contribution of civil society. The majority of the actions can be deployed right away, including in our existing agreements. These would include identifying country-specific sustainability priorities and strengthening EU domestic advisory groups (DAGs).

Beyond TSD chapters, it is important to mainstream sustainability in every section of trade deals. For example, we need to look at opening new markets for the import and export of green goods and services, raw materials and the avoidance of trade barriers. We should also identify sustainability priorities, even before negotiations begin, including through our sustainability impact assessments.

I would also like to mention the concerns you raised regarding possible violations of human and environmental rights in relation to access to raw materials. The Commission believes that access to raw materials and energy can be done in a way that respects human rights, labour rights and the protection of the environment, but also benefits local communities in third countries, to ensure that we have specific commitments in our FTAs on the respect of multilateral labour and environmental standards, but also dispute settlement mechanisms which will address and include sanctions in a satisfactory way.

**Iuliu Winkler**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, dear colleagues, distinguished Commissioner, I welcome the Commission's review of the 15-point TSD action plan in this new global geo-economic context, and in this EU trade policy is more important than ever. International trade is an engine for growth, for jobs, and the promoter for sustainability. Rooted in international commitments, the EU TSD chapters seek to keep borders open for trade, while pushing for high sustainability standards in third countries. Most important for us in the EPP Group, the TSD review maintains the strategic balance between the future negotiability of EU FTAs and the ambition of TSD clauses.

Ambitious agreements are very important. Their efficient implementation is even more important. The INTA Committee of this House will play its part in monitoring the implementation of EU FTAs and the uptake of TSD commitments.

The European Parliament pushed for strengthening the EU's trade policy. As we have now comprehensively boosted our trade toolbox, the EPP Group considers it is high time that we start ratifying new free trade agreements.

**Inma Rodríguez-Piñero**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, señor comisario, quiero, en primer lugar, felicitar al presidente Lange y demás compañeros de mi Grupo por el liderazgo ejercido en el desarrollo de este instrumento y agradecer al resto de los grupos el consenso alcanzado en esta Resolución. El consenso, que siempre merece destacarse, especialmente en estos tiempos tan convulsos, es más importante que nunca.

Pocos instrumentos pueden representar mejor los principios y valores de la política comercial de la Unión Europea que esta revisión de 15 puntos del Plan de Acción sobre Comercio y Desarrollo Sostenible.

La Comisión ha hecho un trabajo notable y así lo hemos reconocido. Pero queremos más. Queremos que este Plan se materialice efectivamente. Para que se cumplan nuestras prioridades y aspiraciones y, sobre todo, para que el acceso a nuestro potente mercado sea útil, para conseguir un desarrollo más justo y sostenible, particularmente en los países menos desarrollados. De ahí la importancia de las hojas de ruta específicas para cada país.

Por ello, queremos una implementación y un cumplimiento más estrictos que garanticen la eficacia de la estrategia y, en consecuencia, abogamos por una mayor participación y capacidad de denuncia de la sociedad civil y de los grupos de asesoramiento, así como un mayor control parlamentario, sobre todo en lo que se refiere al modo en que evolucionan los acuerdos comerciales y en relación con la aplicación de las cláusulas de desarrollo sostenible.



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El incumplimiento de estas cláusulas debe ser sancionado, como mi Grupo ha venido defendiendo durante mucho tiempo. Pero las buenas prácticas y el cumplimiento también deben ser reconocidos. Todo ello ayudará a que nuestra acción contra el cambio climático y la pérdida de biodiversidad, contra la deforestación, en favor de la diligencia debida y de garantizar un trabajo decente y para avanzar en la economía circular y la transición energética sea más eficaz.

Por último, y muy importante para mi Grupo y para mí, significativamente: esta estrategia ha de servir, señor comisario, y servirá, para que la perspectiva de género, finalmente, esté íntegramente presente en los acuerdos y redunde en una mayor igualdad entre hombres y mujeres.

**Marie-Pierre Vedrenne**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, enfin, l'Union Européenne va, avec la réforme des chapitres développement durable, utiliser le potentiel des accords de commerce. Trois ans au moins que le Parlement européen n'a cessé de défendre cette réforme, un pas essentiel pour un commerce plus juste, équitable, basé sur des règles, mais surtout sur l'engagement réciproque.

Ce ne sont pas ni des principes en l'air, ni une jolie formule. Avec cette réforme, une violation de l'accord de Paris ou de nos standards sociaux pourra être sanctionnée. C'est une avancée pour façonner de nouveaux accords, mais surtout promouvoir des changements profonds. Mais nous avons beaucoup entendu et nous continuons d'entendre que des sanctions auraient mis à mal la capacité de l'Union européenne à conclure de nouveaux accords. Je crois au contraire que cela donne du poids à un commerce fondé sur des règles. Et je crois au contraire, par ailleurs, que cette réforme correspond à un enjeu de crédibilité pour nous et en dehors de l'Union européenne.

Ainsi, l'accord avec la Nouvelle-Zélande constitue un début puisqu'il inclurait ces chapitres, ce nouveau modèle. Mais il est à présent nécessaire que cette partie sur les chapitres développement durable devienne une référence. Quant aux accords existants ou ceux conclus, il faut engager des discussions avec nos partenaires pour les moderniser. Monsieur le Commissaire, cette réforme, nous la saluons tous. Mais nous le savons, c'est dans la mise en œuvre que nous serons au rendez-vous.

**Saskia Bricmont**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, la révision des chapitres consacrés au développement durable dans les traités commerciaux représente une avancée considérable, il faut le reconnaître, vers un commerce international plus durable, qui implique davantage la société civile et le Parlement et fait état de mécanismes de mise en œuvre et de suivi ainsi que de sanctions en cas de non-respect des dispositions qui y sont énoncées.

Mais, il y a quand même des «mais». Avec tout le respect que je vous dois, Monsieur le Commissaire, j'espère que ce Parlement n'a pas à douter du sérieux avec lequel la Commission et la DG TRADE considèrent cette question. En effet, je m'attendais à un échange avec le commissaire au commerce car, si le plan d'action en quinze points est, je le répète, une avancée, des problèmes demeurent, et vos réponses aux questions adressées par notre président, M. Lange, sont à mon sens loin d'être satisfaisantes, notamment dans le cadre de l'application des *implementation roadmaps* – les feuilles de route de mise en œuvre. J'aimerais comprendre comment la Commission compte aller jusqu'au bout de la logique si jamais un partenaire commercial, par exemple, ne respecte pas ses engagements. Quelles seront les sanctions mises en œuvre? Quel sera le mécanisme appliqué? Est-ce que l'on passera par un mécanisme de règlement des différends?

Une autre dimension que l'on a pointée pendant les différents échanges, c'est la question des droits de l'homme, qui ne fait pas partie des chapitres consacrés au développement durable. Il s'agit là, à notre sens, d'un manque fondamental, puisque l'on sait que, dans le cadre commercial, de nombreuses violations des droits de l'homme ont, malheureusement, encore lieu. La médiatrice a récemment soulevé ce problème, et elle propose de mettre en place un mécanisme à part entière et parallèle, qui serait également ouvert aux parties prenantes de nos partenaires commerciaux. Là aussi, j'ai une demande très concrète à l'égard de la Commission: comment la Commission compte-t-elle donner suite à cette proposition de la médiatrice? Je pense que ce serait là un complément réel et substantiel à cette révision des chapitres consacrés au développement durable au sein de nos accords commerciaux.

**Maximilian Krah**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, meine Damen und Herren! Handel ist der wesentliche Schlüssel, um in der ganzen Welt Wohlstand und Frieden zu erreichen. Die Europäische Union ist entstanden aus der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft, um eben einen großen Handelsblock zu bilden, und wir sind heute der größte Handelsblock der Welt.

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Das ist etwas, was zwingend vergemeinschaftet gehört, und es ist eine Erfolgsgeschichte. Die Fragen, die wir hier heute behandeln, spiegeln aber genau die Zwiespältigkeit wider, dass wir einerseits den Handel fördern wollen, andererseits aber anfangen, diesen Handel auch sehr stark zu politisieren – mit negativen Folgen sowohl für den Handel als auch für die Handelspartner.

Das beginnt leider bereits mit der allerersten Frage, wo es eben um Sanktionen geht. Das ist eine erstaunliche Schwerpunktsetzung, und es mag zwar sein, dass es Sanktionen geben muss, aber wenn dies schon als erste Frage gestellt wird, dann zeigt es, dass sich der Schwerpunkt unserer Handelspolitik von der Ermöglichung von Handel weg hin zu Regeln zur Durchsetzung politischer Vorgaben gewandelt hat. Und hier haben wir unsere Probleme.

Denn wie ist es denn? Wir alle wollen Entwicklung, wir wollen nachhaltige Entwicklung und das weltweit. Aber diese nachhaltige Entwicklung ist doch in beiderseitigem Interesse für alle Handelspartner, sodass es in der Regel nicht darauf ankommen wird, sofort mit Sanktionen zu drohen, sondern dass dies auf Gegenseitigkeit beruht.

Wenn wir anfangen müssen, Sanktionen durchzusetzen, stellt sich doch die Frage, ob die Vorgaben von nachhaltiger Entwicklung, die wir stellen, wirklich für alle so überzeugend sind oder ob hier nicht eine neue Form des Eurozentrismus Raum greift, dass wir unseren in der Regel ärmeren und schwächeren Handelspartnern politische Vorgaben aus Europa machen, ohne dass die diese inhaltlich mittragen, und dass sie dann durch Sanktionen dazu gezwungen werden müssen.

Insofern meinen wir: Jawohl, wir wollen Handel, wir wollen nachhaltige Entwicklung, aber wir müssen aufpassen, dass wir nicht übers Ziel hinausschießen und dass wir den Handel missbrauchen zu einer neuen Form eines Neokolonialismus, der letztlich uns und unseren Handelspartnern schadet.

**Geert Bourgeois**, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, commissaris, geachte collega's, op regels gebaseerde handel zorgt voor welvaart, zorgt voor open strategische autonomie met toeleveringsketens die divers zijn en zorgt ook voor stabiliteit. De jobcijfers in de Europese Unie zijn indrukwekkend. Uit de studie van de Commissie van 2021 blijkt dat in de EU maar liefst 38 miljoen jobs afhangen van onze export. Dat is 11 miljoen euro meer dan tien jaar eerder. Op dat vlak, commissaris, wil ik mijn teleurstelling uitspreken: er is geen genoegzame vooruitgang geboekt in deze periode inzake nieuwe handelsverdragen. Ik roep dan ook op om snel nieuwe handelsverdragen te sluiten.

Ten tweede zijn handelsverdragen, onze handelsverdragen, een hefboom voor mensenrechten, een hefboom voor menswaardige arbeidsomstandigheden, een hefboom voor duurzaamheid. Op vlak van duurzaamheid – inderdaad – moeten we er ons voor hoeden om met één aanpak te werken ten opzichte van onze diverse partnerlanden. We moeten rekening houden met de uitdagingen van dat partnerland, we moeten rekening houden met de mogelijkheden van dat partnerland. Bijvoorbeeld met Nieuw-Zeeland leggen we de normen zeer, zeer hoog en snel, maar niet alle landen beschikken over dezelfde mogelijkheden, beschikken over dezelfde middelen.

Tot slot: inderdaad, als er problemen zijn, in dialoog gaan, in bemiddeling gaan, maar sancties als ultieme remedie.

**Helmut Scholz**, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar! Die Chefin der WTO, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, hat uns und auch der EU erst letzte Woche noch einmal ins Stammbuch geschrieben, dass es unsere vordringliche, aktuellste Aufgabe ist, allen Menschen Zugang zu Ernährung und zu Energie zu sichern. Deshalb ist das Erreichen der UN-Nachhaltigkeitsziele bis 2030 allerobere Priorität, auch durch die EU-Außenhandelspolitik.

Manche in der Kommission haben durchaus verstanden, und ihre Auswertung, was am 15-Punkte-Plan bisher nicht funktioniert hat, ist durchaus gut. Dennoch mangelt es der Kommission an der Umsetzung und an Tempo. Beeilen Sie sich, aber laufen Sie nicht in die falsche Richtung – das wurde heute schon gesagt. Wir müssen jetzt nicht hastig lauter neue Handelsabkommen abschließen. Was wir brauchen, sind vielmehr Kooperationsabkommen und gemeinsam entwickelte Standards und Roadmaps. Denn nicht nur der Krieg in der Ukraine und anderswo, sondern auch die Klimaerhitzung und die Unterversorgung der Mehrheit der Weltbevölkerung sind bedrückend reale Bedrohungen der Menschen – überall.

Handeln Sie und überlassen Sie die Preise für Nahrung und Energie nicht länger den gestörten Märkten und Lieferketten. Wer heute lediglich Rohstoffzugang und Absatzmärkte für Unternehmen der EU im Auge hat, hat nicht verstanden, wie ernst die Lage in Wirklichkeit ist. Blicken wir nach Pakistan und Somalia, und lassen Sie sich einmal ausrechnen, wie teuer die Katastrophen die Welt zu stehen kommen, wenn solche veralteten Handelsabkommen mit dem Mercosur als Brandbeschleuniger im Amazonasgebiet wirken. Wir müssen Nachhaltigkeit zum zentralen Benchmarking machen, mit verbindlichen rechtlichen Durchsetzungsinstrumenten.

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**Ernő Schaller-Baross (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Az Európai Unió magas minőséget képviselő termékei és szolgáltatásai miatt népszerű kereskedelmi partner a globális piacokon. Az energiaválság, a háborús infláció és az általános gazdasági visszaesés hatásaira, a nemzetközi környezet változásaira való reakció azonban ennek a cselekvési tervnek elsősorban az Unió versenyképességét kellene biztosítani, és nem olyan ideológiai elképzelések érvényesülését, amelyek egyébként is kívül esnek a kereskedelempolitika hatályán.

Magyarország elkötelezett a fenntarthatósági célok, a környezetvédelem, emberi jogok fontossága mellett. Ugyanakkor tudomásul kell venni, hogy a nemzetközi kereskedelempolitika nem arra való, és nem is alkalmas arra, hogy egyéb politikai célokat orvosoljon. Minden lehetséges eszközzel segíteni kell a külpiacokon aktív magyar és európai vállalatok terjeszkedését. Magyarország és az Európai Unió érdeke a nyitott és szabályalapú kereskedelem.

**Jörgen Warborn (PPE).** – Herr talman! Herr kommissionär! EU går nu igenom den värsta krisen i modern tid: det gäller energi, inflation, tillväxt, konkurrenskraft, klimat- och hållbarhetsutmaningar och Rysslands illegala invasion av Ukraina.

Den multilaterala världsordningen är hotad av allt aggressivare maktspel. Den svåra situationen i omvärlden belyser vikten av den europeiska gemenskapen och gränsöverskridande utmaningar som kräver gränsöverskridande lösningar. Nu måste EU slå vakt om frihandel och genom internationellt samarbete arbeta med EU:s ambitiösa hållbarhetsagenda och bygga motståndskraft för att hantera framtida kriser.

Öppenhet lönar sig – även i en orolig värld. Vi behöver handla med länder från världens alla hörn. EU och Nya Zeeland har nu slutit ett frihandelsavtal, och vi måste trycka på förhandlingarna med till exempel Australien, Chile och Mexiko.

Det är också dags att lyfta upp avtalet mellan EU och Mercosur från frysboxen och öppna upp en marknad för över 260 miljoner konsumenter – ett avtal som är värt att kämpa för. Det innehåller också ett ambitiöst kapitel om hållbar utveckling och ett tydligt åtagande om att effektivt genomföra Parisavtalet.

Hållbarhetskapitel ska främja slutförandet av frihandelsavtal, inte skapa fler hinder som försvårar redan komplexa förhandlingar. EU ska inte riva upp befintliga frihandelsavtal. Vi ska teckna nya.

**Udo Bullmann (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wenn wir uns heute fragen, wie wir diese Welt besser machen wollen, dann müssen wir erkennen, wie viel Macht in der Gestaltung der Handelsbeziehungen liegt.

Um diesen Schatz zu bergen, um das auch wirklich in die Realität zu bringen – was brauchen wir dafür? Fair Trade, anständige Bezahlung, nachhaltige Produkte, die dem Planeten eine Chance geben zu überleben, und gute Arbeitsbedingungen für jede Frau und für jeden Mann. Das braucht Mut. Das braucht Mut, verbindliche Regeln – ich sage, verbindliche Regeln – zu verabreden, die Kraft, diese Regeln auch in die Realität umzusetzen. Und das ist mir besonders wichtig, denn Implementierung ist heute oft angesprochen worden.

Wir brauchen die Solidarität, den Menschen, die guten Willens sind, unseren Partnerinnen und Partnern, den örtlichen Produzentinnen und Produzenten die Chance zu geben, das auch zu machen, ihre Geschicke in die eigene Hand zu nehmen, und das braucht uns vor Ort! Das braucht nicht nur die abstrakte Regel, sondern unsere Einmischung und unsere Präsenz dort, wo es gilt.

**Karin Karlsbro (Renew).** – Herr talman! Herr kommissionär, kollegor! När förra handelskommissionären Cecilia Malmström sjösatte förhandlingarna om ett frihandelsavtal med Nya Zeeland var ambitionen hög. Många kanske tvivlade. Några höll emot. Går det att förhandla fram ett frihandelsavtal som har både långtgående handelsliberaliseringar och samtidigt höga hållbarhetskrav?

Den här debatten handlar inte om avtalet med Nya Zeeland, men det är viktigt att lyfta fram vad som kan åstadkommas. Nu när vi har avtalet på bordet kan vi konstatera att det genomsyras av Parisavtalets mål, och att det främjar handel med klimatsmarta produkter. Det innehåller en gemensam överenskommelse om att få bort subventioner till fossila bränslen, och det inkluderar jämställdhet och sociala hänsyn.

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Vi kan inte gå tillbaka till den tid då handel bara handlade om volymer. Handelspolitiken är ett verktyg för hållbarhet, och utan handel får vi ingen hållbar utveckling. Slutenhet och protektionism gör bara världen fattigare och mindre hållbar. Därför är också den strategi som vi diskuterar här så viktig.

**Sara Matthieu (Verts/ALE).** – Voorzitter, collega's, commissaris, na jarenlange druk van onder meer de groenen moeten alle handelsakkoorden eindelijk afdwingbare regels bevatten voor sociale en milieuvorwaarden. Als ze het Klimaatakkoord van Parijs niet respecteren, of de arbeidsrechten, dan komen er sancties. Dat zien we nu voor het eerst in de deal met Nieuw-Zeeland, en dat is goed.

Maar de vraag is: wil de Commissie voor andere landen wél nog onder die lat? En wil zij wél nog slechte handelsdeals voor mens en milieu sluiten? Kijk naar India, waar die gesprekken volop lopen, maar er nog niet eens een duurzaamheidsstudie is gemaakt. Voor Australië is er voorlopig nog geen sprake van echt sterke bescherming van mens en milieu, met name als we het hebben over kritische grondstoffen of het klimaat. Mercosur is een ramp voor het regenwoud, voor kleine boeren, voor de inheemse volkeren, en ook Mexico is bijzonder problematisch.

Die onderhandelingen met Mercosur en Mexico moeten we heropenen om ervoor te zorgen dat er echt bindende duurzaamheidsstukken komen. Maar het lijkt erop dat de Commissie hier eerder een shortcut wil en die deals wil gaan splitsen om op die manier het democratisch debat in de nationale en regionale parlementen buiten spel te zetten.

Mijn boodschap is duidelijk: fix die inhoud, want anders zal dat soort van manoeuvres het verzet alleen nog maar groter maken. Beste Commissie, wees consequent. Handelsakkoorden kunnen wij alleen aanvaarden met respect voor mens en milieu, en minder dan dat zullen we niet aanvaarden.

**Roman Haider (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Vorweg zwei Punkte zum generellen Wesen von Handelsabkommen.

Erstens: Handelsabkommen dienen vorrangig dem freien Handel zum gegenseitigen Vorteil. Handelsabkommen sollen nicht dazu dienen, um einseitig dem Handelspartner die eigene Weltsicht aufzuzwingen. Diese völlige Überfrachtung von Handelsabkommen mit ideologischen Wunschvorstellungen ist eine Sackgasse und treibt die EU immer weiter in die Isolation.

Zweitens: Sanktionen bei Handelsabkommen: Sanktionen gegenüber Handelspartnern und das Aussetzen von Handelsabkommen sollen und müssen immer nur die Ultima Ratio, die letzte Möglichkeit sein, wenn wesentliche Interessen der EU-Mitgliedstaaten bedroht sind. Die geforderte Sanktionierung bei Nichteinhaltung der Pariser Klimaziele ist daher abzulehnen. Angesichts des enormen Energiebedarfs aufstrebender Staaten würden überzogene Ansprüche diese Staaten nur weiter in die Arme von China treiben, anstatt sie zu verlässlichen Partnern für die EU zu machen.

Wir müssen der Tatsache leider ins Auge sehen, dass das Gewicht Europas im Vergleich zu anderen globalen Akteuren immer weiter abnimmt. Und die EU-Kommission beschleunigt diese Entwicklung leider auch noch. Deswegen werden zukünftig Realitätssinn und viel Fingerspitzengefühl notwendig sein, um wirklich auch gute Handelsverträge abschließen zu können. Beides vermisste ich leider im 15-Punkte-Aktionsplan für Handel und nachhaltige Entwicklung der Kommission.

**Beata Kempa (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! W poniedziałek odbyła się bardzo ważna debata dotycząca wolności wyznania i praktykowania wiary. Potępiono w niej istotną kwestię prześladowań, m.in. chrześcijan, na całym świecie. Dlaczego o tym mówię? Dlatego, że te prześladowania zdarzają się w krajach, które są ważnymi partnerami handlowymi Unii Europejskiej i z którymi Unia Europejska ma wiążące porozumienia handlowe. Pakistan, Egipt, Chiny, Indie to kraje, gdzie dziś wierzący nie czują się bezpiecznie. Dlatego czas na nasze działania, czas na powiązanie klauzul chroniących prześladowanych chrześcijan z umowami handlowymi podpisywanymi przez Unię Europejską. Jeżeli Egipt czy Pakistan nie potrafią spełnić naszych prostych warunków dotyczących ochrony wierzących i miejsc kultu, to nie powinny liczyć na umowy handlowe z Unią Europejską. Myślę, że czas zrewidować te zgniłe kompromisy. Przypadek Rosji, której Unia ufała i ustępowała przez lata, pokazuje ile w przyszłości mogą nas kosztować właśnie takie kompromisy.

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**Emmanuel Maurel (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, en matière commerciale, nous sommes instruits par l'expérience. Il y a loin de la parole aux actes et malgré un volontarisme de façade, malgré quelques avancées, je pense que la Commission ne répond pas pleinement aux critiques sur l'inefficacité des clauses sur le commerce et le développement durable.

D'abord, il y a un premier point, c'est que l'impact du commerce mondial, de l'intensification des échanges sur le climat reste quand même un impensé dans nos débats. C'est près d'un quart des émissions de gaz à effet de serre. En fait, l'activisme mercantile l'emporte toujours sur les considérations sociales et environnementales, ce qui explique l'enthousiasme pour l'accord avec la Nouvelle-Zélande, alors que c'est un pays aux antipodes de l'Europe, l'enthousiasme pour le Mercosur, alors que ça encourage la destruction de la forêt amazonienne.

Et moi, ce qui me gêne dans le texte de la Commission, c'est que c'est quand même très flou sur la nature et la portée des sanctions en cas de violation des clauses. Où est le caractère contraignant? Quels sont les mécanismes? On reste sur notre faim.

Dernier point, attention au double discours. On ne peut pas dire qu'on va défendre les droits humains, les libertés fondamentales et en même temps aller faire un accord gazier en Azerbaïdjan au moment où ils massacrent les Arméniens et passer un pacte avec le Qatar et l'Arabie Saoudite. Franchement, là, il y a une contradiction qui est insupportable, et il faut la régler.

**Enikő Győri (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! A mostani válságos időkben Európának egyértelműen az az érdeke, hogy új piacokhoz jusson, minél több beszállítója legyen, azaz minél több kereskedelmi partnerre tegyen szert. Ezáltal tudnánk csökkenteni a kiszolgáltatottságunkat egy harmadik ország irányába. Ehhez pedig szabadkereskedelmi megállapodások minél szélesebb körére van szükség. Így jutnának az európai cégek több lehetőséghez, s teremthetnének több munkahelyet.

Ehhez képest ez a ház újabb és újabb akadályokat gördít annak elébe, hogy az uniós gazdaság minél több lábon álljon. Mert az EP-nek soha semmi nem elég, a már kitárgyalt megállapodásokat sem vagyunk képesek tető alá hozni, mert az EP fokozza elvárásait a partnerek felé. A szankciókkal való fenyegetés helyett hatásosabb a párbeszéd, többet érünk el vele, mint a kioktatással. Mindegy, hogy környezetvédelemről vagy szociális és emberi jogokról van szó. Fel kellene ébredni, Európa már nem a világ közepe. Ha továbbra is hittérítőként lépünk fel, globális súlyunk tovább csökken, romlik a versenyképességünk.

Így arra kérem a Bizottságot, hogy ne hagyja zsarolni magát az EP által, és hagyjon fel olyan, ideológiával terhelt jogszabályok létrehozásával, mint amilyen a „due diligence”.

**Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE).** – Mr President, I would say to Vice-President Schinas that trade deals are about delivering jobs and investment, but they're also about setting rules and about promoting our values. The global race for a new era of rules and values is well underway. Recent years have seen our drive for free trade agreements stall, and political division over trade and sustainable development chapters have been one of the major reasons.

Now, having recently achieved a mutually-agreeable solution on trade and sustainable development chapters, we can now focus on making up for lost time. We're fortunate because the timing is very good to make up for lost time. We've survived a pandemic, we are tackling the energy crisis – or at least we're trying to – and our trade strategy is aimed at future-proofing ourselves in a multipolar world.

President von der Leyen set out an ambitious agenda in her State of the Union address, name checking free trade agreements with Chile, with Mexico, with New Zealand, with Australia and with India – and I would also mention Indonesia and Mercosur. So as the race to shape the New World Order gathers pace, free trade agreements will play a key role.

Our partners see the European Union as a beacon of stability, of predictability and opportunity. So with faith in our values, with like-minded teammates and fair rules, we stand a good chance to remain a front runner on the global stage.

*(The speaker agreed to respond to a blue-card speech)*

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**Bogdan Rzońca (ECR)**, *wystąpienie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki*. – Bardzo dziękuję Pani Przewodniczącej i również Pani Posel za przyjęcie pytania. Oczywiście podobają mi się te wszystkie wypowiedzi, które mówią o uczciwych umowach handlowych między Unią Europejską a poszczególnymi państwami czy kontynentami, czy organizacjami międzynarodowymi. Wiemy o tym, że są umowy handlowe z krajami, w których do pracy wykorzystywane są dzieci. Chciałabym poznać Pani zdanie w tej materii. Co Pani o tym myśli? Czy Pani zna takie kraje, i takie kraje, które mają umowy z tymi krajami, gdzie dzieci pracują po prostu od wczesnych lat i są do tej pracy wykorzystywane?

**Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE)**, *blue-card reply*. – Thank you very much for the question. I think that our zero-tolerance policy for child labour trumps anything that has to do with trade, even though trade is about trade and investment and well-being, we have to have red lines. Child labour is a red line, and I think that's why we've reflected it very well in our mutually acceptable across political families compromise with respect to trade and sustainable development chapters.

I think that being respectful of the conventions is a way to do this. We may have our disagreements as to the enforceability and the extent and the clarity of how this is going to be enforced, but in principle I think that nobody in this House disagrees on this.

**Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D)**. – Voorzitter, collega's, ik zie vandaag een brede steun voor de hervormingen en de voorstellen van de Commissie. Dat lijkt logisch, want het zijn logische voorstellen. Maar dat is niet zo, want vijf jaar geleden, toen de S&D-Fractie die voorstellen op tafel legde, was er nog hoongelach. We gaan toch geen sancties invoeren? Blij dat die consensus nu wel groeit, want dat is gewoon niet meer dan normaal.

Handel is het krachtigste instrument dat we hebben in ons buitenlands beleid en het is toch niet meer dan evident dat we de inspanningen die we van onszelf vragen, en van onze industrie en onze mensen vragen – op het vlak van klimaat, maar uiteraard ook mensenrechten, arbeidsrechten – dat we die ook afdwingen in ons handelsbeleid. Het zou bijzonder hypocriet zijn als we de toegang tot onze markt blijven verlenen aan landen en handelspartners die niet optreden tegen kinderarbeid.

Laat me ook heel erg duidelijk zijn: dat gaat uiteraard over de handelsakkoorden waar de onderhandelingen nu over bezig zijn, over toekomstige handelsakkoorden, maar ook nog over akkoorden waar de onderhandelingen van bezig zijn en ook diegene waarvan het ratificatieproces nog moet starten. We hebben dus ook nog wat werk met Mercosur.

**Jordi Cañas (Renew)**. – Señor presidente, señor comisario, ¿el comercio es un fin en sí mismo? El comercio es un objetivo. Entre otras cosas, porque somos la principal región exportadora del mundo y millones de empleos dependen de nuestras exportaciones. Hay que hablar también de los empleos cuando hablamos de desarrollo sostenible. De los nuestros, del empleo de nuestros trabajadores, también, que algunos se olvidan. Hablan del comercio como si fuera un concepto vago y etéreo. No, es una realidad de nuestras empresas. Pero ¿nosotros solo queremos comerciar? No, queremos que este comercio contribuya al desarrollo sostenible. En este contexto, damos la bienvenida a esta revisión del plan y a estas 15 medidas.

Pero cuidado, señorías; para que el desarrollo sea sostenible tiene que ser desarrollo y tiene que ser sostenible. Pero desarrollo también. Y si queremos socios y aliados que converjan con nosotros en nuestros objetivos, tenemos no solo que amenazar con sanciones, sino ofrecer cooperación, colaboración y confianza. Porque entre socios y aliados la confianza es un principio y es un objetivo.

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE)**. – Mr President, I need to thank Executive Vice-President Valdis Dombrovskis for really bringing this new approach to sustainable development in free trade agreements. It is a big step further, and I believe that we have all understood that, with the EU's new trade policy review, trade is not as it used to be; trade is not business as usual. Trade is to be connected, integrated and incorporated into the requirements of sustainable development.

Now, one of the deficiencies of the Commission's approach seems to be that human rights are quite absent, with the exception of labour rights, which of course are very, very important and very directly related to free trade. But, on the other hand, we cannot neglect that there are many other human rights issues that need to be incorporated, and this would be my question to the Commission: is that going to be taken into account?

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The delegations of the European Union will have a very big responsibility over how this all will be put into practice. An important element there is that the EU delegations must be very open to civil society and other stakeholders in order to get them on board with discussing how free trade agreements are actually implemented and the new requirements on more enforceable, sustainable development.

Lastly, I have to ask the Commission: what is your methodology with the existing free trade agreements, which has not been revealed so far? What are the pathways to include the new sustainable development approach in existing free trade agreements?

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – *A Uachtaráin*, the war in Ukraine and the COVID-19 pandemic have caused huge disruptions to global supply chains, exposed European vulnerabilities, and shown that, now more than ever, the EU needs to diversify our trading routes and develop new partners.

However, diversification should not come at the expense of other EU policy goals that ensure that producers and trading countries abide by environmental and labour standards similar to those standards, that producers within the EU follow progressive labour and social rights globally, and that protect the commercial activity of businesses within the EU.

As the world's largest trading bloc, we are in a position to use our trade policy to engage partners on important issues. For this reason, I welcome the Commission's additional sanctions, using its trade toolbox for enforcing labour, environmental and human rights standards. It is essential that these sanctions are used in a responsible way, namely only as a measure of last resort. Sustainability objectives should not undermine the negotiability of our trade agreements. It would be an own goal for the Commission to impose sanctions haphazardly. Doing so would undermine the negotiability of our trade agreements and indeed drive away prospective trading partners. The Commission's proposal, I think, strikes this delicate balance between negotiability and ambition.

**Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Vice-président, enfin, enfin, nous commençons à remettre les choses à l'endroit et à cesser de confondre la fin et les moyens. Car oui, le commerce est un moyen et non une fin. Il doit servir un but plus grand que lui, à commencer par le développement durable.

La Commission semble avoir partiellement entendu le message que nous essayons de porter et nous pourrions donc demain sanctionner la violation de l'accord de Paris ou des droits sociaux par nos partenaires commerciaux. Vous ne respectez pas vos engagements de réduction d'émissions, vous violez les libertés syndicales, nous rétablissons les droits de douane. Mettre notre puissance commerciale au service de nos principes et de nos intérêts stratégiques, voilà la voie à suivre. Cette approche doit désormais prévaloir dans toutes les négociations en cours et dans tous les accords déjà négociés.

Mais nous devons aller plus loin, insérer par exemple les clauses miroirs dans tous nos accords pour favoriser l'adoption de nos standards en matière agricole, pour mettre fin à la concurrence déloyale et ancrer nos professions de foi écologique dans les faits. Une rupture avec 40 années de laisser-faire, laisser-passé s'esquisse. Ce n'est qu'un début, chers collègues, à nous de transformer l'Union et son marché en puissance normative globale.

**Margarida Marques (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, Presidente, Comissão, finalmente, a Comissão fez o seu trabalho. Reforçar o desenvolvimento sustentável nos acordos comerciais da União Europeia é uma velha ambição dos socialistas e democratas no Parlamento Europeu.

Hoje, com este debate, queremos incentivar vivamente a Comissão a generalizar este princípio nos novos acordos, mas também nos acordos existentes. A União Europeia tem que ter uma estratégia sem falha na luta contra o trabalho forçado e do o trabalho infantil, na defesa dos direitos humanos universais, incluindo a igualdade de género, e dos direitos sociais, laborais e ambientais. A implementação e aplicação, incluindo agora a possibilidade de atribuir sanções comerciais por violação do Acordo de Paris ou de convenções da OIT, são essenciais para a promoção de uma política de comércio internacional justa e coerente com todas as políticas e valores europeus.

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**Maria Arena (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, nous ne pouvons plus, et on l'a dit, continuer à considérer l'instrument commercial de l'Union européenne dans une relation purement inscrite dans un contrat qui favorise la maximisation des profits des plus forts au détriment des plus faibles. On l'a vu, le commerce a des effets adverses en matière d'environnement, en matière de droits humains et parfois en matière de droits des travailleurs. La médiatrice l'a dit, la politique commerciale, aujourd'hui, de l'Union européenne n'a que faire des droits humains.

Et donc, on accueille avec beaucoup d'intérêt la question du TSD, du chapitre développement durable, mais malheureusement, la question des droits humains n'est pas dans ce TSD. Et donc je demande que ce TSD puisse être corrigé avec les propositions qui ont été formulées par la médiatrice. Je pense que cette médiatrice sert à quelque chose et qu'elle n'a pas d'intérêt à droite, à gauche ou au centre, mais qu'elle a l'intérêt des citoyens européens à cœur, et je pense qu'il est important que vous puissiez corriger le tir dans cet objectif précis.

**Billy Kelleher (Renew).** – Mr President, I welcome the outcome of the Commission's review on the 15-point action plan on trade and sustainable development. There is no doubt, as the strongest economic trading bloc in the globe, we have obligations both to ourselves, but also to the broader world itself, in ensuring that standards are maintained and lifted.

So we can't have a situation where there is exploitation in third countries, third world countries and trading blocs for the benefit of the European Union alone. In future, trade agreements have to do a serious, tangible assessment of the impact, not only in the context of the impact on Europe, but also how will it impact on the countries and the partnerships we are drafting agreements with. That is of fundamental critical importance to the adherence of decency in world trade.

If you take, for example, environmental standards, labour standards, social employment standards and other human rights obligations, it is imperative that we start to shift and nudge not just Europe, but also, more importantly, the people that we are trading with whose standards are not ours. We have to encourage and nudge them as well. So, I welcome the publication, but we have a lot of work to do to ensure that our trade agreements are consistent with basic decency across the globe.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Margaritis Schinas, vice-président de la Commission.** – Monsieur le Président, je remercie tout le monde pour ce débat très riche. Il est clair que la tonalité et le contenu de ce débat prouvent que nos échanges de ces dix-huit derniers mois ont beaucoup contribué à alimenter la réflexion qui se cristallise aujourd'hui.

Let me conclude with two remarks on two families of issues that have been raised by some of you, many of you. First, on implementation and enforcement, and then on human rights.

Let us reiterate our commitment to a stronger focus on implementation and enforcement. We will extend the standard state-to-state dispute settlement compliance phase to the TSD chapter of our agreements, meaning that the party found in violation of any of the TSD commitments will have to promptly inform on how it will implement the panel report and comply within a certain period of time.

We will also include the possibility to apply, as a last resort, trade sanctions for material breaches of the Paris Climate Agreement and the ILO fundamental labour principles.

Now, on the issue of human rights, TSD chapters cover, amongst other violations, the violations of labour rights such as child labour or forced labour. The violations of human rights are covered by the essential element clauses in our agreements. But what is important is that both of the sanctions and the essential element clauses ensure that our trade partners will respect the most important values in our relations, which constitute the basis on which we can enlarge and engage in our trade relationships.

So thank you very much for this exchange. The Commission looks forward to further discussions with you on this important subject.

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Esmu saņēmis 1 rezolūcijas priekšlikumu, kas iesniegts saskaņā ar Reglamenta 136. panta 5. punktu.

Debates ir slēgtas.



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Balsošana notiks rītdien.

## 10. Sytuacja humanitarna po niszczycielskich powodziach w Pakistanie i kryzys klimatyczny (debata)

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debātes par Padomes un Komisijas paziņojumiem par humanitāro situāciju pēc katastrofālajiem plūdiem Pakistānā un klimata krīzi (2022/2837(RSP)).

**Mikuláš Bek,** *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, on behalf of the Presidency and the Council, I would like to express my sincere condolences to the people of Pakistan, who were hit with the worst flooding in the country's history.

In this tragic context, we should be proud of the fact that the EU and its Member States were one of the first responders to this disaster. The EU's emergency humanitarian aid targeted primarily the provision of emergency shelter, food and clean water, as well as cash transfers and primary health care services. The Commissioner will certainly elaborate further on the current needs assessment, but I should say that the EU is ready to consider further assistance to the Pakistani people.

Furthermore, we have successfully used the EU civil protection mechanism to provide in-kind assistance from Member States, and we have also mobilised an EU civil protection team, with experts from several Member States that were dispatched to Pakistan immediately after the flooding. This immediate response was facilitated by the long-standing cooperation between the EU and Pakistan on disaster risk reduction, especially since the previous devastating floods in 2010.

The tragic events in Pakistan should remind us of the fact that 90% of all major natural disasters in the world today are connected to climate change. According to the latest IPCC assessment report, 40% of the world population, notably in developing countries, is highly vulnerable because of climate change, with an increased risk of cyclones, droughts, floods, heat waves, infectious diseases, sea level rises and wildfires.

This is why we need to work more on prevention and aim towards an integrated climate and disaster risk reduction governance. We support the work of the United Nations in this regard, particularly its Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. Its call to action towards zero climate disasters by 2050 aims at reducing vulnerability, increasing risk management and early warning systems, and strengthening the resilience of communities. This undertaking will require a 'whole of society' approach, where governments are in the driving seat, but they must bring together all the different stakeholders. The EU is ready to contribute its share to this work.

The sooner we deal with disaster reduction, the more prepared we will be to save lives and livelihoods in future climate disasters. This is why the Czech Presidency has decided to place this issue at the heart of its programme, especially from the perspective of humanitarian assistance, development, cooperation and civil protection.

The Council is presently discussing draft Council conclusions on disaster risk reduction in EU external action that we intend to adopt at the Foreign Affairs Council in November, focusing particularly on natural and human-induced disasters across the crisis management cycle. We expect these conclusions to strengthen the EU's global role as a promoter of disaster risk reduction, so that situations such as the one faced by Pakistan will, in the future, result in less suffering for those affected. Thank you very much for your attention. I look forward to listening to the debate.

**Janusz Wojciechowski,** *Member of the Commission.* – Mr President, honourable Members, the Pakistani people are enduring the unimaginable. On behalf of the European Commission, I wish to convey our deepest condolences to those who lost their lives, homes and livelihoods during the historic monsoon rains in Pakistan and the catastrophic flash floods which followed.

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The devastation has been what United Nations Secretary General Guterres called 'climate carnage'. Over 33 million people have been affected by the floods. Almost 1 700 people have lost their lives. At least 8 million have been displaced from their homes. Millions of houses have been completely destroyed or ruined. Almost 4 million acres of crops and arable land impacted. Over one third of the country is submerged by the floods. The floods have also triggered outbreaks of disease and thrown people into food insecurity, literally overnight.

The European Union has been the very first immediate responder on the ground among donors. We initially mobilised over EUR 2 million in humanitarian aid to assist flood-affected communities in the hardest hit regions. This support has included emergency shelter, food, water and sanitation, cash and primary health care. Through our Union Civil Protection Mechanism, we have also coordinated and financially supported the delivery of assistance from seven EU Member States so far – Belgium, Sweden, France, Greece, Austria, Denmark and Slovenia. They have provided tents and water purification systems and sent doctors and many other types of support urgently requested by the Pakistani authorities. I sincerely thank them for their support.

We also activated the European Union's emergency satellite service, Copernicus, to provide satellite images to help monitor the situation. We have our European Union humanitarian expert on the ground in the hardest hit regions. Commissioner Lenarčič is himself visiting the most affected regions across Pakistan this week, where he has announced the proposals for an additional EUR 30 million in humanitarian aid. With this funding, we will be able to maintain support for their response over the coming months.

The European Commission is also mobilising experts to carry out the post-disaster needs assessment jointly with the UN and the World Bank. Also, from the European Union Development Corporation side, there is already short-term support under way for the adaptation of ongoing development programmes in the worst-hit provinces to support nutrition, agriculture, water and sanitation.

Beyond the immediate response, the European Union is also supporting the Pakistani authorities in the area of disaster preparedness, anticipatory action, early warning system and more. Because preventing is better than only responding.

This flood has shown we need to do more to tackle climate change, not only respond to its humanitarian consequences. Just as stability in Pakistan is in our own interests, so Pakistan has an interest to work closely with the European Union. The European Union is Pakistan's second most important trading partner over the last ten years, and especially since 2014, when the Generalised Scheme of Preference, a trade preferential assistance scheme, was awarded. Since then, imports of the EU 27 from Pakistan have almost doubled.

Trade and economy are key pillars of our cooperation, but beyond that there is a lot of unexploited potential for further cooperation under the Strategic Engagement Plan, notably in security, given the important position of Pakistan in the region.

I look forward to hearing your views in the course of our debate.

**Tomas Tobé**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, Minister, Commissioner, and not least Pakistan Ambassador Khan, the heavy monsoon rains have triggered the most severe flooding in Pakistan's recent history, washing away lives and livelihoods and causing unprecedented damage to the infrastructure. The destruction could set the country back many years. Pakistan is an important partner to the European Union, and we must support them.

Firstly, to meet the enormous needs, we must work together with the international community to come forward with new aid and ensure an immense humanitarian response. Secondly, we need to commit to long-term support and increase the impact of our development assistance in Pakistan to speed up the colossal reconstruction that lies ahead. Thirdly, we need to work together to tackle the climate change challenge and support Pakistan in creating climate resilient infrastructure to prevent future disasters.

This should be a global effort, but it is clear that the European Union needs to take the lead. I know that many of my colleagues are at group meetings now, but I must be very clear: there is a broad support from the European Parliament and we will be there for Pakistan.

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**Maria Arena**, *au nom du groupe S&D*. – Monsieur le Président, la commission des droits de l'homme était il y a deux semaines au Pakistan, et nous avons eu l'occasion de rencontrer l'équipe de l'Autorité nationale de gestion des catastrophes ainsi que des communautés affectées par les inondations. Ce qu'ils nous ont montré était tout simplement terrible, terrible quant à l'intensité des phénomènes survenus.

En avril, les plus hautes températures jamais relevées au Pakistan – 51 °C dans le Sindh – ont provoqué une diminution de 65 % du débit de l'Indus, d'où la population pakistanaise tire 90 % de son eau. Se sont ensuivies des pénuries alimentaires, des décès, mais aussi une perte importante de l'élevage destiné à la production de viande.

En septembre, des pluies diluviennes ont englouti un tiers du territoire, entraînant tout sur leur passage: ponts, écoles, hôpitaux, maisons, vies humaines... Comme l'a dit M. Guterres, il s'agit là d'un «carnage climatique». Alors que le Pakistan émet 1 % des gaz à effet de serre, le G 20 en émet, lui, 80 %. Pourtant, c'est bien le Pakistan qui, le premier, est victime de ces changements climatiques. Nous devons aider le Pakistan. Ce n'est pas de la générosité, c'est de la justice.

#### IN THE CHAIR: OTHMAR KARAS

*Vice-President*

**Petras Auštrevičius**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, Mr Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, allow me, first of all, to begin by expressing the condolences of the Renew Europe Group to all the people of Pakistan, and in particular to those affected by the catastrophic flooding caused by monsoon rains this summer. Special condolences to the people of Balochistan and Sindh provinces.

In September, we, as a delegation, visited Pakistan and saw first-hand the gravity of the humanitarian situation. Life has become difficult too for over 30 million people in Pakistan, with almost 1 million houses uninhabitable. The consequences of the floods are severe for all and have spared no one. I witnessed it at the Afghan refugee camp, where already modest houses have turned into piles of clay. Pakistan needs our immediate support and humanitarian aid.

Dear colleagues, climate change is turning into an invincible disaster that is punishing humanity more and more severely. We need to recognise this and take the necessary steps. Let us ensure that the EU budget is adequately prepared to meet awaiting challenges and allows us to properly respond to all the humanitarian needs of the people of Pakistan.

**Caroline Roose**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, «pourquoi mon peuple paie-t-il le prix de ce réchauffement climatique?» Tels sont les mots du premier ministre pakistanais. Alors que le Pakistan compte pour 0,3 % des émissions mondiales cumulées de CO<sub>2</sub>, il est l'un des États les plus touchés par les effets du changement climatique. Les inondations qui ont frappé le pays sont un carnage climatique: 1 500 morts, 33 millions de personnes touchées – sans abri, sans accès à l'eau ou à la nourriture –, 7,6 millions de personnes déplacées et un risque élevé d'épidémies et de maladies transmises par l'eau telles que le choléra, la diarrhée, la dengue et le paludisme.

La situation pourrait encore empirer en cas d'effondrement du barrage de Sukkur, qui contient la plus grande réserve d'eau douce du pays. La quasi-totalité du système agricole pakistanais dépend de ce barrage pour son approvisionnement en eau. La Commission a débloqué une aide de 30 millions d'euros: c'est bien, mais c'est trop peu – moins de 1 euro par personne touchée. Les dégâts se chiffrent à 10 milliards de dollars. Nous sommes responsables du réchauffement climatique, et donc de ses conséquences. On ne peut pas se contenter d'un soutien si faible.

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Alors cette catastrophe, elle doit aussi nous interroger quant à la mise en place d'actions globales sur le long terme: massifier notre aide à l'adaptation et aux politiques de prévention, mettre en place un cadre protecteur pour les déplacés climatiques, adopter au niveau international un mécanisme efficace pour les pertes et les préjudices, comme le demandent les États du Sud lors des négociations pour le climat. Nous serons confrontés à d'autres catastrophes dans les années à venir. Si nécessaires soient-elles, des réponses ponctuelles, au cas par cas, ne sont pas à la hauteur. Agissons vraiment.

**Hervé Juvin**, *au nom du groupe ID.* – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, je m'associe naturellement aux condoléances qui ont été exprimées à l'endroit du peuple pakistanais et des victimes d'un des sinistres climatiques qui, hélas, se produisent à répétition.

M'étant associé à cet hommage et à ces condoléances, je voudrais souligner deux ou trois points qui me paraissent importants. Nous devons aider le Pakistan pour nos nations européennes. C'est un partenaire important, qui de surcroît tient un rôle majeur pour le retour de la paix et de la prospérité dans une région où se joue probablement l'avenir du monde. Le Pakistan était présent à la conférence de Samarcande, il est un membre important de l'Organisation de coopération de Shanghai, et l'Union européenne comme les nations européennes doivent approfondir leurs relations avec ce pays.

Les circonstances dramatiques que vit le Pakistan sont naturellement l'occasion de constater qui sont les amis, qui sont les proches. Et à cet égard je ne peux que saluer l'effort consenti par le ministre indien des affaires étrangères, qui m'a affirmé que son pays avait octroyé plus de 25 millions de dollars d'aides à un État traditionnellement considéré comme un ennemi.

Je voudrais ensuite souligner que, si le changement climatique est naturellement l'objet d'une lutte urgente, ses effets ne se feront sentir qu'à moyen et à long terme. Nous devons travailler à prévenir les grands risques climatiques. Nous devons remettre en cause des modèles d'infrastructures qui ne sont pas adaptés au relief ni aux habitudes des populations locales. Nous devons réviser des modes de construction qui font fi des traditions et qui font fi de l'expérience de plusieurs siècles de populations confrontées à des environnements sévères et à des conditions difficiles. Tout ceci touche naturellement aux conditions du commerce, mais tout ceci touche aussi aux conditions d'un modèle économique manifestement insoutenable. Je souhaite que l'Union européenne fasse, dans ses priorités, place à l'expertise écologique en regard des grands risques environnementaux.

**Nicola Procaccini**, *a nome del gruppo ECR.* – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, prima di tutto desidero esprimere solidarietà e vicinanza nei confronti del popolo pakistano, anche a nome della delegazione per le relazioni con i paesi dell'Asia meridionale di cui sono presidente.

Proprio ieri ho incontrato l'ambasciatore e abbiamo fatto il punto sul dramma che si sta consumando in Pakistan, oltre che sugli aiuti che l'Europa sta portando in queste settimane. Un aiuto concreto che si è tradotto subito in circa 2,5 milioni di EUR a sostegno delle famiglie colpite dalle inondazioni. Certamente è poco, considerata la mole dei danni, ma questo finanziamento si aggiunge a due preziosi strumenti che rappresentano forse il meglio che possiamo offrire come europei sotto l'aspetto umanitario e tecnologico. Mi riferisco all'attivazione del nostro meccanismo di protezione civile e all'utilizzo del servizio satellitare europeo Copernicus per avere informazioni utili sulle aree più colpite del paese.

Alla risposta immediata bisognerà aggiungere una efficace strategia di medio e lungo periodo. L'emergenza climatica ha mostrato in Pakistan il suo volto più crudele. Noi sappiamo che combatterla è difficile, ma se ne possono contenere le conseguenze peggiori con un'attenta politica di contrasto al dissesto idrogeologico. Facciamolo insieme, come ricorda un proverbio arabo: «L'amicizia è un tesoro che non finisce mai».

**Younous Omarjee**, *au nom du groupe The Left.* – Monsieur le Président, cet été la saison de la mousson a tourné à la catastrophe absolue au Pakistan. Le Pakistan, cela a été dit, n'émet que 0,3 % des gaz à effet de serre. Et pourtant, il paie aujourd'hui un lourd tribut au dérèglement climatique qui, combiné à l'ordre inégalitaire du monde, est une véritable double peine pour les pays pauvres et sera encore plus, demain, facteur de déstabilisation à l'échelle de la planète.

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Ici comme là-bas, j'invite donc l'Union européenne à honorer ses engagements vis-à-vis des pays en voie de développement et à intensifier ses efforts pour que l'adaptation au réchauffement climatique devienne une priorité à l'échelle globale et en particulier lors de la prochaine COP en Égypte.

**Peter van Dalen (PPE).** – Voorzitter, Pakistan is helaas al vaker getroffen door overstromingen, maar dit jaar smolten de gletsjers heel snel en kwamen de moessons ook in grote hoeveelheden. Getroffen zijn onder andere de boeren. Het is wel jammer dat de grootgrondbezitters desondanks eisen van de boeren dat ze – hoewel de oogsten zijn mislukt – toch alle leningen moeten terugbetalen. Ik vind dat jammer.

Ik was onlangs in Pakistan, en de Pakistaanse regering zei ons: ja, dit komt allemaal door de klimaatverandering en we willen graag compensatie. Wij hebben gezegd: oké, dat snappen we, maar begin dan eerst de compensatie te vragen aan China en aan India. Dat zijn jullie burens en bovendien de grootste vervuilers.

Voorzitter, Pakistan zal bij de Europese Unie, denk ik, een nieuwe aanvraag gaan indienen voor het handelsbegunstigingprogramma SAP plus. Wat mij betreft kijken we daar kritisch naar. Niet alleen zijn het de grootgrondbezitters in Pakistan die erg belangrijk zijn, maar we zien ook een grote invloed van extremisten, waardoor velen onterecht gevangen zitten vanwege valse beschuldigingen en vanwege godslastering. Ook vrouwen, journalisten en werknemers zitten in Pakistan in de hoek waar de klappen vallen.

Dus ja, we moeten Pakistan helpen vanwege deze vloed. Maar Pakistan moet ook concreet zelf de goede richting inslaan om de vloed van ongelijkheid in dit land te keren.

*(De spreker aanvaardt een "blauwe kaart"-reactie)*

**Mick Wallace (The Left), blue-card speech.** – I'd like to ask the MEP a question about climate justice. You say that Pakistan should ask India and China, the big polluters, for compensation for climate change. We know for a fact that climate change has been predominantly caused by the developed world – ours. The West has been predominantly responsible for the impact of climate change, but they're not the ones that feel the impact of it. Pakistan emits less than 1% of the world emissions. Tell me, why should the people responsible for climate change not give them reparations?

**Peter van Dalen (PPE), "blauwe kaart"-antwoord.** – Ja, ik hoop dat u goed geluisterd heeft naar wat ik gezegd heb. Ik heb gezegd: Pakistan vroeg ons een compensatie. En wij hebben gezegd: gaat u dan zeker ook naar de burens, China en India. Want China is de grootste vervuiler ter wereld. Kijk maar naar de stikstofbelasting die China maakt. En dat komt allemaal doordat veel mensen, ook hier in Europa, Chinese producten kopen. Ik doe dus zelf mijn best om geen Chinese producten meer te kopen, want ik wil niet indirect meewerken aan de vervuiling die dat land veroorzaakt. En natuurlijk moeten wij Pakistan bijstaan, helemaal, maar China en India moeten niet vergeten worden.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, a dimensão da tragédia que se abateu sobre o Paquistão é inquestionável e apela à nossa total solidariedade e ao reforço da ajuda humanitária por parte da União Europeia.

Sabemos muito bem que isto que aconteceu é fruto das alterações climáticas que atravessamos e da importância de combater essas alterações climáticas. Mas na emergência é preciso fazer mais. Face aos inúmeros exemplos de situações extremas que as alterações climáticas colocam às sociedades, com resultados cada vez mais catastróficos, como é o caso do Paquistão, é preciso que a União Europeia lidere o movimento mundial para adaptar as nossas estruturas urbanas e planos de prevenção a este tipo de ameaças.

A União Europeia deve incentivar este projeto, para o qual devem ser convocados todos os especialistas, de forma a tentar estar um passo à frente dos problemas, em vez de estarmos sempre a reagir diante da tragédia.

**Jordi Solé (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, the scale of the floods in Pakistan isn't easy to grasp: 1 600 deaths, 33 million inhabitants affected, around one third of the landmass under water and more than 10 million people in need.

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As floodwaters slowly recede, the sheer scale of damage becomes even more evident. This catastrophe is yet another demonstration of the terrible effects that climate change can bring. It's a country where the socioeconomic situation was already very fragile. Despite massive relief efforts from Pakistani authorities to alleviate the devastating impacts of the floods – and beyond, the immediate response from the international community, there are still many pressing needs to be covered and many health threats to be countered.

Therefore, we should step up our efforts to help Pakistan in facing not only the immediate but also the long-term consequences of such a huge disaster and in building resilience against climate change. We welcome the new EUR 30 million humanitarian aid package, but we ask to go beyond that.

**Maximilian Krah (ID).** – Herr Präsident, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren Kollegen! Die Naturkatastrophe in Pakistan ist in der Tat erschreckend. Ein Monsun, der normalerweise im August endet und im September noch nicht zu Ende ist – das ist einzigartig, Temperaturen von über 50 Grad.

Und wenn wir etwas politisch Positives erkennen können, dann ist das doch die große globale Hilfe, dass hier nämlich Länder, die ansonsten politisch Gegner sind, ja sogar verfeindet sind, helfen. Die Vereinigten Staaten, China und die Europäische Union ziehen an einem Strang. Wann hat es das schon gegeben?

Genau das ist die Botschaft für Pakistan in die Zukunft. Wir wollen als Europäer in dieser Region an Bord bleiben. Genau deshalb freue ich mich auch, dass Botschafter Khan heute bei uns ist, weil es zeigt, dass auch Pakistan uns dabei haben möchte. Wir wollen als Europa eine große globale Friedensmacht des Handels, des Ausgleichs und der Partnerschaft sein. Und ich denke, dass wir es hier zeigen können.

Die Zukunft kann aber nicht darin liegen, dass wir nur die Helfer und großzügigen Geber sind, sondern es geht um Partnerschaft, die auch Unterschiedlichkeit respektiert. Genau deshalb bin ich anders als Sie, Herr Kollege van Dalen, der Meinung, dass Pakistan im APS+ bleiben muss, weil wir nur dadurch erreichen, dass wir in dieser zentralasiatischen Region eben dabei bleiben. Wenn wir uns herausziehen, sind wir draußen. Aber wenn wir draußen sind, können wir gar nichts mehr beeinflussen – beeinflussen nicht im Sinne der Diktatur eines Vorschreibens, sondern beeinflussen im Sinne einer Partnerschaft, eines Gebens und Nehmens.

Ich glaube, dass wir jetzt die Chance nutzen sollten, wenn diese Flutkatastrophe einigermaßen überwunden sein wird – worauf ich hoffe –, daran zu arbeiten, dass wir in Zentralasien unsere Position stärken – stärken als Partner, stärken mit Respekt für andere Wege und auch als Partner mit anderen Mitspielern, selbst wenn diese uns teilweise nicht gefallen.

**Miguel Urbán Crespo (The Left).** – Señor presidente, Pakistán produce menos del 1 % de las emisiones mundiales. Sin embargo, es uno de los países que más sufre las consecuencias del cambio climático. Lleva veinte años en la lista de los diez países más vulnerables por riesgos climáticos.

Veinte años en los que también ha estado sufriendo otra crisis: la trampa de la deuda externa. Las recientes inundaciones han provocado pérdidas de 10 000 millones de dólares. Pero en lo que llevamos de año, Pakistán ha pagado más de 15 000 millones de dólares en devolver deudas. Unas deudas que siguen aumentando gracias al acuerdo firmado con el FMI, que obliga a Pakistán a recortar su gasto social y a aumentar los precios de los bienes de primera necesidad.

Es ilegítimo enriquecerse con el empobrecimiento y las desgracias ajenas.

Si la Unión Europea quiere contribuir a paliar la emergencia humanitaria en Pakistán, que empiece cancelando la parte de la deuda ilegítima de la Unión Europea con Pakistán.

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A *Uachtarán*, the climate crisis is increasingly affecting the lives of millions of people across the world. This year, Pakistan endured extreme weather conditions: from its heat wave in March and April, to the devastating floods in June.

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Pakistan was one of the country's worst affected by climate change in the first years of this century. This climate-induced crisis has come on top of an ongoing political and economic crisis. After the heaviest monsoons in over a century, 1 600 people lost their lives and approximately 13 000 people were injured, in addition to the millions of homes lost. The floods have also had a devastating effect on Pakistan's agriculture, which plays a central role in the country's economy.

It is essential that the EU stand with the people of Pakistan, a country with which we have strong bilateral relations for over 60 years. I welcome the funding and supports that have been provided already. Europe has offered humanitarian funding, provided medical aid and exported essential equipment, such as water pumps and hygiene kits.

I would like to make a broader point. In Europe our primary focus is on the unjust war in Ukraine and the resulting energy crisis, which poses immediate and acute dangers. Climate change, on the other hand, has not gone away. It poses an existential problem for the human race, and the effects are plain to see.

**Mónica Silvana González (S&D).** – Señor presidente, señor embajador de Pakistán, el cambio climático ha provocado una nueva crisis humanitaria con dimensiones sin precedentes —más de treinta millones de personas afectadas—. Sin embargo, desde la Unión Europea seguimos sin tener definido cómo vamos a proteger a las personas desplazadas por el clima y sin definir la figura del refugiado climático.

¿Cómo sería la respuesta europea si la diseñáramos pensando en una niña pakistaní que lo ha perdido todo en estos últimos meses? Esta niña, además de agua potable, además de no enfermar, además de comer, sueña con volver a la escuela. Por ello, la respuesta europea a Pakistán debe hacerse aplicando el enfoque del triple nexo. No se puede dar una respuesta solo humanitaria, no solo desde la Dirección General de Protección Civil y Operaciones de Ayuda Humanitaria Europeas (ECHO), sino que necesita un desarrollo a medio y a largo plazo. Esto no puede ser una actuación netamente humanitaria.

Somos el mayor donante de cooperación y tenemos una responsabilidad añadida. Necesitamos no solo reforzar la adaptación y la mitigación al cambio climático, sino adelantarnos a las crisis y reforzar el mecanismo de pérdidas y daños.

No olvidemos la apuesta de Pakistán hace unos meses acogiendo a refugiados afganos. Nuestras ONG están allí. Debemos involucrar también al sector privado para hacer más fuerza y dar una respuesta, para que esta niña tenga un futuro y pueda seguir yendo a la escuela en Pakistán.

**Pär Holmgren (Verts/ALE).** – Herr talman! De fruktansvärda översvämningarna i Pakistan är givetvis ett tydligt exempel på en extrem väderhändelse i ett varmare klimat. Det är emellertid också, tyvärr, ett tydligt exempel på en händelse där vi inte längre bara kan prata om klimatanpassning.

Tittar vi framåt i detta århundrade, kommer vi att se allt fler områden som vi faktiskt inte längre kommer att kunna rädda och återställa. Det som vi ser nu är en effekt av alla utsläpp av växthusgaser ända sedan industrialiseringen. Tittar vi på den mängden, vet vi att det är vi här i Europa, tillsammans med USA, som har stått för ganska exakt 50 procent. Vi måste nu stå upp och ta ett ansvar för dessa historiska utsläpp.

Det humanitära stöd som EU hittills har bidragit med till Pakistan räcker inte. Då är Pakistan bara *ett* exempel. EU måste nu, under och inför COP 27, stå upp för mer finansiering för klimatanpassning, men också tydligt för finansiering av förluster och skador, *loss and damage*. Vi måste tyvärr inse att det har gått så pass långt.

**Marina Mesure (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, le chaos règne au Pakistan suite aux terribles inondations qui ont frappé le pays. Plus de 1 600 personnes ont perdu la vie, des millions de logements détruits, des terres agricoles ravagées et des centaines d'écoles rayées de la carte. Au moins 8 millions de personnes ont été forcées de tout quitter pour trouver ailleurs les ressources nécessaires à leur survie.

Dans ce contexte, la nouvelle aide humanitaire de 30 millions d'euros proposée par l'UE pour répondre aux besoins vitaux du peuple pakistanais est une bonne chose. Nous nous félicitons aussi que le mécanisme européen de protection civile ait pu être mobilisé afin d'envoyer des équipes sur place pour soutenir les opérations de secours. Un mécanisme qu'il conviendra par ailleurs de renforcer dans ses moyens humains et financiers afin de faire face aux prochaines crises et appels à l'aide tant en Europe que dans le reste du monde.

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Je conclurai néanmoins en rappelant que la solidarité, bien qu'irremplaçable pour celles et ceux qui la reçoivent, ne règle pas tout. Il faudra s'attaquer aux causes de ces catastrophes climatiques qui se multiplient et s'intensifient, hier au Pakistan, demain sur notre continent. Elles sont incontestablement le fait du dérèglement climatique dont il est de notre responsabilité collective d'atténuer les effets, notamment pour les plus vulnérables.

**Janina Ochojska (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Wyrażam kondolencje dla rodzin ofiar powodzi oraz żal z powodu zniszczenia tak wielu domów, utraty tego co cenne, co najbliższe, i ogromnych strat w infrastrukturze. Cóż mogę więcej powiedzieć po tych wszystkich słowach, które tutaj padły?

Dzisiaj zagłosowaliśmy za przyjęciem sprawozdania dotyczącego dostępu do wody jako prawa przynależnego każdemu człowiekowi. W czasie powodzi, chociaż wszędzie jest dużo wody, potrzebna jest woda pitna. Solidarność to nie tylko pomaganie w tej czy innej kwestii, to też walka ze zmianami klimatycznymi, dbanie o swoje środowisko tak, żeby nie wpływało negatywnie na środowisko sąsiadów. Nie możemy przewidzieć, który kraj będzie następny i ucierpi w związku z następstwami zmian klimatu, takimi jak susza, trzęsienie ziemi, erupcja czy, tak jak w przypadku Pakistanu, powódź.

Oczekuję, że nie tylko będziemy wspierać ludność Pakistanu, ale znajdziemy sposoby na ograniczenie tych katastrof w przyszłości. Teraz Pakistan, a jutro to może być kraj każdego z nas.

**Leszek Miller (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Zmiany klimatu nie wzięły się znikąd. Kraje Zachodu i Północy ponoszą za ten stan rzeczy największą odpowiedzialność. Bogactwo naszej części świata jest okupione degradacją środowiska naturalnego, co w sposób drastyczny i jaskrawy uprzytamnia kataklizm w Pakistanie, który dotknął ponad 30 mln ludzi. Żywiół pochłonął 18 milionów kilometrów kwadratowych, 2 miliony domostw znalazło się pod wodą, uprawy i infrastruktura zostały doszczętnie zniszczone. Śmierć poniosły zwierzęta. Straty liczone są w miliardach dolarów, a nie jest to końcowy bilans. Choć każdego dnia podejmujemy starania, aby zaciągnięty od naszej planety kredyt spłacić osiągnięciem klimatycznej neutralności, to tragedia Pakistanu boleśnie uświadamia, że działamy zbyt wolno i późno, czego konsekwencje ponoszą państwa niemal bezbronne wobec kataklizmu, jaki na nie spadł.

Władze Pakistanu apelują do całego świata o wsparcie. Unia Europejska musi na ten cel odpowiedzieć pomocą humanitarną, instytucjonalną, finansową i wszelką inną.

**Ciarán Cuffe (Verts/ALE).** – A Uachtaráin, tá níos mó ná seacht milliún duine easáitithe. Cailleadh míle sé chéad duine, cúig chéad leanbh ina measc. Chaill na milliúin leanaí sa Phacastáin a dtíthe, a gclanna, agus a gcuid scoileanna. Agus anois, tá siad i mbaol go leor galar atá ag scriosadh na tíre. Tá na Náisiúin Aontaithe ag iarraidh níos mó cabhrach daonnúla agus ba cheart dúinn cabhrú leo.

Caithfidh an tAontas Eorpach a chúnaimh a mhéadú. Seo tubaiste aeráide atá ag tarlú os comhair ár súl. Is léir go gcaithfidh dícharbónú a bhrostú i ngach earnáil. Léiríonn an tragóid sa Phacastáin praghas an bhogáis.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Mr President, the scale of this disaster is incredible. One million homes have disappeared, and 33 million Pakistanis have been displaced. More than ever, this is a time for climate justice. Real climate justice means loss and damage payments. It means climate reparations from those who are most responsible for climate change – the developed West – to those who are the least responsible and the most affected.

The 2021 Glasgow Climate Pact was a failure in terms of agreeing loss and damages for the most vulnerable nations. The EU is forever telling us about its climate leadership, despite the fact that the Green Deal targets are well below what is required from the Global North.

Will the EU and the Member States take responsibility and provide reparations on this occasion, or is Pakistan not part of our geopolitical plans? Climate change, not the war in Ukraine, is by far the biggest crisis facing this planet.



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**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI).** – Mr President, Commissioner, torrential monsoon rains triggered the most severe flooding in Pakistan's recent history, washing away entire villages, killing over 1 600 people and displacing more than 33 million. This climate-induced disaster is leaving behind a trail of destruction, starvation and diseases. With a vast area of Pakistan likely to take months to dry out, waterborne diseases are spiking, as well as malnutrition, especially among children.

Despite all the efforts of the international community, volunteers and the government, the unprecedented nature of the floods has resulted in a huge resource gap and Pakistan's already overwhelmed health-care system lacks the resources to help all those who need treatment now. The lives of 100 000 more people are under threat as a second disaster looms within the first one.

It's imperative, under our principle of international solidarity, commitment and burden sharing, to answer the demands to increase cooperation and mobilise much more funds. But it will not be enough to increase humanitarian aid in an attempt to curb the possible risk of epidemics. To support the country at this dramatic time, action will have to be taken to support Pakistan's reconstruction, rehabilitation and resilience, including through debt relief measures. It is not a time for fine words, but for immediate and effective action.

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Mr President, what happened in Pakistan is devastation beyond belief and there is no question but that it is climate induced. 53 degrees, glacial melts, a monsoon going into October, one third of the country under water, 33 million affected. We've even heard about schools being shut down because they're needed for shelters, so all of the young people are being denied an education.

Pakistan's Climate Change Minister, Sherry Rehman, blames the inefficiency of the North-South climate deal. She says there is so much loss and damage with so little reparations to countries that contributed so little to the world's carbon footprint that obviously the bargain made between the global North and the global South is not working. She is totally right. Pakistan has contributed so little and is paying the most. It's the world's 50th most populous country. It's host to so many Afghan refugees to whom we shut up our borders. The international community has an obligation to assist and yet we condition our relief or give them a pittance. It's just not good enough! It's time to act!

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Janusz Wojciechowski, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for your valuable comments and insights. This debate has highlighted how humanitarian needs and climate change are connected.

Extreme weather events are also creating new humanitarian crises across the globe, like the one unfolding in Pakistan today. Investments in building resilience are paramount, and this message resonated strongly at the recent UN General Assembly in New York.

Access to finance is equally important. The European Union is the world's biggest donor of climate finance to developing countries, and we will continue to scale up our support.

The European Union and Member States support many activities to avert, minimise and address loss and damage via development cooperation, disaster risk reduction and humanitarian aid, as well as for dedicated climate finance organisations and initiatives inside and outside the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change regime.

We will continue to rally the international community to join forces and to strengthen international cooperation in pursuit of the goals of the Paris Agreement. We need more donors to contribute to climate action.

The European Union alone will not solve the climate crisis. The European Parliament is a very important partner in these efforts, and I wish to thank you again for this debate.

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**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you very much for this debate, which once again shows the importance of disaster risk reduction. I would like to stress once more that disaster risk reduction is high on the agenda of the Czech Presidency, especially from the perspective of humanitarian assistance, development, cooperation and civil protection.

As already mentioned, we aim at adopting Council conclusions on disaster risk reduction by the Foreign Affairs Council in November. These conclusions will not only reaffirm our commitments within the Sendai framework, in particular as regards international cooperation in the context of fragility of climate, but also will set an agenda for the future.

The views expressed here today are certainly useful for the debate we are currently having in the Council. Thank you very much once again for your attention and for this fruitful debate.

**Der Präsident**. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

## 11. Debata na temat przypadków naruszania praw człowieka, zasad demokracji i państwa prawa (debata)

### 11.1. Sytuacja w zakresie praw człowieka na Haiti, w szczególności w związku z przemocą gangów

**Der Präsident**. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über sechs Entschließungsanträge zur Menschenrechtslage in Haiti insbesondere in Bezug auf Bandengewalt (2022/2856(RSP)).

**Antonio López-Istúriz White**, *autor*. – Señor presidente, señorías, la situación humanitaria en Haití se ha deteriorado debido a la inestabilidad política y la persistente inseguridad. Desde el asesinato del presidente Jovenel Moïse, en julio de 2021, varias bandas organizadas han ido adquiriendo cada vez mayor poder, creando una sensación de peligro para la población.

El aumento de la violencia y la escalada de abusos contra los derechos humanos debilita el gobierno y su actuación, lo que afecta ya a más de 1 millón y medio de personas en una situación de auténtica catástrofe humanitaria.

Con esta Resolución llamamos de nuevo la atención de la comunidad internacional sobre este drama. Pedimos a las partes involucradas un enfoque que permita la aplicación de la ley, la lucha contra esas organizaciones violentas y su conexión con actores políticos, la mejora del control de las armas ilegales y, a la par, la inversión de recursos en proyectos socioeconómicos que generen prosperidad.

Finalmente, insistimos en que se realicen elecciones transparentes, libres y justas de conformidad con las normas internacionales.

**Nacho Sánchez Amor**, *autor*. – Señor presidente, este es un buen ejemplo de lo que podrían llegar a ser las urgencias de derechos humanos en esta Cámara. Una llamada de atención y no un campo de batalla para estériles batallas partidistas. Nos arrojamos, a veces, las urgencias de derechos humanos unos grupos a otros, y eso no ayuda mucho a la situación que tratamos.

Agradezco el tono de la negociación, siempre constructivo, con el objetivo de poner a Haití en la agenda. Es un asunto del que se habla poquísimos porque en muchas partes del mundo algún país tiene bandas violentas. En Haití son las bandas las que tienen un país: la sucesiva desaparición de las instituciones públicas y el vacío de poder ha empoderado a unas bandas que comenzaron al servicio de las élites políticas y ahora tienen a estas élites a su servicio.

En Haití hablar de crisis económica es un eufemismo. Es la pobreza más absoluta, y no la enmascaremos.

Por tanto, vacío de poder político. Pobreza. Y las bandas dirigiendo el país.

La tormenta perfecta. Al menos, creemos conciencia.

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**Petras Auštrevičius**, *author*. – Mr President, Mr Commissioner, dear colleagues, Haitians have become hostages to widespread organised gang crime. Their future is determined by criminals seeking only personal gain.

The deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the country is devastating. Insecurity and lawlessness have taken over. The COVID pandemic, the economic crisis, the conspiracy against the President and the earthquake are the road to the humanitarian abyss. All this coincides with a crisis of governance and corruption that is deeply rooted in Haiti.

The main hostages of this situation are the Haitian people, who are deprived of jobs, security, public services and even daily food. We as the European Union must provide at least minimum guarantees for the physical security of the people, for their food security and access to medical services. I also call on the responsible EU institutions to focus on providing assistance to women victims of violence and sexual abuse and on reducing illiteracy in Haiti.

**Caroline Roose**, *auteur*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il y a un an et demi, notre Parlement a adopté une résolution sur Haïti. Que s'est-il passé depuis? La situation s'est encore aggravée. Assassinat du président Moïse, séisme, violence, Haïti sombre tous les jours un peu plus dans le chaos. Les meurtres, les viols, les enlèvements sont quotidiens. La terreur règne à Port-au-Prince. Les gangs contrôlent la capitale, agissent en complicité avec des politiciens corrompus. Le gouvernement actuel opère sans aucune légitimité démocratique depuis des mois. Ces dernières semaines, les pénuries de carburant et d'eau potable ont provoqué des manifestations et des émeutes.

Le pays s'effondre sous le regard de la communauté internationale. Quel prétexte va-t-on encore invoquer pour justifier notre immobilisme? Les États-Unis jouent un double jeu, violent le droit international en expulsant les Haïtiens qui demandent l'asile. Les Haïtiens et Haïtiennes ne croient plus aux promesses de la communauté internationale et je les comprends.

Je suis témoin depuis plusieurs mois de leurs efforts pour améliorer leur sort en dépit de toutes les difficultés. Leur courage est immense. Nous ne devons pas les décevoir. Nous devons soutenir les propositions de solution à la crise présentées dans le cadre de l'accord Montana, fruit du consensus entre de nombreuses organisations de la société civile. Écoutons la voix du peuple haïtien, celles et ceux qui demandent une transition de rupture.

**Marisa Matias**, *Autora*. – Senhor Presidente, no Haiti vive-se uma situação social, política e de direitos humanos catastrófica, que se deteriorou ainda mais nos últimos anos. O aumento alarmante da violência levou ao deslocamento de dezenas de milhares de famílias em áreas urbanas e periurbanas da capital.

Devido à violência de gangues, milhares de pessoas tiveram de fugir de suas casas e estão a ser diretamente afetadas nas suas liberdades e no acesso a serviços básicos. Desde janeiro até ao final de junho deste ano, ocorreram 934 assassinatos, 684 pessoas foram feridas e houve 680 sequestros em toda a capital.

Vários casos de repetidos estupros coletivos foram cometidos contra mulheres e meninas, confirmando o uso sistemático da violência de género. A tudo isto junta-se a crise económica e a inflação galopante e junta-se, ainda, uma política de deportação em massa de migrantes e refugiados haitianos por parte dos Estados Unidos ou detenções arbitrarias e discriminatórias.

Não podemos continuar a falhar ao povo no Haiti. Temos de ser ativamente solidários e recusar todas as formas de ingerência e de neocolonialismo. Precisamos de soluções diplomáticas e de garantir que os apoios e a ajuda social chegam a quem precisa e com transparência. Precisamos, ainda, de apoiar todos aqueles que no país resistem, incluindo sindicatos, organizações de jovens e de direitos humanos, organizações religiosas, e de apoiar a restauração do poder e da legitimidade das instituições públicas.

**Seán Kelly**, *thar ceann an Ghrúpa PPE*. – A Uachtaráin, tá cúrsaí reatha i Háití imithe go huile agus go hiomlán as smacht agus as ord. Níl fonn ar thuismitheoirí a leanaí a sheoladh ar scoil. Tá ganntanas fuinnimh agus uisce ghlain. Mar bharr ar an donas, tá na hospidéal, bainc agus síopaí ag streachailt chun a ndoirse a choimeád oscailte. Tá an mhíshocracht pholaitiúil imithe in olcas ó rinneadh feallmharú ar Uachtarán Háití anuraidh. Anuas air sin, tá boilsciú de bheagnach 30% tar éis an fhadhb a dhéanamh níos measa. Tá dronganna coireachta i bhfeighil ar thuairim is 40% de Port-au-Prince agus tá siad ag marú na céadta Háitígh agus níl na póilíní in ann smacht a chur ar na dronganna. Impím ar údarás Háití maoirseacht aireach a dhéanamh ar thoghchán ionraic agus cothrom. Ní mór dóibh ionracas daonlathach a chinntiú agus críoch a chur leis bpolasáí anordúil seo.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Hannes Heide**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar! Ich hätte mir nie gedacht, dass ich als österreichischer Abgeordneter dreimal eine Rede zu einer Notlage der Menschen in Haiti halten werde. Es ist allerdings absolut notwendig.

In den letzten Monaten hat sich die ohnehin ausweglos erscheinende Situation noch zu einem dramatischen Höhepunkt gesteigert. Die haitianischen Behörden stehen der Dimension der Bandenkriminalität machtlos gegenüber.

Allein heuer wurden im ersten Halbjahr etwa 800 Menschen getötet und 540 Menschen entführt. Die Leiterin eines Kinderheims in Port-au-Prince berichtet von 14-, 15-jährigen Jungen, die mit Maschinengewehren um den Hals bereit sind, jeden zu erschießen.

Mehr als ein Drittel der Bevölkerung leidet unter Ernährungsunsicherheit, rund 220 000 Kinder an akuter Mangelernährung.

Die Blockade des wichtigsten Ölterminals der Hauptstadt führt zu Treibstoffengpässen, sodass Krankenhäuser die medizinische Grundversorgung auch für Schwangere und Kinder nicht mehr aufrechterhalten können.

Die Europäische Union muss wirksame Maßnahmen setzen: die Behörden mit Mitteln und Knowhow ausstatten, um sie auch beim Aufbau von Rechtsstaat, Demokratie und Infrastruktur zu unterstützen.

**Stéphane Bijoux**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chaque jour qui passe, Haïti sombre un peu plus dans le chaos. Au mois de juillet, plus de 230 personnes à Port-au-Prince ont été tuées par des gangs ultraviolents. Même les ONG sont attaquées et les stocks d'aide humanitaire sont pillés par des bandits qui font régner la terreur.

En tant que président de la délégation parlementaire Cariforum, j'ai toujours travaillé pour que l'Europe reste un partenaire fort et solidaire du peuple haïtien. Mais l'extrême violence qui ravage actuellement Haïti exige que le gouvernement haïtien prenne des mesures pour la sécurité et contre la corruption. Nous, ici, nous devons renforcer notre solidarité avec le peuple haïtien. L'Europe ne doit pas abandonner le peuple haïtien, mais l'Europe doit aussi protéger les citoyens européens de la région, les Antillais, les Guyanais qui sont aussi fortement impactés par les conséquences migratoires de ce chaos.

**Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI)**. – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, na početku ću samo konstatirati da, nažalost, ova rezolucija o Haitiju nema prijevod na hrvatski jezik pa da barem u jeziku budemo ravnopravni.

Danas u Europskom parlamentu govori se o ljudskim pravima na Haitiju, u Mjanmaru i Etiopiji. Hrvatsku su, naime, 2020. godine pogodila dva potresa. Dvije i pol godine prošle su od zagrebačkog potresa i gotovo dvije godine od potresa na Banovini. Do današnjeg dana, Zagrebu, Europska unija, hrvatska Vlada ili Grad Zagreb nisu obnovili niti jednu kuću.

Skupljajući dokumentaciju, ljudi su potrošili preko deset tisuća kuna ili preko tri hrvatske minimalne plaće. Do današnjeg dana, na Banovini na trošak države, obnovljena je samo jedna kuća. Europska unija i Vlada Republike Hrvatske nisu osigurali minimum za početak obnove. Cijele obitelji spavaju po kontejnerima zimi i ljeti. Treću zimu Banovina će spavati u ledenim kontejnerima od 15 kvadrata. U njima spava petero, šestoro ljudi. U njima se kuha, pod uvjetom da se ima što kuhati, u njima djeca pišu zadaće.

O kakvim ljudskim pravima se usuđujete danas govoriti kada se Hrvatska, članica Europske unije, dvije i pol godine od razornih potresa guši u ruševinama, bez osnovnih uvjeta za život.

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE)**. – Panie Przewodniczący! Między 8 a 17 lipca w stolicy Haiti w wyniku walk gangów zamordowano 209 osób. To oznacza, że co 68 minut ginął tam człowiek. Prawie połowa z nich to osoby, które nie miały żadnego powiązania z organizacjami przestępczymi. Dochodzi do porwań dla okupu, gwałtów, napadów z bronią w rękę. Mieszkańcy Haiti są po prostu całkowicie sterroryzowani. Jednocześnie są oni także pozbawieni dostępu do pożywienia, wody i leków. Społeczność międzynarodowa musi zareagować. Należy monitorować sytuację humanitarną w kraju i zapewnić, że pomoc będzie docierała do najbardziej potrzebujących. Konieczne jest przywrócenie rządów prawa w Haiti i przeprowadzenie wolnych wyborów. Należy wspierać wszelkie wysiłki zmierzające do tego celu.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Wreszcie musimy się zastanowić nad wsparciem dla Haiti w perspektywie długoterminowej. Około połowa obywateli kraju w wieku do 15 lat nie potrafi czytać ani pisać. System edukacji odzwierciedla nierówności społeczne. Niestety wielu młodych ludzi bez odpowiedniego wykształcenia bieda i brak perspektyw mogą popychać do działalności przestępczej. W ten sposób, jeśli będziemy inwestować w edukację, będziemy mogli naprawdę zmienić sytuację w tym kraju.

**Andrea Cozzolino (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Haiti è in preda a una spirale di violenza che non ha cessato di peggiorare sin dall'uccisione del Presidente Moïse. L'instabilità politica e le condizioni economiche e sociali, gravemente peggiorate dalla pandemia e dal violento terremoto dell'agosto 2021, fanno di Haiti in questo momento uno degli scenari di crisi più gravi per i diritti umani e sociali nel mondo.

Il paese è in preda a una spirale di violenza, come hanno ricordato tanti colleghi, in cui si intravedono preoccupanti legami tra criminalità, gruppi violenti e politica corrotta, impegnata in una lotta incessante senza quartiere per il potere. Lo scorso anno sono avvenuti più di 1 000 omicidi. La maggior parte della popolazione vive in condizioni di assoluta povertà.

La comunità internazionale ha adottato nei confronti di Haiti comportamenti altalenanti, con esiti a volte disastrosi, a cominciare dai comportamenti ambigui degli stessi Stati Uniti. Per questo motivo chiediamo all'Alto rappresentante e alla Commissione di intraprendere tutte le iniziative in sede internazionale per rafforzare le istituzioni di Haiti, al fine di arrestare la spirale di violenza e offrire una prospettiva meno sofferente al popolo di Haiti.

**Max Orville (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Haïti est confronté depuis trop longtemps à de nombreux fléaux, tant climatiques que sanitaires. Outre la COVID, il y a eu l'arrivée récente d'une recrudescence du choléra. À cela s'ajoutent l'insécurité et la corruption qui sont les marqueurs avérés d'une démocratie déliquescence.

L'Union européenne accompagne Haïti, notamment avec le Fonds européen de développement, pour réduire ces fléaux. Pourtant, la population reste soumise à l'insécurité et à la violence qui dictent la vie de millions d'habitants apeurés, sans ressources et désormais sans espoir. La faillite morale et matérielle des institutions haïtiennes, gangrenées par la corruption et la mainmise des gangs, empêche tout exercice de la démocratie.

L'heure est donc venue de faire un bilan sur la manière dont sont utilisés les fonds européens. Monsieur le commissaire, qu'envisagez-vous pour donner les moyens à l'Union européenne de poursuivre une action humanitaire effective au bénéfice de la population et ainsi qu'Haïti redevienne la perle des Antilles?

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, dovoluťe mi, abych úvodem vyjádřil své rozhořčení nad tím, že pan kolega Sinčić si dovolil svoji minutu věnovat Chorvatsku, nikoli nouzi milionů lidí na Haiti. Tolik vražd, tolik násilí a zločinných gangů, kterých jsme svědky na Haiti – jako by to snad nemělo ani konce. Rada bezpečnosti OSN vyjádřila naději na zlepšení současné humanitární krize na Haiti, ale situace se vůbec nelepší. Jako by ta situace zamrzla a k tomu se bohužel navíc přidal spor o mandát prozatímního prezidenta. Je nepochybné, že Evropská unie nemůže opustit lidi v nouzi. Bavíme se o tomto tématu už poněkoličkáte jenom v tomto volebním období. Musíme pomáhat poskytnout naše zkušenosti, naše zdroje, naše know-how. Haiti si nepochybně zaslouží lepší budoucnost.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Mr President, Haiti is the site of the first and only successful slave revolution in history. Haitians won their independence from France in 1804 and immediately abolished slavery, becoming the first place in the world to do so. It was also the first state to outlaw racism in its constitution. Haiti was a beacon of light for the world, and it was punished for it. It was punished over and over again by France, by the US, through a series of coups, invasions, occupations, assassinations, through relentless meddling and crushing debt.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

They were determined that this beacon of freedom would be extinguished because it presented a bold challenge to the logic of capital and empire. But the Haitian people kept fighting through. Theirs is a light that never goes out, and so it's still being punished. The meddling goes on. If Haiti is a mess – and it is – then Europe and the US are to blame. If we want to support the Haitian people – and we should – we'll stand up to the US, the world's bully, tell them to get out of Haiti and get out of it ourselves.

**Juozas Olekas (S&D).** – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, iš tikrųjų visi sutinkame, kad Haiytyje vyrauja smurtas ir skurdas, įsivyravus gaujų valdžiai, kurios oficialiai faktiškai valdo infrastruktūrą, turi didžiausią įtaką šalies sprendimams. Mes turime surasti jėgų ir padėti paprastiesiems Haičio žmonėms. Sveikinu Europos Komisijos skiriamus 17 mln. Haičio paramai, tačiau kreipiuosi į komisarą, kad ši parama iš tikrųjų pasiektų tuos pačius silpniausius žmones, kuriems ji yra reikalinga, o ne užstrigtų kažkur gaujų ir korumpuotos valdžios koridoriuose. Nes šioje situacijoje labiausiai kenčia silpniausi – moterys, vaikai, kurie dėl to negauna maisto ir negauna medicininės pagalbos, kenčia badą ir skurdą. Manau, kad mes turime sutelkti savo pastangas suteikiant humanitarinę pagalbą, taip pat užtikrinant, kad įvyktų teisingi ir skaidrūs rinkimai ir kad galiausiai į Haitį sugrįžtų tvarka ir pasitikėjimas.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Mr President, Western imperialism has never stopped punishing Haiti for the crime of being the first black majority nation to successfully carry out an anti-colonial revolution, when they kicked out the French in 1804. Since then, the US and France have colluded to kill at least five sitting presidents and engineered countless coups.

The reversal of the Aristide coup by the Haitian people was met with crushing neoliberal reforms forced by the Clinton regime. A second coup against Aristide in '04 by the French and Americans ushered in pro-West leadership that ensured no nation-building would be carried out, no investment in infrastructure that might help Haiti to prepare for earthquakes and the ravages of global warming.

The successful defiance of the Haitian people has been met with 200 years of imperialists attempting to keep them on their knees and then shedding crocodile tears at the resulting instability. I'd like to know, what right have we got to be interfering in this sovereign nation?

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Janusz Wojciechowski, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, for over three weeks now social unrest and popular protests have continued to affect the streets of Port-au-Prince, as well as several urban centres in the country.

While the initial aim of these protests was to show legitimate dissent against the decisions of the government on domestic policies, the violence and the looting which have followed are largely the work of armed gangs that have infiltrated the protests and taken advantage of the situation.

Banks, schools, food depots, including the World Food Programme, Caritas and other NGOs have been vandalised and looted in the course of these events. The violence has hampered relief and humanitarian efforts in the response to the 2021 earthquake.

The European Union regrets that once more the principal victims of this violence are the most vulnerable groups. The growing number of kidnappings and killings, often involving children, either as victims or as perpetrators, and high rates of sexual and gender-based violence are signs of the further degradation of human rights, democracy and the rule of law in the country.

What is happening reminds us that when political leaders in Haiti do not manage to offer reliable solutions, armed gangs take control and it is the people who suffer the consequences. United Nations Secretary-General Guterres has rightly highlighted that the current crisis requires drastic measures, particularly when it comes to restoring security and the fight against armed gangs.

The Haitians cannot be left alone. The European Union is actively considering a contribution to the European Union-administrated basket fund to strengthen the national police of Haiti.

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Ultimately, however, a political solution must be found within Haiti and by the Haitians. It is high time for the country's political forces to show responsibility and put the well-being of the country and its long-suffering people before their own factional interests. Otherwise, it is hard to see an exit from the current crisis.

**Der Präsident.** – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 6. Oktober 2022, statt.

## 11.2. Atak na wolność mediów w Mjanmie/Birmie, w szczególności sprawy Htet Htet Khine, Sithu Aung Myinta i Nyein Nyein Aye

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über sechs Entschließungsanträge zur massiven Beschneidung der Medienfreiheit in Myanmar, insbesondere den Fällen von Htet Htet Khine, Sithu Aung Myint und Nyein Nyein Aye (2022/2857(RSP)).

**Loránt Vincze, autor.** – Mr President, the situation in Myanmar is getting worse by the day. The military regime is doing everything possible to prevent the press from reporting on the atrocities happening in the country.

Compared to our last October's debate on Myanmar, the total number of people killed and arrested has almost doubled. Journalism has become a very dangerous profession in Myanmar. Media outlets are shut down and reports indicate serious violations of human rights, including torture and other abuses. Ethnic and religious communities continue to be the subject of direct attacks by the army and the media, so women, men and children are forced to flee to seek refuge.

We need a better and stronger international coordination on sanctions that directly targets the military junta, in order to avoid the loss of innocent lives, to be sure that sanctions do not provoke further suffering on the populations and workers.

We must continue the support together with our regional partners of the National Unity government in Myanmar to ensure a transition to democracy and a tolerant society, and to make sure that everyone can enjoy their right of expression and belief without fear of persecution.

**Karsten Lucke, Verfasser.** – Herr Präsident! Die Washington Post hat sich die Unterzeile gegeben: „*Democracy Dies in Darkness*“. Und das trifft es im Kern. Da, wo keine Meinung mehr geäußert werden kann, und da, wo Journalisten nicht mehr offen arbeiten können, weil sie Angst haben müssen, verhaftet zu werden, da können sich Menschen nicht mehr frei entfalten, da stirbt der Pluralismus und damit die Demokratie und die freiheitliche Gesellschaft.

Das ist auch unser europäisches Kernanliegen heute mit dieser Entschließung gegenüber Myanmar, wo es unhaltbare Zustände bei der Presse- und Meinungsfreiheit gibt. Aber wir gehen auch noch ein Stück weiter. Man muss es sich auf der Zunge zergehen lassen: Reporterinnen und Reporter können einfach verhaftet und ins Gefängnis gesteckt werden, weil Machthabern eine Story nicht gefällt. Das ist unfassbar. Europa positioniert sich mit dieser Entschließung unmissverständlich für die Presse- und Meinungsfreiheit.

Wir fordern aber auch die sofortige Freilassung aller betroffenen Journalistinnen und Journalisten und auch der Regierungschefin Aung San Suu Kyi und weiterer Betroffener. Gleichzeitig rufen wir zu einer konzertierten internationalen Zusammenarbeit gegenüber Myanmar auf, unter anderem auch mit weiteren Sanktionen.

Wenn die Demokratie tatsächlich in der Dunkelheit stirbt, dann können und wollen und werden wir das nicht akzeptieren und tolerieren.

**Georgios Kyrtsov, autor.** – Mr President, I took the initiative for a joint motion for a resolution on the media freedom crackdown in Myanmar for three reasons. First, there is a constant degradation of the situation in Myanmar, with the military dictatorship taking extreme measures against the population, its political adversaries and journalists and media workers.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Second, after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, there has been a general tendency among authoritarian regimes to strictly control the media and neutralise one way or the other all dissenting voices. Third, there are also negative dynamics in the European Union concerning media freedom. The situation is, of course, completely different in the democratic European environment, but the negative trend provides an additional incentive to promote media freedom and the protection of journalists and media workers all over the world.

I welcome the consensus achieved by all political groups on the matter and I expect that, along with the strong political message we send, all the possible necessary measures will be taken in order to assure the freedom and protect the lives of all those that have been jailed, tortured, persecuted in Myanmar.

**Heidi Hautala**, *author*. – Mr President, Commissioner, indeed the European Parliament calls for the unconditional release of these three journalists and other political prisoners, including the state leaders, in this resolution. But, very importantly, it places this question of the persecution of the free media in the context of the military coup that has spread terror and killed civilians since 1 February 2021. Now is the time to bring the issue of Myanmar back to the international arenas, because it has been largely forgotten.

We have seen that the people of Myanmar have united in an unprecedented way against the military junta and its army. Indeed, now is the time when the democratic countries – including of course the European Union at the spearhead – must give their unconditional and explicit support to the democratic forces, as represented mainly by the National Unity Government.

ASEAN, of course, is a big player in the region, but the five-point consensus that ASEAN adopted in May 2021 has been a total failure. It has not been able to have an impact on the situation. One of the reasons is that one of the parties to negotiate this consensus was the junta, and I very much encourage the European Union to call for ASEAN to draft a new consensus on the Myanmar issue towards peace and democracy. The National Unity Government should be recognised as a legitimate partner to this negotiation.

Now we also have to see that the sanctions that we have in place are gradually strengthened, and that there is proper international coordination of the sanctions with the United States and other like-minded partners. Otherwise, we will be failing in our efforts.

**Anna Fotyga**, *author*. – Mr President, Commissioner, since the military coup d'état in Myanmar of 1 February 2021, we see the accompanying crackdown on opposition leaders and even ordinary activists, public figures, that are detained and also massive crackdown on media as well as telecommunications. Also a variety of social media outlets are curbing the access to internet and to uncensored information within Myanmar.

Four rounds of our sanctions and numerous resolutions of the European Parliament may be in vain without strict international broader coordination with like-minded partners, in particular transatlantic ones and countries like UK. Within the Global Press Freedom Index of Article 19, Myanmar holds now the fifth lowest position among 180 in terms of media freedom.

We have to push and exert pressure for immediate release of detained journalists and for stopping the violence.

**Miguel Urbán Crespo**, *autor*. – Señor presidente, año y medio después del golpe de Estado, la situación sigue siendo crítica en Myanmar. Los mismos militares responsables del genocidio rohinyá ahora siguen perpetrando abusos generalizados y sistemáticos contra el pueblo birmano y, por supuesto, intentan acallar a las y los periodistas que lo cuentan. Esto es posible gracias, en parte, a la financiación que la Junta Militar obtiene de su entramado empresarial.

Tenemos que reforzar las sanciones contra todas las empresas vinculadas a la Junta y eliminar la excepción que permite, por ejemplo, que cuando las empresas europeas salen del país puedan transferir sus acciones a la Junta, tal y como pasó con la salida de Total, que transfirió sus acciones a una empresa controlada por los militares.

Además, hay que promover la congelación de activos específicos y la prohibición de las transferencias financieras internacionales a los dos bancos estatales controlados por la Junta.



Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

El apoyo incondicional a las fuerzas prodemocráticas debe pasar por reconocer al Gobierno de unidad nacional, al que aprovecho la ocasión para solicitarle que exprese claramente su posición sobre el estatuto de los rohinyá y en particular, sobre su derecho a la ciudadanía y al reconocimiento como grupo étnico de Myanmar y su derecho a regresar al país.

Una vez más, el pueblo birmano nos está dando un ejemplo de lucha y dignidad. No podemos seguir limitándonos a observar mientras lo masacran.

Hay que actuar.

**Stanislav Polčák**, za skupinu PPE. – Pane předsedající, myanmarská vláda pokračuje v brutálním potlačování práv mírumilovných lidí této krásné země. Omezuje přístup na sociální sítě, zavírá novináře, brutálně potlačuje demonstrace, vlastně to, co se dlouhá léta zjevně učí v Číně, to také praktikuje ve své zemi. Jsme svědky toho, kdy novináři jsou odsuzováni – a teď budu citovat: „za šíření strachu ve své zemi, za *fake news* a agitaci proti státnímu zřízení.“ Myslím, že musíme toto jednání vojenské junty důrazně odsoudit. Také důrazně odsoudit veškeré násilí a odsuzování politických vězňů. Chci zmínit i výslovně paní Su Ťij, která vyhrála poslední volby. Myslím si, že musíme prohloubit naši spolupráci s regionálními partnery proto, abychom dokázali vyvolat společný tlak na myanmarskou vojenskou juntou.

#### PRESEDA: MICHAL ŠIMEČKA

*podpredseda*

**Marianne Vind**, for S&D-Gruppen. – Hr. Formand! Siden juntaen i Myanmar overtog magten i februar 2021, har der været et stigende antal angreb og drab på civile, på religiøse minoriteter, på fredelige demokratiske demonstranter, på menneskerettighedsforkæmpere og journalister. Listen er lang, og det er forfærdelig læsning. Juntaen kæmper voldeligt imod enhver form for modstand og fortsætter med at underminere pressefriheden. Det er uacceptabelt. Pressefrihed er afgørende for det frie og demokratiske samfund. Journalister må ikke behandles som kriminelle og skal ikke frygte for deres liv, bare fordi de udfører deres arbejde. Det er afgørende, at vi i EU gør alt, hvad der står i vores magt for at standse de systematiske menneskerettighedskrænkelser, der finder sted i Myanmar. Jeg opfordrer kraftigt til, at EU styrker sanktionerne mod Myanmar junta. Det demokratiske valg for 2020 må og skal respekteres.

**Svenja Hahn**, on behalf of the Renew Group. – Mr President, colleagues, today we once again want to be a voice for the democracy activists, human rights activists, journalists and so many more that are oppressed by the Tatmadaw.

Human rights and democracy in Myanmar have eroded in a landslide since the military coup. In fact, Myanmar is now the world's second largest jailer of journalists. This is seriously a list you don't want to be so high on.

Colleagues, the conflict of our time is autocracy versus democracy. The autocrats and despots of the world terrorise and murder in their fear of freedom and democracy. And that is why, to be very frank, it's so unbearable to me that the Commission has done so little to support Myanmar. In fact, we're discussing it the fourth time, and Mr Borrell is not even here for the fourth time.

But, nevertheless, I'm going to call on the Commission for a fourth time – hopefully the last time – to ensure that none of the military companies are benefiting from the preferential access to our single market. Suspend the trade benefits because as the European Union, we must live up to our responsibilities as an economic and democratic power.

We need to stay strong and united by the side of freedom and democracy in Europe and the world.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI)**. – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, 'the only security of all is in a free press'. These were the words of Thomas Jefferson, and they are more appropriate than ever to describe the appalling situation in Myanmar. Indeed, abolishing media freedom the military junta has razed whatever level of security for the people of Myanmar, granting itself liberty and impunity for committing barbarian acts such as those described in the resolution presented today.

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What is even more impressive, yet very far from surprising, is that this brutal junta enjoys support from those authoritarian states we constantly criticise from this House, namely Russia and China, who are blocking every action potentially taken by the UN Security Council.

From this House, we must be absolutely firm in condemning the behaviour of the Tatmadaw and those who stand on their side. We should suspend the preferential status for commerce and every privilege they have and encourage the EU delegation and the diplomatic missions of the Member States to offer all practical support to those who risk their lives every day.

We call for an immediate arms embargo on Myanmar. The people of Myanmar have been forced to silence. We must be their spokespersons. Otherwise, also our freedom will result void and useless.

**Jordi Cañas (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, la dramática situación de los periodistas en Myanmar no es más que el reflejo de la sistemática violación de los derechos humanos en este país. Torturas, asesinatos, desapariciones.

Ante esto, ¿qué hacemos, aparte de resoluciones y bla, bla, bla? ¿Qué podemos hacer? ¿Qué instrumento tenemos para impulsar y, yo diría, forzar a este gobierno dictatorial a asumir sus compromisos en materia de respeto de los derechos humanos?

Tenemos un instrumento: «Todo menos armas». ¿Les suena? «Todo menos armas». ¿A cambio de qué? Del respeto de los derechos humanos fundamentales. Entonces, teniendo este instrumento, ¿por qué no lo utilizamos? Esa es la pregunta: ¿por qué no utilizamos ese instrumento para forzar a ese gobierno a respetar las normas mínima de derechos humanos?

Conseguir este esquema y formar parte de «Todo menos armas» tiene una condición. Y si la condición no se cumple podemos hacer una cosa, y no solo podemos, sino que debemos: suspenderlo.

*Vystúpenia podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky*

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Mr President, the situation in Myanmar is appalling. Mass arrests, detention of critics, beatings and deaths in custody, the use of the death penalty – all indefensible – and, in particular, attacks on freedom of expression, with journalists and activists charged with incitement and sedition for criticising the military; with the crime of causing fear and spreading fake news. This is an abomination, and we are right to condemn them, but they also hold up a mirror for us to see ourselves.

This Parliament voted in March for the Kalniete report, which calls for the use of sanctions against so-called disinformation, including targeted individuals. We had calls this morning for sanctioning journalists, and even musicians. This report was against the advice we heard from expert lawyers, who made clear that sanctions have too low a burden of proof, no trial, no defence, no due process, no way to appeal and none of the rights to a normal defence. This has a chilling effect on freedom of expression.

So see Myanmar and learn the lessons. Policing political speech is incompatible with democratic freedoms. The idea of using sanctions to combat disinformation disgraces us. It should be abandoned.

*(Ukončenie vystúpení podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky)*

**Janusz Wojciechowski, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, the European Union maintains its efforts to ensure the gross violence of human rights in Myanmar remain high on the agenda of the international community.

Shrinking media freedom is, amongst others, an issue of serious concern given the systematic and sustained crackdown on journalists since the coup. Nyein Nyein Aye and Htet Htet Khine were the 24th and 25th journalists to receive a prison sentence. This sentencing has the potential to deter other journalists and bloggers and this is another step towards restricting media freedom and freedom of expression in Myanmar.

To date, 67 journalists have been imprisoned in Myanmar, according to the Reporters Sans Frontières Press Freedom Index. Other sources, such as Detained Journalists Information Myanmar mention 142 journalists.

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This said, the regime has also targeted civil society organisations and human rights activities. Many have had to flee or have seen their bank accounts frozen and office offices raided. Overall, the situation on human rights in Myanmar is in freefall since the coup. However, the recent executions of the four civil society activists in August and the further verdicts against former state counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi, as well as three former ministers, are further signs of the escalation of violence and the deterioration of the situation in Myanmar since the coup.

The European Union has stepped up its diplomatic engagement with key regional countries and organisations – for example ASEAN and the United Nations – and continued supporting ASEAN's Five Points consensus. However, we are concerned about the lack of progress in working towards a solution to the crisis in Myanmar.

At the multilateral level, in coordination with like-minded partners, we regularly present resolutions at the UN Human Rights Council and the UN G8 Committee.

Following the recent executions, which constitute another escalation of violence in Myanmar, we stepped up monitoring the situation together with the European Union and the Member States, and are maintaining our sanctions regime under constant review.

We will continue to support Myanmar human rights activities, journalists and civil society, as we do worldwide. As a fundamental principle of the European Union, we hear from those activists and opponents that consider our support important – be it public statements, financial support or meeting with them. It all matters.

We will keep monitoring developments in Myanmar, calling the authorities to account when they do not respect fundamental rights.

**Predsedajúci.** – Rozprava sa týmto skončila a hlasovanie k tomuto bodu sa uskutoční zajtra.

## 12. Sklad komisji i delegacji

**President.** – The EPP group has notified the President of a decision relating to changes to appointments within a committee.

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

## 13. Debata na temat przypadków naruszania praw człowieka, zasad demokracji i państwa prawa (ciąg dalszy debaty)

### 13.1. Aktualna sytuacja humanitarna i sytuacja w zakresie praw człowieka w Tigraju (Etiopia), w szczególności sytuacja dzieci

**Predsedajúci.** – Ďalším bodom programu je rozprava o šiestich návrhoch uznesenia na tému Nedávna humanitárna situácia a situácia v oblasti ľudských práv v etiópskom Tigraji, najmä situácia detí (2022/2858(RSP)).

**Michaela Šojdrová, author.** – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, on behalf of the EPP Group author, Željana Zovko, let me thank all the co-rapporteurs for their cooperation.

The civil war in Ethiopia between the Federal Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front has been going on for two years. The recent deterioration of human rights is of utmost concern. On 24 August, the truce was broken and hostilities in the region culminated. As a result, one of the federal air raids hit a kindergarten in Mekelle, killing several children. We want to emphasise the alarming situation of children. One out of three Tigrayan children under the age of five is malnourished. We are shocked by news about the killing of children based on ethnicity. We are concerned about children being used as child soldiers. These actions constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity. We should act.

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We call on the Commission to step up its effort to ensure the safety of children. Besides the danger of war, Ethiopia is expecting the worst drought, and millions of people will suffer from hunger, including children. That's why we call for an immediate ceasefire and condemn the invasion of Eritrean forces into the region of Tigray.

This week, a promising step might be the peace talks between Ethiopia and Tigray leaders in South Africa. Parliament welcomes the renewal of the mandate of Olusegun Obasanjo as the African Union's High Representative for the Horn of Africa. His role is crucial for facilitating peace talks.

Parliament urges the EU and its Member States to request the UN Security Council to hold regular public meetings on Ethiopia, to ensure humanitarian aid access, and to protect civilians. Dear colleagues, thank you for your support on this resolution.

**Maria Arena, autheur.** – Monsieur le Président, nous condamnons avec force la reprise des combats, le 24 août dernier, entre les forces gouvernementales éthiopiennes et le TPLF dans la région du Tigré. Après cinq mois de trêve, la guerre civile en Éthiopie a repris. Le conflit dure depuis plus de deux ans déjà et il a causé la mort de milliers de personnes et le déplacement de millions d'autres à l'intérieur du pays. Les populations civiles, et plus particulièrement les femmes et les enfants du Tigré, de l'Amhara et de l'Afar, sont les principales victimes de ce conflit.

Les annonces du gouvernement éthiopien relatives à l'ouverture d'un passage pour les convois humanitaires doivent être concrétisées et renforcées, à l'heure où plus de 5 millions de personnes n'ont plus accès aux services de base, pas plus qu'aux soins de santé ou aux médicaments.

Les experts des Nations unies ont, dans un rapport d'abus, fait état de violations des droits de l'homme commises par toutes les parties au conflit, lesquelles pourraient être qualifiées de crimes de guerre et de crimes contre l'humanité. Ces violations doivent immédiatement cesser. Dans les deux camps les auteurs de ces crimes doivent être tenus responsables de leurs actes, par la mise en place de mécanismes d'enquête et de justice indépendants.

L'Union européenne doit soutenir avec force les efforts de l'Union africaine pour l'ouverture des négociations de paix et saluer l'engagement du gouvernement éthiopien, qui a déjà accepté cette invitation. Le TPLF doit lui aussi s'engager dans ces négociations, qui sont fondamentales: elles doivent conduire, à très court terme, à une nouvelle trêve, qui ouvre l'accès aux convois humanitaires et le renforce, en soutien à toutes les populations. Mais elles sont également nécessaires à l'instauration d'un dialogue inclusif, qui doit pouvoir conduire à une solution politique durable à ce conflit.

**Jan-Christoph Oetjen, Verfasser.** – Herr Präsident, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Seit über zwei Jahren schwelt der Konflikt in Äthiopien, insbesondere in Tigray, und hat auch auf die Nachbarregionen übergegriffen. Aber es gibt Licht am Ende des Tunnels, denn die beiden Kriegsparteien haben sich darauf geeinigt, dass sie endlich Friedensgespräche führen wollen, Friedensgespräche, die in Südafrika aufgenommen werden. Wir können als Europäisches Parlament nur unterstützen, dass diese Friedensgespräche auch zu einem wirklichen Ergebnis führen.

Denn das Ergebnis von zwei Jahren Krieg in Tigray und den angrenzenden Regionen ist verheerend für die Bevölkerung. Es sind die Schwächsten, die am stärksten darunter leiden, insbesondere Kinder. In einer Situation, in der der Krieg dazu geführt hat, dass humanitäre Hilfe nicht ausgeliefert werden konnte, leiden Kinder am stärksten. Kinder werden missbraucht als Kindersoldaten, um in diesem Krieg zu kämpfen, als Jugendliche, als Kleine mit der Waffe in der Hand. Es ist eine schreckliche Vorstellung, dass so etwas zugelassen wird.

Frauen werden systematisch vergewaltigt, und sexuelle Gewalt wird als Kriegswaffe eingesetzt – etwas, was wir nicht dulden dürfen. Und wir müssen hier klar sagen: Das sind Kriegsverbrechen, das sind Verbrechen gegen die Menschheit, die auf jeden Fall geahndet werden müssen. Deswegen ist es sehr, sehr wichtig, dass wir hier in dieser Entschließung auch deutlich machen, dass eben diese Kriegsverbrechen aufgearbeitet werden müssen. Es ist richtig, dass jetzt ein Friedensprozess auf den Weg gebracht wird. Aber zu jedem Friedensprozess muss auch gehören, dass diejenigen, die sich auf beiden Seiten des Konfliktes menschenverachtend verhalten haben, auch zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden. Und wir wünschen den Äthiopierinnen und Äthiopiern, dass sie diesen Weg als ein Land gemeinsam gehen können.

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**Katrin Langensiepen**, *Verfasserin*. – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Kommissarinnen und Kommissare, werte Gäste da oben auf dem Podium! Zuerst, wie gesagt, die gute Nachricht: Es gibt Licht am Ende des Tunnels. Es soll Friedensgespräche geben, die wohl am 8. Oktober stattfinden werden und die, so meine Hoffnung, der Auftakt für einen Dialog sein werden, an dessen Ende ein nachhaltiger Frieden im Land zum Wohle aller Bürgerinnen und Bürger steht. Auch wenn natürlich die Verantwortung für den Prozess und den Erfolg in den Händen unserer afrikanischen Partnerinnen und Partner liegt, bleibt richtig und wichtig, die Situation in Äthiopien immer wieder im Auge zu behalten – gerade auch in den Momenten, in denen die europäische Aufmerksamkeit zuvorderst auf die Union selber und auf einen anderen Krieg im Osten des Kontinents gerichtet ist.

Die vorliegende Entschließung greift natürlich viele Punkte, die auch schon in den letzten Entschließungen angesprochen wurden, auf. Der Fokus auf das Wohlergehen von Kindern bleibt aber natürlich mehr als richtig. Denn sie sind in hohem Maße die Leidtragenden und Opfer.

Fakt bleibt auch, dass dieser Krieg auf medialem Weg geführt wird, um Deutungshoheit über die Entwicklungen zu erlangen. Gerade deswegen ist es gut, dass wir am Ende auf einen ausbalancierten Text schauen können, der alle Parteien dieses Krieges angemessen adressiert und entsprechend verurteilt.

Die Rekrutierung von Kindern als Soldaten ist und bleibt ein Kriegsverbrechen. Kriegsverbrechen gegen Frauen und Kinder als mittlerweile gängige Mittel sind und bleiben verachtenswert. Die Unterstützung von Notfall-Rehazentren für Frauen und Kinder, einschließlich der Kinder, die nach einer Vergewaltigung geboren wurden, ist das Mindeste, was Europa leisten muss.

Die schweren Fälle geschlechtsspezifischer Gewalt, die von allen Krieg führenden Parteien begangen wurden, müssen vollständig aufgeklärt werden. Auch deswegen muss das Mandat der UN-Kommission von Menschenrechtssachverständigen verlängert werden, und zwar ohne zeitliche und geografische Begrenzung. Außerdem zeigt die Praxis, dass es nicht nur darum gehen kann, Hilfsgelder zu suspendieren, sondern die Kommission muss ihre Begrenzung der Budgethilfe überdenken, um die Durchführung von Entwicklungsprojekten außerhalb der Konfliktzone weiterhin zu ermöglichen. Auch davon hängt der Erfolg eines nachhaltigen Friedens im Lande und in der Region ab, eines Friedens, den wir uns alle so inständig wünschen.

**Mick Wallace**, *author*. – Mr President, in Tigray, as in every war, it would appear that all sides have reasons to distort the truth as to what's happening on the ground. We've had conflicting narratives about the break-out of the war, denials of Eritrean involvement. We've had the Ethiopian ambassador come before our committee and tell us that the European government were doing everything in their power to facilitate aid to Tigray, when we knew it wasn't true.

What is clear is that one of the worst humanitarian crises on earth is unfolding in Ethiopia because of the war. Yet, sadly, we couldn't get agreement from the main groups here for action on humanitarian visas for those at risk. Nor would they agree to an arms embargo on weapons to Ethiopia and Eritrea. Why?

What they could agree on was calls for sanctions on an area where millions are facing starvation. Sanctions that will hit the poorest and the weakest on both sides the most, as usual. It is good that we do agree on the need to work for peace and to call for peace. And it's a pity that we don't call for peace in Ukraine as well.

**Stanislav Polčák**, *za skupinu PPE*. – Pane předsedající, tyto etnické spory, jichž jsme svědky v Etiopii, ukazují historické křivdy, historické napětí, ale ukazují také, jak decimují celou zemi a region a prohlubují současnou humanitární a potravinovou krizi v dané oblasti. Ahmarové jsou v regionech, jako je Oromia, terčem opakovaných útoků, kdy jsme svědky desetitisíců vražd, statisíců, dokonce milionů vyhnaných. Na jedné straně vidíme vraždy dětí a na druhé straně vidíme děti, které jsou povolávány do zbraně. To jsou naprosto hrůzostrašné případy, které jsou páčány zejména Oromskou osvobozeneckou armádou. Je důležité, abychom tyto válečné zločiny pojmenovali, abychom zločiny proti lidskosti jednoznačně odsoudili a všechny pachatele volali k odpovědnosti. Nezůstanou nikde schováni, budou voláni k odpovědnosti a obětem bude příslušet příslušná spravedlnost.

**Carlos Zorrinho**, *em nome do Grupo S&D*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, inocentes na situação humanitária que se vive no Tigré e Etiópia, só mesmo as vítimas.

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Uma situação que não se resume àquela região, tendo em conta que o conflito se tem vindo a alastrar e a criar bolsas de risco humanitário e de direitos em toda a Etiópia. Lamento, profundamente, que em final de agosto o cessar-fogo tenha sido quebrado. As consequências humanitárias da quebra do cessar-fogo estão à vista nos números brutais que vão sendo divulgados pelas agências internacionais e, em particular, pelos relatórios das Nações Unidas.

Os crimes de guerra têm que ser denunciados, julgados e punidos à luz do Direito Internacional. Apelo a um cessar-fogo permanente. É fundamental que a comunidade internacional incentive o diálogo para a paz que decorre sob os auspícios da União Africana. É fundamental que, em particular, todos os esforços sejam feitos para proteger as crianças dos riscos de violência e separação das suas famílias.

Enquanto União Europeia, o nosso lugar é ao lado do povo etíope, na procura de uma solução pacífica para o conflito.

**María Soraya Rodríguez Ramos**, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señor presidente, este Parlamento estuvo hace dos semanas en Etiopía y pudimos efectivamente constatar la terrible situación que la guerra del norte ha provocado en este país.

No solamente Tigré, sino Afar, Amhara tienen una situación donde más de 20 millones de personas necesitan ayuda humanitaria, una ayuda que no llega porque ha sido utilizada como un arma de guerra.

También la violencia contra las mujeres. Sí, pero permítanme que les diga que es una especial violencia. Hay objetos lacerantes que se introducen en la vagina de las mujeres para causar un daño permanente y causar la infertilidad del enemigo. Terrible.

Pero Etiopía tiene 110 millones de habitantes. La Unión Europea ha acertado su ayuda al desarrollo, su apoyo presupuestario, para, efectivamente, condicionar lo que está sucediendo ahí con la violación de los derechos humanos.

Pero tenemos que saber que el 40 % del presupuesto de educación en Etiopía son fondos comunitarios y en el ministerio de Salud representa también un 40 %.

En un país de 110 millones de personas, hay una situación de extrema gravedad, sobre todo entre las niñas que, si no van al colegio, tendrán posiblemente un 90 % de posibilidades de ser mutiladas.

Muchas gracias.

Hay que hacer un esfuerzo por la paz.

**Malte Gallée**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, just some days ago, I asked on my social media whether people knew about what is going on in Tigray in northern Ethiopia. I think like 83% answered that they had no clue at all what is going on there. I think this is really important that we talk about this today again.

What is going on there? I think it's one of the biggest humanitarian crisis on this planet at the moment. There are some experts who talk about 500 000 deaths in the last two years already due to the war, but also because of famine and stuff like this. The Tigray region is completely isolated, like there's no way to get humanitarian aid there. There are reports of rape, of torture, of children being recruited for the army, and I think we cannot watch this.

But the conflict parties had already declared a ceasefire. So a ceasefire is possible, and I think this is something we really have to push for also as the European Union – push for a ceasefire for all the parties and also offer all the support to the African Union for the peace talks.

**Patricia Chagnon**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, crise après crise, guerre après guerre, nous sommes témoins de la misère humaine et de la souffrance d'autrui. Alors que le nombre des personnes déplacées ne cesse d'être alimenté par de nouveaux conflits et que les trafiquants continuent à profiter financièrement de la misère humaine en faisant miroiter un eldorado européen et en organisant des filières lucratives d'émigration, nous savons que, pour la très grande majorité, le rêve européen ne se réalisera jamais et qu'il se termine régulièrement en cauchemar.

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Une fois en Europe, les exilés se retrouvent souvent à vivre dans des conditions déplorables et inhumaines, sans travail, sans perspective d'avenir et totalement déracinés. Alors que nous sommes confrontés à la guerre au Tigré et aux ravages de cette guerre sur des enfants, force est de constater que les politiques de gestion des crises d'hier doivent être réécrites pour faire face aux crises d'aujourd'hui.

La construction de villes d'accueil – les «Asilia», comme les appelait Pacasse – près des zones touchées permettrait un déploiement rapide et efficace des moyens de secours aux populations. La santé, l'école et la formation des adultes y seraient prioritaires. La vie quotidienne dans une ville Asilia, gérée dans le cadre de partenariats internationaux, offrirait à tous la possibilité d'anticiper l'avenir: en préparant, pour la grande majorité, le retour sur les terres de leurs ancêtres; en formulant, pour d'autres, une demande d'asile ailleurs.

Alors que le nombre d'enfants déplacés et se trouvant sur la route de l'immigration fait froid dans le dos, le funeste pacte d'immigration et d'asile, que la Commission a présenté au mois de septembre 2021, fait justement de l'immigration vers l'Union européenne le cœur de son projet. Mais quelle erreur! Force est de constater que la solution des crises sur le continent africain ne se trouve pas en Europe, elle se trouve en Afrique. Une gestion de proximité intracontinentale ou intrarégionale permettrait d'éviter aux familles et aux enfants des traumatismes inutiles et les préserverait des dangers liés à l'émigration, qui dépend souvent de réseaux mafieux.

Cette effroyable crise au Tigré offre à l'Union européenne l'occasion de rompre avec sa sacralisation de l'émigration vers la distante Union européenne en mettant la proximité au cœur d'un projet politique d'aide aux populations.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI).** – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, in less than a month, the conflict in Ethiopia will enter its third year. Thousands of people have lost their lives and children and women, as usual, are the first victims. We have discussed this topic dozens of times, and I believe it is time to scale up our efforts, acting in three main ways.

In the immediate term, we must guarantee humanitarian support to those in need, making sure that this aid reaches the local population. Then we must exploit this momentum, which seems favourable for the reopening negotiations. Indeed, our Union should provide all diplomatic support to the African Union without the intention to guide the process but assisting the negotiators in finding African solutions for two African problems.

And afterwards, in the medium term, we need to be on the forefront for ensuring that any peace agreement can last, providing financial and practical expertise for the retrieval of weapons that are currently in possession of combatants, especially civilians forced to embrace the arms.

Our African counterparts have created an ambitious agenda for silencing the guns. Let us show that we are on their side, not only when tragedies happen, but every day until the guns will leave space for real human development.

**Udo Bullmann (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Menschen am Horn von Afrika brauchen alles, aber nicht diesen Krieg. Wir haben die Zahlen gehört. Tausende Tote sind zu beklagen, mehr als zwei Millionen Menschen haben ihre Heimat verloren. Über eine Million Kinder können nicht in die Schule gehen, werden zwangsweise zu Soldatinnen und Soldaten gemacht, haben ihre Eltern verloren. Es wird vergewaltigt, Menschen leiden, insbesondere Frauen und Kinder.

Es handelt sich um klare Verstöße gegen die Menschenrechte, die geahndet werden müssen. Und es muss dafür gesorgt werden, dass eine der schwersten Hungerkatastrophen dieser Welt gestoppt wird. Wir brauchen Frieden, der Krieg muss ein Ende finden. Und ja, die Europäische Kommission muss eine globale Kommission werden, so wie am Anfang dieses Mandats angekündigt, den Vereinten Nationen helfen, der Afrikanischen Union helfen, ihre Rolle wahrzunehmen. Wir müssen ein Faktor des Friedens und der Stabilität werden.

**Samira Rafaela (Renew).** – Mr President, *(off-mic)* ... Ethiopia, and it was terrible, terrible to see how women are being used as a weapon of war. You often hear about it, but now we could really hear about it, see it, and we could really speak to these women. And the situation is so bad. And often we see in war and in conflict that women and girls are being used as a weapon of war. And this is why this situation needs to stop right away. And it's very important that the European Union assist and help also the women that are in danger. Their lives are at stake and we need to make sure how we can offer them essential services, how we can make sure that they have access to contraception and SOHR because their lives are at risk and this is about the perspective of many women living in Ethiopia.

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So please make sure that we have services available, that we have assistance available, so that we have shelters for these vulnerable women and so that we have access to health care for these women. This is where we can now right away help women and girls in danger in Ethiopia. And this is what it really needs to be about right now, because this is about a future generation that will grow up with so many traumas, with so many problems. And I just hope that the European Union can assist in it right away.

*Vystúpenia podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky*

**Juozas Olekas (S&D).** – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, prieš dvi savaites su AFET komiteto kolegomis lankėmės Etiopijoje ir savo akimis galėjome įsitikinti, kokia trapi ir įkaitusi situacija yra šioje šalyje, ypač Tigrėjaus, Afarijos ir Amharos regionuose. Kolegos minėjo apie tą prievartavimą, badą, skurdą, sugriautą infrastruktūrą, mokyklas, ligonines ir negalėjamą pavalgyti, lankyti mokyklos, ypač vaikams, apie vaikų įtraukimą į karinį konfliktą. Tai ką galime padaryti, kad sustabdytume šią situaciją ir ją pakeistume? Pirma, turime tiesiogiai kalbėdami su Etiopijos vadovybe, taip pat su Afrikos Sąjunga, padaryti viską, kad pasibaigtų karinė intervencija iš išorės. Antra, kad Etiopijos konfliktuojančios šalys rastų būdą susėsti ir derybų keliu išspręsti konfliktą. Ir trečia, kad humanitarinė pagalba, kurią mes teikiame, pasiektų tuos, kuriems jos labiausiai reikia, tai yra vaikus ir moteris. Ir ketvirta, kad tie, kurie atsakingi už karo nusikaltimus, būtų nubausti.

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Mr President, this is undoubtedly a human catastrophe of proportions that we don't actually really know. Thirteen million people, at least, in need of humanitarian assistance in northern Ethiopia, according to the World Food Programme. Estimates of maybe 100 000 through direct killings; deaths from hunger – maybe 200 000; maybe half a million from lack of healthcare.

But what we do know is that the Tigray region is witnessing a complete weaponisation by the Ethiopian Government of all basic services such as water, electricity, communication, and even access to bank accounts. This is collective punishment. We know that for two years the region has been under siege by the Ethiopian army, aligned with the Eritrean forces to settle scores against the Tigrayans, who in their time were pretty violent themselves as well.

But it's the ordinary people of Tigray, Afar and Amhara who are bearing the brunt of this military engagement. I agree with colleagues that now the entire Ethiopian population is affected. We must concentrate on a peace agreement, the ceasefire and the restoration of living conditions in the affected areas in this noble country that was never fully colonised.

*(Ukončenie vystúpení podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky)*

**Janusz Wojciechowski, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, thank you for bringing the situation in Ethiopia back to the agenda. The situation in Tigray is one of the worst man-made humanitarian crises in the world. According the World Food Programme 13 million people across the Tigray, Afar and Amhara regions are in need of food assistance as a direct result of the conflict. At the same time, Ethiopia is experiencing the most severe drought recorded since 1981, leaving an estimated 7.4 million people facing grave food insecurity.

The European Union has so far allocated around EUR 66 million in humanitarian aid to Ethiopia in 2022. The resumption of fighting severely hampers even more humanitarian aid delivery in northern Ethiopia. The supply of humanitarian commodities and fuel, as well as cash availability and public services, are still totally blocked for Tigray and greatly impeded in all affected areas in Amhara and Afar.

Humanitarian organisations had to suspend their operations and withdraw some staff from conflict-affected areas. This is a serious blow to humanitarian operations and to millions of highly vulnerable people in Tigray, Afar and Amhara that depend on humanitarian aid for their survival.

There is only one solution to improve this situation, and this solution is political, not military. This is why the European Union calls on all warring parties to stop fighting and engage in negotiations. We cannot impose from the outside and we will continue engaging with like-minded partners to support an African solution to this African crisis so as to prevent further human suffering and further regionalisation of the conflict.



Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

The European Union recalls that granting unhindered access to humanitarian organisations so that they can reach all people in need, in line with the principles of impartiality, neutrality and independence is an obligation under international humanitarian law. It is not an option. It is an obligation. So it is the duty of all parties to the conflict to ensure the safety and security of civilians, humanitarian workers and humanitarian assets, notably by strict application of the principles of precaution and distinction in the conduct of hostilities.

The European Union is also appalled by the gravity and scale of human rights violations and abuses perpetrated by all parties to the conflict since its beginning. Those allegations must be investigated and accountability ensured. There will be no durable peace, no reconciliation without justice for the victims.

The European Union will present a resolution at the Human Rights Council renewing the mandate of the International Commission of Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia to allow for further comprehensive, independent and transparent investigations and an accountability mechanism to complement national efforts.

The European Union does not forget the people of Tigray and those suffering from this man-made crisis. Two years have passed since the start of the conflict. There is no more time to lose.

**Predseda júci.** – Rozprava sa týmto skončila. Hlasovanie sa uskutoční zajtra.

*Písomné vyhlásenia (článok 171)*

**Caterina Chinnici (S&D), per iscritto.** – Parallelamente alla drammatica guerra in corso ormai da sette mesi in Ucraina, in questi giorni, in Etiopia, nel silenzio della stampa internazionale, si sta consumando un'altra drammatica guerra, le cui prime vittime sono, come sempre, i più fragili, i bambini!

Una guerra dimenticata che da quando è scoppiata, nel novembre 2020, ha provocato 2,2 milioni di follati e la morte di quasi un milione di persone, trasformando la regione del Corno d'Africa in teatro di crimini atroci. Massacri, stupri, bombardamenti, unitamente alla siccità e al blocco imposto dal governo di Addis Abeba agli aiuti umanitari internazionali, cibo e medicinali, che non riescono ad arrivare alla popolazione ormai stremata, stanno provocando una terribile carestia!

Secondo l'ONU, nella regione etiope del Tigray, un bambino su tre sotto i cinque anni è malnutrito, il che comporta una probabilità di morte di 12 volte superiore rispetto a bambini ben nutriti! L'Unione europea, con la Strategia dell'UE sui diritti dei minori, ha chiaramente riaffermato il suo impegno a tutelare i diritti umani dei bambini, in tutto il mondo, non solo all'interno dei propri confini! Necessario ed urgente, pertanto, moltiplicare gli sforzi diplomatici ed umanitari per garantire il primario diritto alla vita dei bambini del Tigray!

**György Hölvényi (PPE), írásban.** – Majdnem két éve annak, hogy Etiópia szövetségi kormánya háborút indított Tigrében. Mindezt alig egy évvel azután, hogy Abij miniszterelnököt béke Nobel-díjjal tüntették ki. Azóta a háború következtében a térség mély humanitárius válságba süllyedt. A Világélelmezési Program becslései szerint Etiópia északi részén több mint 13 millió ember szorul humanitárius segítségre. A Bizottság erőfeszítéseinek eredményeként sikerült ugyan korlátozott keretek között segélyszállítmányokat célba juttatni, azonban továbbra is ötmillió embert fenyeget éhezés. A konfliktusban aktív részt vállaló eritreai csapatok kivonásáról szóló nyilatkozatok sem találtak meghallgatásra.

Brutális háború zajlik, amelyet kezdettől fogva tömegmészárlások, vallási helyszínek elleni támadások, nők és gyermekek elleni erőszak, valamint a kulturális örökség elpusztítása jellemez. A harcok és az éhínség eddig mintegy félmillió ember halálát követelték, köztük hétszáz civil életét is, akiket az összecsapások első hónapjában, 2020 november az akszúmi Sioni Mária-templomnál mészároltak le. Ismerjük fel, hogy az eddigi uniós erőfeszítések nem jártak sikerrel. Helyi egyházi tisztviselők jelentései szerint „a polgári lakosság helyzete Tigrében drámai, és a konfliktus kezdete óta most a legrosszabb”.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Mit tehetünk? Az unió egymagában nem lesz képes elérni, hogy a szembenálló felek tárgyalásztalhoz üljenek, éppen ezért szorosabb és jobban összehangolt együttműködésre van szükség, nemcsak a nemzetközi szervezetekkel, hanem a regionális partnerekkel, így az Afrikai Unióval és a térség államaival is.

#### 14. Afera związana z zasiłkami na dzieci w Holandii, rasizm instytucjonalny i algorytmy (debata)

**Predsedajúci.** – Ďalším bodom programu je otázka na ústne zodpovedanie Komisie Holandský škandál s príspevkom na starostlivosť o dieťa, inštitucionálny rasizmus a algoritmy (O-000028/2022 - B9-0025/22).

**Samira Rafaela, Auteur.** – Voorzitter, “Kijk!” zegt mijn vriendin, en ze laat mij dit certificaat zien. Er staat: “U bent geen fraudeur” en er worden excuses aangeboden. Haar dromen heeft ze moeten bijstellen, omdat ze in gevecht raakte met een systeem dat haar menselijke waardigheid ontnam. En nu een certificaat, maar het herstelproces loopt vast. Ik ben opgelucht dat we nu eindelijk de impact van de toeslagenaffaire bespreken hier.

Commissaris, ik weet dat u zich ongemakkelijk gaat voelen bij de vragen die ik nu ga presenteren, maar ik vraag u vanuit uw Europese zorgplicht een waardig antwoord te geven. Wat heeft de Commissie gedaan aan deze duidelijke schending van de grondrechten van EU-burgers die het inleiden van de inbreukprocedure rechtvaardigen? Hoe heeft de Commissie deze kwestie aangepakt, gezien het EU-actieplan voor racismebestrijding en aangezien zij structureel racisme erkent? Hoe zal de Commissie toezicht houden op het proces van schadevergoeding en juridische bijstand voor de slachtoffers? Nu weet ik dat de Commissie wellicht zal stellen dat dit de competentie van de lidstaat is, maar deze wijze van het schenden van fundamentele rechten raakt ook het internationale recht, vooral gezien het feit dat de Nederlandse Belastingdienst zich niet aan wetten hield. Hoe past dit in een rechtsstaat en hoe kan dat zonder consequenties blijven, commissaris?

De Belastingdienst van Nederland maakte gebruik van algoritmes als onderdeel van risicoprofilering om fraude te detecteren. Maar dit systeem sloeg door. Tienduizenden ouders verloren hun werk, eigendommen en toekomstperspectief en belandden in de schulden. En die ouders werd de mogelijkheid ontnomen om volwaardige en toegewijde zorg te geven aan hun kinderen. Duizenden kinderen. Hier moeten we Europa bewust van maken. Als systemen het overnemen, is de menselijke maat verloren. Het algoritme koos vooral ouders met een niet-westerse achtergrond. Dit is institutioneel racisme en is voor een deel ook volmondig door de Nederlandse regering erkend. Daarom roep ik op tot een moratorium op het gebruik van deze wijze van profileren.

Commissaris, zorg ervoor dat deze praktijk per direct stopt, want anders kan ik u garanderen dat de Nederlandse toeslagenaffaire niet op zichzelf staat in Europa. Neem dus uw verantwoordelijkheid hierin, voor een nieuwe generatie in Europa.

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin is prohibited in the European Union. Yet the European Agency for Fundamental Rights' second EU minorities and discrimination survey indicates that one in four respondents felt discriminated against because of their minority racial or ethnic background. To address this, in September 2020, the Commission adopted a new anti-racism action plan. This action plan includes concrete measures to prevent and tackle racial discrimination, enforce EU equality legislation and improve data collection.

Importantly, the anti-racism action plan acknowledges the structural dimension of racial discrimination. Racism is indeed not only perpetrated by individuals, but can also be perpetrated by society's institutions. Structural racism can be embedded in social, financial and political structures and processes, affecting the levers of power and policymaking. We must therefore prevent racism through legislative means, as well as policy measures, addressing social attitudes, stereotypes and economic concerns.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Following the EU anti-racism action plan, Member States are invited to develop national action plans against racism and racial discrimination by the end of this year. A group of anti-racism experts nominated by Member States has already drafted the guiding principles for national action plans against racism and racial discrimination with the support of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights. This development is important, as the guidelines elaborate ways in which anti-racism measures can be implemented successfully in different areas of life.

The next task of the subgroup includes drafting a monitoring checklist for the implementation of the Common Guiding Principles, as well as the creation of a compendium of good practices by the end of this year.

A workshop on structural racism with the participation of national anti-racism experts is planned for this coming November. It will deliver a conclusions paper on structural racism, including recommendations for national authorities. Moreover, the report on the application of the Racial Equality Directive of March 2021 concluded that Member States must provide greater attention to the implementation of the directive in relation to protection against victimisation and the application of effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions. National equality bodies across Europe are essential for ensuring that individuals and groups facing discrimination can enjoy their rights in full.

We are currently preparing new legislation to strengthen equality bodies, to be presented before the end of this year. The new standards will cover, amongst others, the equality bodies' mandate, their powers, independence and their resources.

The events that happened in the Netherlands, and any institutional racism or discrimination by the Dutch authorities in this context should be pursued in national courts and before the national authorities which are competent to assess all facts and circumstances, considering domestic law, including national legislation transposing EU law. The scandal revealed the risk of ethnic profiling following the gathering, storing and use of data on personal characteristics and background.

Therefore, it is critical that such data is protected against misuse and is used exclusively for equality outcomes with fundamental rights and data protection legislation informing the process of its gathering and storing.

The Commission services understand from the exchanges and from the information received that the racial profiling in question has ceased and that national reflection is currently ongoing. We understand that the investigations are also ongoing and compensation is being granted. However, the Commission will continue to monitor the development of the Dutch childcare benefit scandal closely.

The issue has been raised in the rule of law report of both 2021 and 2022. And in the 2022 edition the Commission recommended to continue efforts to ensure a comprehensive follow-up to the childcare allowances affair to address the potential structural issues involving all relevant state authorities.

Following the adoption of the EU anti-racism action plan, the Netherlands appointed a national coordinator on anti-racism and non-discrimination in October 2021. I hope that this appointment, as well as the preparation of the Dutch action plan against racism and racial discrimination, will step up efforts in the fight against any institutional racism in the Netherlands, not least with regard to the gathering, storing and use of personal data.

**Peter Pollák, za skupinu PPE.** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, v časoch pandémie, ktorá najviac postihla práve zraniteľné skupiny, akými sú deti najmä zo sociálne slabších rodín, holandské daňové úrady neprávom obvinili rodičov s takzvaným rizikovým profilom z neoprávneného poberania prídavkov na deti. Nešlo o malý počet ľudí, ale o 20 tisíc nespravodlivo obvinených rodičov, ktorí sa vinou bezohľadného a nezodpovedného prístupu zo strany štátu dostali na pokraj bankrotu. Vážení priatelia, bol to inštitucionálny rasizmus. Áno, vážení kolegovia. Škandál v Holandsku je porušením právneho štátu a inštitucionálnym rasizmom. Čo však mňa osobne zaráža, inštitucionálny rasizmus v dnešnej dobe nemusí mať žiadne spoločenské ani politické dôsledky. Príkladom toho je práve tento prípad. Napríklad v mojej krajine na Slovensku sa napriek mnohým upozorneniam a medializácii stretávam s prípadmi, kde sú rómske deti neoprávnene zaraďované do tzv. špeciálnych škôl, resp. škôl pre mentálne postihnutých, a to napriek tomu, že sú zdravé. Áno, rovnako ide o inštitucionálny rasizmus. Nestačí, vážení priatelia, len konštatovať, ale treba naozaj v týchto prípadoch konať. Preto vyzývam v podstate Európsku komisiu, ale aj členské štáty, aby sme urýchlene našli dostatok prostriedkov, aby sa obdobné prípady nikdy nemohli opakovať. Obeťami sú nevinní ľudia, ktorí len vďaka farbe pleti a príslušenosti k nejakej etnickej menšine trpia kvôli tomu, že niekomu sa nepáči, že sú inej farby pleti alebo iní ako majoritní obyvatelia.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

**Agnes Jongerius**, *namens de S&D-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, verscheurde gezinnen en uit huis geplaatste kinderen. Er zijn meer dan 25 000 slachtoffers en de teller loopt nog steeds op. “Zo hadden we het niet bedoeld” heet een boek over het toeslagenschandaal, maar eigenlijk blijkt uit alles dat dit precies was wat bedoeld was. Terwijl we weten dat de rechtsstaat er is om de zwakkeren te beschermen, niet om wantrouwen te voeden. Terwijl we vinden dat er voor racisme geen enkele ruimte mag zijn. We moeten daar altijd tegen opstaan – ik zal daar altijd tegen opstaan. Maar de oorzaak van dit schandaal is duidelijk: het gaat over discriminatie op basis van nationaliteit. We mogen deze ongemakkelijke waarheid niet onder het tapijt schuiven. Daarom, mevrouw de commissaris, denk ik dat u ook op Europees niveau meer kan doen dan dat er nu gebeurt.

Mijn eerste vraag is: bent u het met mij eens dat we het gebruik door overheden van algoritmes die de dubbele nationaliteit verwerken, moeten verbieden? Dat kan bijvoorbeeld via de Europese AI-verordening waar op dit moment aan gewerkt wordt. Het lijkt mij iets waar de commissaris een uitspraak over zou kunnen doen.

Ten tweede: de compensatie laat nog veel te lang op zich wachten voor heel veel slachtoffers. Wat deze ouders en kinderen is overkomen, is ook in strijd met punt 11 van de Europese pijler van sociale rechten. Het is mooi dat het toeslagenschandaal genoemd wordt in het rechtsstaatverslag, maar ik zou willen dat u zich ook uitspreekt voor snellere compensatie voor ouders en kinderen, nu.

**Salima Yenbou**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, deux points. Premièrement, le racisme, ce fléau laissé à l'exploitation des extrêmes droites. En septembre 2021, la Commission a dévoilé un plan d'action pour lutter contre le racisme. On a vu le plan, pas les actions. Madame Dalli, c'est pour quand les vraies actions? Deuxièmement, le racisme institutionnel et systématique causé ou renforcé par des algorithmes et le profilage ethnique. J'ai alerté avec des collègues, en vain, sur ces risques. La dignité humaine est-telle ce que nous sacrifions sur l'autel du progrès technologique?

Aux Pays-Bas, nos craintes et votre inaction se sont concrétisées. Un profilage ethnique basé sur les noms d'origine étrangère a provoqué de fausses accusations de fraude aux allocations familiales contre des milliers de familles qui se sont endettées, sont tombées dans la pauvreté ou ont perdu leur emploi, leur maison, sans compter les 1 000 enfants retirés à leur famille.

Que va faire la Commission pour que les Pays-Bas réparent vite ce qui peut l'être encore et compensent l'irréparable et que ça ne se reproduise plus? Je demande ici simplement le respect de l'état de droit en Europe pour tous, indépendamment de l'origine de leur nom, la couleur de leur peau ou leur croyance affichée ou supposée.

**Kim Van Sparrentak**, *namens de Verts/ALE-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, algoritmen doen precies wat ze moeten doen, en dat is gevaarlijk. Stel je voor: een belastingdienst krijgt van de regering de opdracht om fraude keihard aan te pakken en dit moet zo efficiënt mogelijk door middel van automatisering. Volgens de belastingdienst is het het meest efficiënt om mensen met een laag inkomen of migratieachtergrond aan te pakken. Op basis daarvan besluit de dienst zo'n algoritme te bouwen. En dit algoritme doet precies wat het moet doen. Het vindt zogenaamde fraudeurs, met name met een migratieachtergrond of een laag inkomen.

Zo verwoestte de Nederlandse regering de levens van 70 000 kinderen en hun ouders. Niemand kon hun ouders uitleggen wat er aan de hand was of waarom er bepaalde beslissingen gemaakt werden. Ambtenaren volgden blind de computers, want algoritmen zullen wel gelijk hebben.

Een belangrijke les uit het toeslagenschandaal is dat digitalisering zonder normen en regels levensverwoestende gevolgen kan hebben. Gelukkig zien wij dit in Europa in. Met de eerste AI-wet ter wereld wil ik ervoor zorgen dat er nooit meer een nieuwe toeslagenaffaire kan gebeuren, maar dan moeten we wel door durven pakken.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Als onderhandelaar voor de AI-verordening zet ik me in voor het versterken van mensenrechten bij het gebruik van algoritmen. We moeten het gebruik van algoritmen om mensen aan te merken als crimineel of fraudeur op basis van hun persoonsgegevens verbieden. We moeten ervoor zorgen dat systemen niet discrimineren. We moeten een mensenrechtentoets invoeren, zodat er verplicht gekeken moet worden naar hoe we algoritmen inzetten. Mensen verdienen transparantie en de systemen moeten zo ontworpen worden dat we kunnen zien wat er misgaat. En mensen mogen nooit, nooit meer met lege handen staan tegenover een computer, met een sterk recht op uitleg en verplicht menselijk toezicht. Laten we uit dit vreselijke schandaal lessen trekken en nu met ambitieuze regels ingrijpen.

**Patricia Chagnon**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, une fois encore le gouvernement d'un État membre de l'Union européenne est au cœur d'un scandale. La prise illégale d'intérêts semble devenue pratique courante chez une vaste caste des dirigeants politiques qui se croient au-dessus des lois et investis par une idéologie quasi religieuse.

Le mépris des peuples s'accroît, en parallèle. Les hommes sont réduits à être des variables interchangeables de production et de consommation. Alors que l'Union est si prompte à critiquer, voire à condamner les récalcitrants à son idéologie «immigrationniste» ou de son impérialisme «woke». Bizarrement, quand cela concerne l'un des siens, un silence assourdissant règne dans les couloirs et les salles de presse de ces pompeuses institutions.

Quand les droits fondamentaux sont interprétés selon la qualité des personnes, quand la fonction des institutions élues et des représentants légitimes des peuples se limite à commenter les décisions prises dans des bureaux feutrés aux portes insonorisées, la démocratie est menacée.

Les peuples ne sont pas dupes de cette démocratie de façade. La Hongrie, la Suède, l'Italie: autant d'exemples récents, autour de nous, de peuples qui ont entamé le sursaut démocratique contre la caste impérialiste bruxelloise et leurs représentants complices dans les parlements nationaux.

L'Europe de demain sera l'Europe des peuples libres et des nations souveraines. Nous sommes en train de vivre le changement de cette époque, si enthousiasmant qu'aucune tentation totalitaire ne saurait l'arrêter.

**Michiel Hoogeveen**, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, in het Europees Parlement gaat het regelmatig over *rule of law*, het functioneren van de rechtsstaat. Volgens zelfverklaard EU-bekeerling en VVD-premier Mark Rutte is de EU niet alleen een markt, maar ook een waardengemeenschap. De premier staat met zijn kritiek op Polen en Hongarije dan ook vaak vooraan. Maar vandaag gaat het over zijn rechtsstaat, over Nederland, over de toeslagenaffaire. Wij van JA21 feliciteren D66 als regeringspartij en de Partij van de Arbeid als verantwoordelijk oud-regeringspartij dat zij het in het Europees Parlement aandurven om hun eigen bewindvoerders en partijgenoten op hun verantwoordelijkheid aan te spreken.

De toeslagenaffaire is een schandvlek in de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse rechtsstaat. Op een kafkaëske wijze zijn Nederlandse gezinnen door de eigen Belastingdienst financieel kapotgemaakt. En het erge is: al in 2017 werd dit binnen de Belastingdienst opgemerkt. En na lang ontkennen werd duidelijk dat topambtenaren op het ministerie al lang van deze misstanden wisten. In plaats van te kiezen voor openheid, koos de Nederlandse overheid ervoor om deze zaak te doen verdwijnen in de doofpot.

Premier Rutte neemt graag andere EU-lidstaten de maat over het functioneren van hun rechtsstaat. In plaats van de splinter in het oog van andere landen te zien, kan hij beter kijken naar de balk in het oog van hemzelf.

**Anja Hazekamp**, *namens de The Left-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, een kerntaak van de overheid is het beschermen van het individu tegen de macht van de meerderheid. De Nederlandse overheid heeft daarin gefaald. Dat is hartverscheurend voor al die duizenden ouders en kinderen die geconfronteerd werden met zware financiële en emotionele schade. Het resulteert er ook in dat burgers de overheid niet meer vertrouwen.

Środa, 5 października 2022 r.

Dit vertrouwen kan alleen terugkeren wanneer de overheid haar eigen fouten erkent en de gevolgen van deze fouten ruimhartig en snel herstelt. Maar dat gaat over meer dan schadeherstel. De overheid moet ook de principes van *restorative justice* toepassen. Dat betekent: het daderschap erkennen en voelen wat je hebt aangericht. Pas dan kan gezamenlijk en in gelijkwaardigheid met de slachtoffers aan herstel worden gewerkt.

Dit hele schandaal is het gevolg van een verzakelijkte neoliberale overheid die zichzelf kapot heeft bezuinigd. Het resultaat was een ambtelijk apparaat dat moest bezuinigen en tegelijkertijd zwaar moest focussen op de aanpak van fraude. Het is ook het gevolg van de "metaversering" van deze overheid. Het overal toepassen van algoritmes en kunstmatige intelligentie brengt grote risico's met zich mee. Computers passen geen mensenrechten toe. Zij nemen het institutioneel racisme, dat helaas nog sterk aanwezig is in Europa, gewoon over in hun algoritmes.

Ik wil graag weten: wat gaat de Commissie met deze belangrijke lessen doen? Hoe voorkomt zij een toeslagenaffaire in haar eigen huis? Want ik zie daar geen enkele waarborg voor.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, nizozemská vláda poprvé v květnu letošního roku veřejně přiznala, že hlavní příčinou skandálu s přídávky na děti byl právě institucionální rasismus. A v důsledku skandálu podala nizozemská vláda demisi. Nizozemská daňová a celní správa sestavovala rizikové profily osob žádajících o přídávky na děti pomocí algoritmů na cize znějící jména a dvojí občanství. A tato praxe vedla k tomu, že byly tisíce rodin s nízkými a středními příjmy podrobeny kontrole, neprávem obviněny z podvodu a vyzvány, aby vrátily zcela zákonně získané přídávky. Já chápu boj proti podvodům, proti neoprávněnému čerpání a zneužívání sociálního systému, ale aby se v 21. století používaly algoritmy, které vedou k rasovému profilování, to je zcela nepřijatelná praxe.

Jsem rád za vystoupení paní komisařky v této věci. Jednoznačné volání po odškodnění obětí je nepochybné. Myslím si, že by bylo dobré, aby paní komisařka ještě přesně řekla, jak hodlá monitorovat Komise proces odškodnění a zjednání nápravy v případě občanů, kteří na skandálu s přídávky utrpěli konkrétní újmu. A je důležité sdělit rovněž, že za posledních šest let bylo sociálními pracovníky odebráno z domova 1 675 dětí. To představuje nárůst o 520 dětí a doposud se 555 dětí na konci loňského roku ještě nevrátilo, jsou nadále v náhradní ústavní péči. Takový skandál je ve 21. století skutečně nepřijatelný.

**Evin Incir (S&D).** – Mr President, this was racism embodied – racist when it goes from words to actions not by one person or a group, but structural and institutionalised. The Dutch childcare benefit scandal is a frightening example that reveals deep-rooted prejudice in our Union. The enormous consequence that the Dutch tax authority's illegal, artificial intelligence-driven racial profiling had on them and how it impacted their lives is terrifying. Families ended up in poverty. Some lost their homes and some lost their jobs because of prejudice.

This is not George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, even though one may think so since some seem to be more equal than others in our Union. But some of the affected are not any more with us to witness today, as this scandal has led to suicides. Racism deprives people of their possibility to live a decent life, and society of the possibility to take good advantage of every and each citizen's competence. In its worst form, racism kills.

I am standing here today as the rapporteur for the report on racial justice, non-discrimination and anti-racism in the EU, which will be voted on in the LIBE Committee on Monday. In the report, we call on the EU to urgently move from words to actions in the fight against racism. We also highlight the importance of ensuring that necessary safeguards for fundamental rights and freedoms of data are in place for the use of AI tools.

Every corner in our Union must be a safe space for all our people. The colour of our skin, our birthplace, our name, our hair colour – none of it should ever shape our possibility to fulfil our dreams and should never, ever deprive us of becoming full and respected citizens in our Member States and of our Union.

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**Saskia Bricmont (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, un algorithme – oui, un algorithme! – a décidé que des aides sociales destinées à des enfants défavorisés devaient être retirées à des foyers précaires puis remboursées. Cette décision touche des personnes racisées, suspectées de fraude sur la base de leur couleur de peau – non blanche. Il ne s'agit pas là du régime des scores sociaux chinois, il s'agit de l'œuvre du gouvernement néerlandais, qui a essayé d'étouffer l'affaire durant des mois.

Combien de fois faudra-t-il répéter que les algorithmes et les décisions automatisées présentent des risques pour les droits fondamentaux, particulièrement pour les personnes racisées et pour les personnes précaires? Mes collègues ont parlé de ces risques et du racisme institutionnel, mais nous devons aussi parler du contrôle et de la régulation des autorités publiques nationales et européennes, qui violent délibérément la protection des données dans une forme d'apathie générale. Des aides retirées à des personnes de couleur aux Pays-Bas, des données sur l'orientation sexuelle ou la religion des personnes qui se présentent à nos frontières collectées par Frontex, la collecte massive et indiscriminée de données de police par Europol: mais où cela s'arrêtera-t-il?

Les autorités publiques ont un rôle d'exemplarité à assurer, et la Commission doit réagir en cas de violation des droits fondamentaux et du droit européen. Chers collègues, les négociations en cours sur l'intelligence artificielle nous donnent la possibilité de mettre les nécessaires lignes rouges en place dès maintenant.

**Eugenia Rodríguez Palop (The Left).** – Señor presidente, en las últimas décadas se ha pasado de la promesa de futuro que suponía la emancipación digital a una especie de nueva civilización basada en la organización algorítmica de la sociedad. Empresas y administraciones de todo el mundo se esconden tras una mente tecnológica para que sus decisiones sean más objetivas y eficientes. Pero en esa mente anidan los prejuicios y las aberraciones que pretenden ocultar.

Las máquinas que nosotros mismos creamos no son mejores que nosotros, porque la mayoría de los datos de los que disponen están sesgados y reproducen patrones discriminatorios de los que nadie suele hacerse responsable. La policía predictiva, la asignación de ayudas sociales o la recogida de datos biométricos, por ejemplo, están racializadas y la discriminación estructural que generan obstaculiza el acceso de ciertas personas a derechos, bienes y servicios. La inteligencia artificial refuerza el lugar privilegiado de los blancos y margina a negros y gitanos, por ejemplo, de manera que desempeña un papel clave en las relaciones de poder. Tras una apariencia de neutralidad desde el punto de vista de las máquinas, hay personas a las que se persigue por lo que son y no por lo que hacen, aunque buena parte de ellas ni lo sabe ni sabría señalar a un culpable.

Es evidente que de todo esto podría hacerse un buen uso, pero en Europa no tenemos los instrumentos para exigirlo. Desde el Parlamento hemos pedido muchas medidas: incorporar el enfoque interseccional en los algoritmos, recopilar datos desglosados por origen racial y étnico, prohibir los perfiles raciales, realizar estudios de impacto de derechos humanos, implementar controles de conformidad y supervisión humana o rendir cuentas.

Con todo, seguimos corriendo todavía detrás de nuestra propia sombra.

**Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, the Dutch childcare benefit scandal epitomises what the former UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Philip Alston, calls a digital welfare dystopia. It specifically targets poorer citizens rather than rich people evading taxes, where in case of fraud, the sums to recover would be much higher. The system is racist. There is no simple redress and the system targets people who can't afford to – or are unlikely to – go to court. The principle of innocent until proven guilty is overturned. Innocent people are treated like criminals. Fundamental principles of the rule of law are overturned.

Artificial intelligence systems targeting people need very, very strong safeguards and these safeguards are currently not provided by the AI Act. And here we need to change, we need to improve the AI Act. And furthermore, public administrations should support low-income citizens rather than harassing them and giving millions to big-tech companies to build what Virginia Eubanks calls The Digital Poorhouse.

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**Romeo Franz (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Tausende Familien wurden in den Niederlanden zwischen 2013 und 2019 zu Unrecht des Betrugs bezichtigt. Viele Familien verschuldeten sich, und Kinder wurden ihren Eltern weggenommen.

Der Grund dafür sind ein tief sitzender Rassismus und Vorurteile, mit denen man ganz bewusst die Algorithmen gefüttert hat. Ich kann mit den Betroffenen sehr gut mitfühlen, da Menschen mit Romanes-Hintergrund zu den am meisten marginalisierten Gruppen in Europa gehören und der Antiziganismus wieder auf dem Vormarsch ist.

Es ist wichtig, dass wir im Nachgang zu solchen Stigmatisierungen auch Antworten haben, die in die Zeit passen. Daher habe ich mich im Rassismusbericht, den wir im Ausschuss für bürgerliche Freiheiten, Justiz und Inneres bearbeiten, auch dafür stark gemacht, dass die Gefahren von künstlicher Intelligenz und Algorithmen zwingend berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Rassismus lässt sich nicht mit Empfehlungen bekämpfen. Wir brauchen dazu die Kraft des Gesetzes, um Menschen vor Rassismus zu schützen.

**Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire Dalli, l'affaire des allocations familiales est, par son ampleur, un scandale raciste sans précédent. Des milliers de familles ont été accusées de fraude par l'administration fiscale. Les familles migrantes, africaines ou noires, ont été poursuivies par les autorités, qui ont exigé le remboursement immédiat des allocations que ces familles avaient perçues en toute légalité. De nombreuses familles n'ont pas pu supporter d'être taxées de fraudeuses par l'État et se sont suicidées de désespoir au vu de l'ampleur de leur dette, d'autres familles ont éclaté, et plus de 1000 enfants ont été placés sous la garde de l'État.

Le gouvernement néerlandais a accepté d'utiliser des algorithmes racistes, qui indiquaient des noms à consonance étrangère ou une double nationalité comme indicateur de fraude. Il a dû admettre que ce qui était déclaré comme une politique stricte de lutte contre la fraude n'était rien d'autre que du racisme institutionnel, de la discrimination au profilage racial.

Cela est inacceptable. Les valeurs fondamentales de l'Union européenne, des droits de l'homme, des droits de nos concitoyens ont été violées, et la cause en est: le racisme. Que va faire l'Union européenne? Va-t-elle en tirer les conséquences et tenir sa promesse, celle de lutter contre le racisme institutionnel sur l'ensemble de son territoire? Qu'en est-il du plan d'action que nous avons voté? Qu'a fait le gouvernement néerlandais et que va faire la Commission afin que l'état de droit s'applique à tous, indépendamment de la couleur de peau?

*Vystúpenia podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky*

**Malik Azmani (Renew).** – Voorzitter, laat me helder en duidelijk zijn: dit is een grote zaak die in Nederland heeft plaatsgevonden, iets wat betreurenswaardig is, wat diepriet is, en waar de regering ook zijn verantwoordelijkheid voor heeft genomen door op te stappen. De Nederlandse regering probeerde lessen te trekken, en inderdaad, de compensatie moet zo snel mogelijk gedaan worden voor hen die hierdoor zijn geslachtofferd.

Maar de vraag die is gesteld aan de commissaris: we kunnen wachten op een AI-wet en het een en ander daarin regelen, maar wat doet deze commissaris op dit moment om te voorkomen – iets waar Nederland al de lessen uit heeft getrokken – dat in de andere lidstaten op dit moment ook gebruik wordt gemaakt van systemen waarin risicoprofilering plaatsvindt op basis van etniciteit, op basis van afkomst? Wat doet de Commissie op dit moment om dat te voorkomen?

**Bert-Jan Ruissen (ECR).** – Voorzitter, het is goed dat we ook hier in het Europees Parlement aandacht besteden aan de toeslagenaffaire, want wat er gebeurd is, is natuurlijk schandalig. De overheid moet een schild der zwakken zijn, maar de overheid – de Nederlandse overheid – deed precies het tegenovergestelde. Burgers werden in grote financiële problemen gebracht, gediscrimineerd. Kinderen werden uit huis geplaatst. En de ellende duurt nog steeds voort.

De functie van dit debat is wat mij betreft vooral om aan andere landen te laten zien hoe het niet moet, en vooral ook om bij te dragen aan een stuk bewustwording. Bewustwording over hoe het ook bij overheidsorganen heel gemakkelijk, heel fout, fundamenteel fout kan gaan. De overheid moet betrouwbaar zijn, en dat vraagt een blijvende investering van ons allen.



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*(Ukončenie vystúpení podľa postupu prihlásenia o slovo zdvihnutím ruky)*

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, as mentioned in the chapter on the Netherlands of the 2021 rule of law report, the parliamentary investigation report into the childcare allowance affair called on all state powers to reflect on how to prevent such situations for the future.

Meanwhile, the Venice Commission has issued its opinion on the request of the Dutch Parliament, making a number of recommendations and finding that it appears that, eventually, the rule of law mechanisms in the Netherlands did work. We note, furthermore, that a full parliamentary inquiry will further investigate the affair, with hearings planned in early 2023. The Commission will continue to closely monitor the developments, including in the context of its annual rule of law report, and the next edition of the report is scheduled for adoption.

With regard to compensation, we note that efforts by government to provide financial compensation to the victims of the affair are ongoing and that a comprehensive mapping is being conducted of areas in which legislation may cause undue results for citizens.

Furthermore, the judicial branch is also contributing to the follow-up to the childcare allowances affair. For instance, through the self-reflection process of the Council of State and the active role taken by the Council for the Judiciary, calling for a permanent dialogue between the different state powers.

We note, furthermore, that a full parliamentary inquiry will further investigate the affair, and of course, the Commission will continue to monitor all these developments, including, of course, the context of its annual rule of law report.

I reiterate that the European Commission and myself, as Commissioner for Equality, will continue to follow these developments in the Netherlands and will continue supporting the efforts of all Member States to deliver an anti-racist European Union. Any form of structural discrimination and racism, be it through algorithms or not, is plain wrong and not acceptable for us.

**Predsedajúci**. – Rozprava sa týmto skončila.

## 15. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania

**Predsedajúci**. – Ďalším bodom programu je vysvetlenie hlasovaní.

### 15.1. Dostęp do wody jako prawo człowieka - wymiar zewnętrzny (A9-0231/2022 - Miguel Urbán Crespo)

**Chris MacManus (The Left)**. – A Uachtaráin, votáil mé i bhfabhar na tuairisce seo mar gheall go gcreidim gur ábhar chearta an duine é an t-uisce. Chuir an tuairisc seo béim ar an bhfíric gur leas poiblí atá fíorthábhachtach do shaol an duine é an t-uisce, agus ní earra é atá ann chun brabús a dhéanamh. Is cuma cén áit sa domhain a bhfuil tú. Ba cheart go mbeadh uisce glan agus sábháilte ar fáil do gach duine.

### 15.2. Reakcja UE na wzrost cen energii w Europie (RC-B9-0416/2022, B9-0416/2022, B9-0417/2022, B9-0418/2022, B9-0419/2022, B9-0420/2022, B9-0421/2022, B9-0422/2022)

**Billy Kelleher (Renew)**. – Mr President, this is a very important file, and it has real, tangible repercussions for citizens across Europe. I voted in favour of the potential cap on gas without being prescriptive. And I think it's very important that the Commission comes forward with deep, meaningful proposals that make an assessment on the risks and the opportunities around the price cap.

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The first thing we have to do is to ensure that we have certainty going forward in terms of energy security and the cost of electricity across the entirety of the European Union. But equally, we have to be conscious that as we speak here and as we face a winter, across Ukraine people are dying because the real oppressor in all of this, the real person who's causing the difficulties with regard to citizens, the cost of fuel, the cost of living, the cost electricity is Vladimir Putin himself.

So whatever we do, we must ensure that we have strong unity of purpose, sanctions hit Russia, and that we try to alleviate the pressures on European citizens by ensuring that we have a cap on gas that reduces the cost of electricity and energy across the European Union.

**Manon Aubry (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, avec cette résolution un nouveau mot fait son entrée dans le dictionnaire européen: *superprofit*. J'ai envie de dire: enfin! *Enfin*, car nous avons des ministres, comme Bruno Le Maire, qui refusent toujours d'admettre que des multinationales profitent de la crise. Enfin une victoire culturelle majeure, alors que notre groupe était bien seul à se battre pour mettre ces dernières à contribution.

Mais, je vous le dis, nous ne sommes pas dupes. Rien ne sert de reprendre nos mots si vous les videz de leur contenu. Non, ce n'est pas une taxe sur les superprofits si elle ne couvre pas tous les profiteurs, tels que LVMH, la BNP ou CMA CGM. Et non, ce n'est pas non plus une taxe sur les superprofits si elle ne s'applique pas dès 2022, année où les bénéficiaires battent tous les records.

Alors comment accepter, par exemple, que Total y échappe, alors que le groupe a réalisé le bénéfice le plus élevé de son histoire et qu'il a déjà versé plus de 2,6 milliards d'euros de dividendes? Preuve s'il en est que, si nous n'agissons pas, les superprofits finiront tout droit dans les poches des actionnaires – qui sont déjà pleines – plutôt que d'être redistribués à celles et ceux qui en ont vraiment besoin.

**Míriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, chcela by som upozorniť, že náš prístup k tejto správe, žiaľ, opomína niektoré dôležité aspekty, ktorými sa na pôde Európskeho parlamentu musíme urgentne zaoberať. Dohoda z minulotýždňovej Rady nie je odpoveďou pre mnohé krajiny a medzi najviac postihnuté patrí aj Slovensko. Považujem za nevyhnutné hľadať nové riešenia a to také, ktoré budú založené na solidarite. Práve naša dnešná solidarita a jednota sú totiž rozhodujúce pre budúcnosť celej Európskej únie. Ďalej dnes apelujem na ústretovosť a zrýchlený proces schvaľovania žiadostí Slovenska, aby sa na boj proti drahým energiám mohli využiť aj nevyčerpané eurofondy. Nech je pre nás súčasná energetická kríza lekciou, aby sme viac neustupovali od našich hodnôt a princípov a už nikdy nepripustili takúto závislosť od nedemokratických a totalitných režimov, ktorá je vždy ohrozením.

**Chris MacManus (The Left).** – Mr President, today the Parliament endorsed the Council's measures to tackle rising energy prices and the misery they are causing so many households. These measures are a step in the right direction, but we all know that much more is needed to tackle this crisis while decarbonising our energy system and eliminating energy poverty. The broken energy market needs to be reformed so that the price we pay for energy reflects the real price of production.

We need more effective price caps so that energy companies can no longer exploit this crisis at the expense of workers and families. We need public control of an energy system that has people's basic right to energy at its core. It should be the role of this Parliament to push the other institutions towards stronger policies. This resolution merely echoed the inadequate measures already agreed by the Council. Now, more than ever, we must do better for our citizens.

**Predsedajúci.** – Tento bod programu je ukončený.

## 16. Zatwierdzenie protokołu bieżącego posiedzenia i porządek dzienny następnego posiedzenia

**Predsedajúci.** – Nasledujúce rokovanie sa uskutoční zajtra vo štvrtok 6. októbra 2022 o 9.00 h.

Program schôdze bol uverejnený a je k dispozícii na webovom sídle Európskeho parlamentu.

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## **17. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(Rokowanie sa skončilo o 21.06 h)*