

PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 2 LUTEGO 2023 R.

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PARLAMENT EUROPEJSKI

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Posiedzenia z 1 i 2 lutego 2023 r.

BRUKSELA

Spis treści	Strona
1. Otwarcie posiedzenia	3
2. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (debata)	3
3. Sytuacja byłego prezydenta Gruzji Micheila Saakaszwilego (debata)	22
4. Wznowienie posiedzenia	25
5. Głosowanie	25
5.1. Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Nadine Morano (A9-0011/2023 - Angel Dzhambazki) (głosowanie)	26
5.2. Wniosek o skorzystanie z immunitetu poselskiego przez Helmuta Geukinga (A9-0013/2023 - Ibán García Del Blanco) (głosowanie)	26
5.3. Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Nicolasa Baya (A9-0015/2023 - Andrzej Halicki) (głosowanie)	26
5.4. Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Andrei Cozzolina (A9-0016/2023 - Manon Aubry) (głosowanie)	26
5.5. Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Marca Tarabelli (A9-0017/2023 - Manon Aubry) (głosowanie)	26
5.6. Europejski system rachunków narodowych i regionalnych w Unii Europejskiej (ESA 2010) (A9-0202/2022 - Irene Tinagli) (głosowanie)	26
5.7. Ochrona tuńczyka południowego: środki ochrony i zarządzania (A9-0134/2022 - Grace O'Sullivan) (głosowanie)	26

Spis treści	Strona
5.8. Poprawa warunków pracy za pośrednictwem platform internetowych (A9-0301/2022 - Elisabetta Gualmini) (głosowanie)	26
5.9. Przejrzystość i targetowanie reklamy politycznej (A9-0009/2023 - Sandro Gozi) (głosowanie)	27
5.10. Zmiana dyrektywy o europejskich radach zakładowych (A9-0295/2022 - Dennis Radtke) (głosowanie)	27
5.11. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (RC-B9-0092/2023, B9-0092/2023, B9-0093/2023, B9-0094/2023, B9-0095/2023, B9-0096/2023) (głosowanie)	27
6. Wznowienie posiedzenia	28
7. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania	28
7.1. Przejrzystość i targetowanie reklamy politycznej (A9-0009/2023 - Sandro Gozi)	28
7.2. Zmiana dyrektywy o europejskich radach zakładowych (A9-0295/2022 - Dennis Radtke)	29
7.3. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (RC-B9-0092/2023, B9-0092/2023, B9-0093/2023, B9-0094/2023, B9-0095/2023, B9-0096/2023)	31
8. Zatwierdzenie protokołów posiedzeń bieżącej sesji i przekazanie przyjętych tekstów	33
9. Kalendarz następnych posiedzeń	33
10. Zamknięcie posiedzenia	33
11. Przerwa w obradach	33

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VORSITZ: NICOLA BEER

Vizepräsidentin

1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 8.32 Uhr eröffnet.)

2. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (debata)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zu der Vorbereitung des Gipfeltreffens EU-Ukraine (2023/2509(RSP)).

Pål Jonson, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, I would like to thank the European Parliament for its strong and continued engagement on Ukraine. Your interest in the preparations of tomorrow's 24th EU-Ukraine summit is much welcome. This will be the first summit since Russia launched its full-scale invasion and also the first one since Ukraine was granted EU candidate status.

The EU will use this occasion to reiterate our message loud and clear: the EU is strongly condemning Russia's unprovoked and unjustified war of aggression against Ukraine and it will continue supporting Ukraine as long as it takes – politically, financially, militarily and with humanitarian aid.

In response to Russia's aggression and with the support of this Parliament, the EU has so far mobilised over EUR 37 billion, including EUR 18 billion on macro-financial support packages for 2023. The estimated total amount of EU and Member State military support is above EUR 12 billion. This brings the overall support of the EU and its Member States to Ukraine close to EUR 50 billion.

In addition, the EU has offered assistance to the millions of Ukrainians who have fled the war. Our combined pressure on Russia and other responsible actors through nine packages of sanctions is also unprecedented, cutting off Russia from the technology and revenues it needs to continue its war of aggression. We will continue working on the restrictive measures and their full implementation.

Honourable Members, EU-Ukraine bilateral relations are stronger than ever. Ukraine has obtained the status of EU candidate country. Tomorrow the EU leaders will reiterate our support and encouragement to Ukraine's reform efforts, which are particularly impressive considering these difficult times, and we will commit to further deepening our relationship, including through the new priority action plan for the DCFTA 2023-2024, easing Ukraine's access to our internal market.

At tomorrow's summit, the EU will reconfirm its support to Ukraine's swift relief and reconstruction, from everything from demining to health and rehabilitation. The EU will reiterate our support for President Zelenskyy's initiative for just peace and underline the EU's commitment to working with Ukraine to mobilise broad international support. It is important to underline Ukraine's genuine stance for peace – Russia has not displayed such a willingness. On the contrary, Russia continues intensifying its brutal war of aggression with global consequences, including when it comes to food security.

Honourable Members, allow me to praise once again the active and swift support of this Parliament for the EU's macro-financial assistance to Ukraine. Ukraine now has a predictable financing schedule for this year. Ukraine receives the first tranche of EUR 3 billion when no other international funds for 2023 had yet reached the country. We also welcome this Parliament's strong political stance expressed in various resolutions in support of Ukraine and condemning Russia's blatant violation of the international order.

Let me be clear: those responsible for war crimes and the other most serious crimes will be held accountable. We will continue supporting the investigations by the International Criminal Court. There can be no impunity of the crimes committed under Russian occupation. We will also need to work to ensure accountability for the crime of aggression.

Tomorrow's summit will once again demonstrate that the EU will continue supporting Ukraine for as long as it takes. Thank you very much for your attention.

Johannes Hahn, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Minister, honourable Members, today and tomorrow the first ever college-to-government meeting with Ukraine and the 24th EU-Ukrainian summit will take place in Kiev. They will send a very clear message to Ukraine and beyond about our continued unwavering support to Ukraine for as long as it takes and our collective strength and resolve in countering Russia's brutal aggression.

The college-to-government meeting and the summit will provide an opportunity to take stock of the Union's ongoing support to Ukraine across all areas, including financial, humanitarian, energy, budget support, military support and diplomatic outreach. We will discuss the reform efforts by Ukraine, the further alignment of its legislation with the EU *acquis*, and we will outline further steps to enhance sectoral cooperation.

Ukraine's destiny is in Europe. Our common European path was decided last June by granting the status of candidate country to Ukraine. The Commission will support Ukraine throughout the whole accession process, despite the continuing ruthless attacks of the aggressor we are seeing a major momentum of reforms in Ukraine.

Of course, as we well know, the EU accession path is a marathon, not a sprint. The European Council will decide on the next steps unanimously. The discussions in Kiev today and tomorrow will focus on reform priorities and the steps necessary to help Ukraine further align its legislation to the Union *acquis*, following the Commission's analytical report which was just published complementing the Commission's opinion on Ukraine's EU membership application.

To support the reform process and increase Ukraine's resilience, we are announcing a new support package worth EUR 400 million, including EUR 145 million in humanitarian assistance and EUR 305 million in bilateral cooperation. The Commission also confirmed to the Ukrainian Government that the setting up of the Secretariat of the Multi-agency Donor Coordination Platform in Brussels is progressing well, including preparation for secondments from G7 countries and other partners.

This announcement followed the first meeting, on the 26 January, of the Steering Committee of the Donor Coordination Platform. The coordination platform will be key to help match needs and resources for Ukraine's repair, recovery and reconstruction efforts.

Ukraine's accession process works together with its integration of the internal market. The basis of our relationship was already strong, with the Association Agreement and its Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area. The suspension of all tariffs and trade defence measures on Ukraine imports through autonomous trade measures has benefited both sides despite the very difficult circumstances. We will propose to extend these measures soon.

We will also discuss with Ukraine our support across all relevant areas, such as Ukraine's association to additional EU programmes which will strengthen its economy. Moreover, President von der Leyen will propose a suspension of Ukraine's financial contributions for participation in Union programmes for as long as Ukraine's financial challenges remain. As we urgently continue to cut off Russia's fossil fuel imports, a memorandum of understanding on renewables and gases will also be endorsed. The strategic partnership in this area reflects the significant potential in Ukraine and the high degree of integration of renewables in the energy market and in infrastructure.

Ukraine's reconstruction cannot be dissociated from Russia's responsibility for its war of aggression. The atrocities committed by Russia in Ukraine will not go unpunished and all options are on the table to ensure full investigation and prosecution. We support the development of an international centre for the prosecution of the crime of aggressions in Ukraine, in The Hague. The objective would be to coordinate investigations of the crime of aggressions against Ukraine and preserve and store evidence for future trials. This coordination centre would be linked to the existing Joint Investigation team supported by Eurojust.

Russia's military aggression has shown that Ukraine belongs to Europe. We share the same values, the same aspiration for democracy and freedom, and we will stay united for as long as it takes.

Michael Gahler, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Was kann man in einer Minute sagen?

Erstens: Die Ukraine muss diesen Krieg gewinnen, sonst geht er unendlich weiter. Das ist im Interesse der Ukraine, Europas und insgesamt des Standings der freien Welt. Zweitens: Wir müssen unsere umfassende Unterstützung fortsetzen, solange es erforderlich ist. Dafür gibt es einen breitesten Konsens. Das gilt für politische Unterstützung, militärische, finanzielle, humanitäre Unterstützung.

Ich bin auch sehr einverstanden mit dem, was der Kommissar gesagt hat: Die russischen Verbrechen müssen auch systematisch registriert werden, damit wir da auch die geeigneten rechtlichen Konsequenzen ziehen können. Wie wir das dann nennen, bleibt zu sehen. Das Verbrechen der Aggression muss jedenfalls angeklagt werden.

Der Wiederaufbau muss eng mit den Erfordernissen des Beitrittsprozesses kombiniert werden. Das heißt, es darf nicht wieder einen Rückfall in alte Strukturen geben, sondern es muss gleichzeitig mit dem Wiederaufbau reformiert werden. Wir müssen auch innenpolitisch schon darauf achten, dass hier nicht während des Krieges falsche Strukturen aufgebaut werden oder Gesetze verabschiedet werden, die am Ende des Tages jedenfalls nicht mit EU-Recht kompatibel sind. Hier muss auch während des Krieges darauf geachtet werden, dass keine falschen Tendenzen eingeschlagen werden.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, el 24 de febrero se cumple un año de la invasión de Putin contra Ucrania, una guerra que ya ha causado un nivel de destrucción y ruina difícil de imaginar en la Europa del siglo XXI. En el último año hemos sido testigos del sufrimiento del pueblo ucraniano.

La Unión Europea, coherente y firme en la defensa de la soberanía e integridad territorial de los Estados, ha facilitado a Ucrania ayuda en todos los ámbitos: político, humanitario, militar y económico, además de en la lucha contra la impunidad. Una ayuda total de 49 000 millones de euros que convierten a la Unión Europea y sus Estados miembros en el principal apoyo de Ucrania.

La cumbre que se celebra hoy y mañana en Kiev debe servir para reforzar no solo la unidad entre Ucrania y la Unión Europea, sino también la unidad de nuestros Estados miembros. Solo cuando estamos unidos avanzamos, progresamos y generamos confianza. Nuestra respuesta ante Putin ha demostrado el potencial que tiene la Unión Europea cuando hay que tomar decisiones difíciles.

En la cumbre de Kiev, Putin debe conocer nuestro verdadero poder. Por cada refugiado que huye de su hogar por la fuerza, responderemos con la extraordinaria humanidad y solidaridad de nuestras sociedades. Por cada hospital, casa y colegio destruido, utilizaremos todo nuestro poder sancionador hasta invertir en la reconstrucción de Ucrania los más de 300 000 millones de euros de las reservas rusas congeladas. Por cada hogar que Putin deja sin luz, calefacción y agua caliente, construiremos los hidroductos necesarios hasta que la soberanía energética de Europa sea una realidad. Por cada hombre, mujer y niño asesinado vilmente por Putin, haremos que pague ante la justicia internacional. Y por cada grito de auxilio del presidente Zelenski, responderemos con toda la fuerza de nuestras capacidades militares.

El envío de armamento pesado es una decisión difícil, aunque obligada si queremos evitar un estancamiento que congele la guerra hasta convertir a Ucrania en cenizas. Putin no puede ganar la guerra, y solo confía en una victoria por agotamiento de Ucrania y cansancio de los aliados en ambas orillas del Atlántico. El apoyo militar es fundamental para frenar el medio millón de militares que Rusia desplegará en primavera, regresar a las posiciones anteriores al 24 de febrero pasado y garantizar al Gobierno ucraniano una posible negociación de paz en condiciones favorables.

La victoria de Ucrania no solo permitirá mantener vivo el sueño europeo de su propio pueblo, sino que debe ser la recompensa que nuestras sociedades merecen por su enorme sacrificio desde el inicio de la guerra. Encender la calefacción o dar la luz, hacer la compra o llenar el depósito del coche implican sacrificios personales que necesitan el apoyo permanente de las autoridades públicas.

La cumbre de la Unión Europea y Ucrania también debe servir para trasladar un claro mensaje a las autoridades ucranianas en su camino hacia la Unión Europea: Ucrania necesita un Estado de Derecho con unas instituciones sólidas que protejan a los ciudadanos y garanticen sus derechos. El final del camino llegará con una Ucrania que reciba y aporte a la Unión Europea lo que la Unión Europea aporta y recibe de cada Estado miembro: democracia, crecimiento económico y cohesión social.

La Unión Europea es una de las grandes potencias del mundo. Somos una potencia valiente, solidaria y abierta al mundo. Una potencia responsable que persigue la paz. Con confianza en nuestra Unión, hay razones para seguir mirando al futuro con esperanza. Y es responsabilidad del pueblo ucraniano y del resto de sociedades europeas que aspiran a vivir en un mundo libre seguir decidiendo todos juntos nuestro destino.

Stéphane Séjourné, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, les Ukrainiens portent la sécurité de l'Union européenne sur leurs épaules. Pourtant, les Ukrainiens ne sont pas encore membres de notre Union et de ce fait ils ne participent pas à nos décisions. C'est pour cela que notre Parlement a toujours été, dans cette guerre, le porte-voix, ici même, du peuple ukrainien. Nous avons toujours été à l'avant-garde. Ce Parlement a notamment obtenu des sanctions inédites: un embargo sur les énergies fossiles russes, l'octroi du statut de candidat à l'Ukraine, des enveloppes d'aide financière et militaire. Aujourd'hui, nous continuons à assumer ce rôle.

Cela fait un an que les Ukrainiens se battent. Les experts nous l'affirment: ce printemps peut être un tournant. Une nouvelle offensive russe, d'une violence inégalée, est prévisible. Mon groupe salue avec soulagement et gratitude les décisions des États membres et des États-Unis de fournir des chars à l'Ukraine. C'était une décision juste, c'était une décision nécessaire. Mon groupe appelle toutefois à continuer les efforts en élargissant la liste des sanctions considérablement – à 6 000 individus au cœur du régime de Poutine.

L'intégration progressive de l'Ukraine à notre bloc est aussi une priorité absolue: le marché commun, les programmes structurels, les fonds européens doivent être progressivement ouverts à nos amis ukrainiens. À chaque étape de sanctions et d'intégration, nous savons que le Kremlin nous menacera. Cependant, je mets en garde les décideurs européens, nous-mêmes, ici au Parlement européen: ce n'est pas à la Russie de fixer les lignes rouges. La Russie a dépassé la seule ligne rouge en violant le droit international, qui est le fondement de notre sécurité collective. La Russie a dépassé la ligne rouge morale en s'adonnant à des crimes de guerre et à des crimes contre l'humanité.

Ne tombons pas collectivement, ici ou dans d'autres institutions européennes, dans le piège de leur propagande. Le chantage, les prévisions apocalyptiques, cela fait un an que nous les entendons. Où en serait l'Ukraine aujourd'hui si nous n'avions pas écouté le peuple ukrainien, si nous avions écouté le Kremlin et ses porte-parole européens? Alors, maintenant, imaginez où en serait l'Ukraine si nous arrêtons de l'écouter, si nous arrêtons de la soutenir? N'ayons pas peur, continuons le combat, continuons à soutenir l'Ukraine.

Viola von Cramon-Taubadel, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, we have now watched 12 months of Russia's brutal war and 12 months of Ukraine's brave resistance. Against all odds the people of Ukraine prove to the world that they can and will win this war. For their victory, Ukraine needs our continued support. We must increase the pressure of sanctions on the Russian economy and provide Ukraine with the weapons it needs. The morale and motivation of Ukraine defenders, combined with our Western support, is what truly terrifies Putin.

But winning the war alone will not be enough for an EU membership. Other fundamental steps need to be taken, the sooner the better. Even during a war, Ukraine is fighting corruption. This progress should now be made structural and accelerated tenfold. Societies in Europe need assurance that oligarchs pulling dirty schemes, governmental officials stealing from the army, and judges robbing the country will all be brought to justice fairly and transparently.

Media freedom cannot be compromised, not even during wartime. Democracy is strong when power is shared, not monopolised. This is what sets apart Ukraine from Russia. Ukraine is a European state with a European future. Its people will not walk the European path alone. They have the entire democratic world behind them.

Beata Szydło, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Przyszłość Ukrainy jest w Unii Europejskiej. Ukraina jest zdeterminowana, żeby jak najszybciej zakończyć wojnę, żeby wygrać wojnę i żeby stać się członkiem Unii Europejskiej. Unia Europejska potrzebuje Ukrainy, tak jak Ukraina potrzebuje Unii Europejskiej. Musimy być bardziej zdeterminowani, musimy być skuteczni, jednoznaczni i solidarni. Jeżeli przyjmujemy sankcje, to te sankcje muszą być respektowane, muszą być konsekwentnie realizowane.

Ale dzisiaj Ukraina przede wszystkim potrzebuje broni. Nie wygra tej wojny bez broni i my mamy tego świadomość. Ale czy zawsze wszystkie kraje członkowskie i my również tutaj jesteśmy wystarczająco zdeterminowani, ażeby wspierać wojskowo Ukrainę? Potrzebna jest pomoc polityczna, potrzebna jest pomoc humanitarna. Trzeba podziękować społeczeństwom europejskim, które pokazały, jak bardzo zdeterminowane są, by wspierać tych, którzy uciekają z Ukrainy i znajdują schronienie w naszych krajach.

Ja z tego miejsca chcę podziękować Polkom, Polakom, Polsce. Chcę powiedzieć, że jestem dumna z Polski, która pokazuje każdego dnia, że rozumie, iż przyszłość Unii Europejskiej, bezpieczeństwo Unii Europejskiej, bezpieczeństwo nas wszystkich zależy od tego, czy Ukraina zwycięży. I robimy wszystko, ażeby pomoc, aby wspierać. Ale jeszcze raz chcę podkreślić: dzisiaj przede wszystkim Ukraina potrzebuje broni. Musimy wszyscy o tym pamiętać.

Martin Schirdewan, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Ich habe jetzt allen Vorrednerinnen und Vorrednern sehr aufmerksam zugehört. Es handelt sich ja schließlich um eine Frage von Krieg und Frieden in Europa, die wir hier diskutieren, von Leben und Sterben in unserer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft.

Ich muss gestehen, dass ich durchaus entsetzt bin darüber, wie wenig in all den bislang gehaltenen Reden das Bemühen um eine schnellstmögliche Rückkehr zum Frieden in der Ukraine eine Rolle gespielt hat. Natürlich hat Russland diesen fürchterlichen Angriffskrieg gegen die Ukraine begonnen. Selbstverständlich gehört unsere Solidarität der Ukraine und vor allem der Zivilbevölkerung, die in diesem Krieg so fürchterlich leiden muss, und die Angriffe auf die zivile Infrastruktur durch Russland in der Ukraine sind verbrecherisch.

Doch all das erlaubt uns doch hier nicht, in einen rein militärischen Tunnelblick zu verfallen und nur über Waffenlieferungen, militärische Unterstützung und die Ausbildung von Soldatinnen und Soldaten zu reden. Ganz im Gegenteil! Gerade dieser fürchterliche Krieg auferlegt uns doch als europäischen Abgeordneten die Verantwortung, nach Wegen zum Frieden zu suchen.

Der brasilianische Präsident Lula hat der internationalen Staatengemeinschaft ein Angebot unterbreitet, gemeinsam mit der Macht – also mit China –, die politisch wohl den meisten Druck auf Russland und Putin ausüben kann, eine Friedensinitiative zu starten. Ich finde, dass von diesem europäischen Gipfel, von den Staats- und Regierungschefinnen und -chefs das Signal ausgehen muss, ihn darin zu unterstützen.

Und da von der europäischen Politik bislang ja noch niemand darauf gekommen zu sein scheint – bislang: Spätestens jetzt ist es an der Zeit, ins Flugzeug zu steigen, Frau von der Leyen, Herr Präsident Macron, Herr Bundeskanzler Scholz, um sich auf den Weg nach Beijing, nach Brasília, nach New York zu den Vereinten Nationen zu machen und ernsthaft an einer solchen Friedensinitiative zu arbeiten. Diplomatie und Verhandlungen einzufordern, um zu einem dauerhaften Ende dieses Krieges zu gelangen, ist keine Parteinahme für Putin.

Unsere Solidarität mit der Ukraine ist vielfältig: Wir fordern einen Schuldenschnitt, gezielte Sanktionen gegen die Oligarchen, humanitäre Hilfe, finanzielle Unterstützung für den Wiederaufbau und ja, auch die EU-Beitrittsperspektive für die Ukraine ist richtig. Aber die beste Hilfe ist und bleibt, alles daran zu setzen, dass dieser elende Krieg schnellstmöglich beendet wird, und alle Möglichkeiten dafür auch wirklich zu nutzen – auch und insbesondere die zivilen Konfliktlösungsmechanismen, also Diplomatie und Gespräche. In diesem Sinne hoffe ich, dass auch in diesem Haus bald wieder mehr Nachdenklichkeit und anstelle der Kriegslogik eine Friedenslogik einzieht.

Tamás Deutsch (NI). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Magyarország elítéli az orosz agressziót. A megtámadott oldalán állunk, s kiállunk Ukrajna függetlensége és területi épsége mellett. Támogatjuk Ukrajna európai uniós tagságát is. A háború kezdete óta erőnkön felül segítjük az ukránokat. A magyar humanitárius segélyprogram keretében már több mint egymillió háborús menekültet fogadtunk be. A szankciókról szóló első döntés meghozatalakor a brüsszeli bürokraták azt mondták, a szankciók majd olyan nehéz helyzetbe hozzák Oroszországot, hogy kénytelen lesz befejezni a háborút. Egy évvel később most azt látjuk, a háború nemhogy nem ért véget, de még brutálisabb, mint valaha. A szankciókkal elérni kívánt cél tehát nem teljesült.

A szankciók bevezetése óta viszont Európa-szerte vágtat az infláció, gazdasági válság és energiahiány fenyeget. A szankciók tönkreteszik Európát. Békére van szükség. Ennek érdekében először legyen tűzszünet, ne haljon meg több ember a háborúban. Egész Európa szempontjából az lenne a jó, ha nem dörögnének a fegyverek, és megpróbálnánk béketárgyalással jutni valamire. Mindent meg kell tennünk a béke érdekében.

Rasa Juknevičienė (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Russia must be defeated and expelled from Ukrainian soil – not some day, but this year. This requires hundreds of tanks, fighter jets and long-range missiles, now. Ukraine must be invited to EU membership negotiations – not some day, but this year. Our goal is to grant EU membership to Ukraine before the end of this decade. Bold and swift EU decisions on Ukraine's future in EU will help the country to ultimately defeat Putin.

NATO must welcome Ukraine through its open doors, not at some point in the future, but as soon as war hostilities on its territory end. That means this year. We have to be ready for that.

The EU must act as a geopolitical leader because this is a historic chance for us all. We need Ukraine.

Pedro Marques (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Conselho, Senhor Comissário, Caras e Caros Colegas, a guerra de agressão da Rússia contra a Ucrânia ficará na história como um dos grandes crimes cometidos contra o direito internacional, um país, um povo.

Ao contrário das suas fantasias totalitárias, Putin será condenado pela história e será lembrado na própria Rússia como alguém que conduziu o país a uma guerra imoral e injusta.

Para tal, o apoio determinado que a União Europeia tem prestado à Ucrânia não pode cessar. Defendemos, por isso, o reforço do apoio humanitário, económico, macrofinanceiro, político e certamente militar, para que a Ucrânia se possa defender, sustentar a sua economia, reduzir o sofrimento do seu povo e empreender as reformas que a aproximem mais do projeto europeu.

Desejamos que a Europa continue una, sem divisões entre países, sem guerras protagonistas, ao lado de Zelensky e do seu povo. Isso é tudo o que desejamos. Que mais cedo do que mais tarde se construa o caminho para a paz.

Petras Auštrevičius (Renew). – Madam President, Council representative, Commissioner, dear colleagues, as a project for peace and cooperation, the European Union has withstood many historical challenges, and remains highly appreciated and enjoyed by its citizens. Ukraine's aspiration to join our Union is an understandable logical and right choice. For Ukraine, European Union membership means choosing between democracy and Russian authoritarianism, between freedom and occupation.

The granting of candidate status to Ukraine has justified the EU's nature as an open and forward-looking geopolitical actor. Our trusted partner – which continues democratic reforms while resisting Russia's war of aggression – needs to be invited to start accession negotiations now. Such a decision will not only testify to our commitment to our neighbourhood policy, but will also strengthen Ukraine as a state, raise the spirits of Ukrainians and give them hope.

For those who hesitate, allow me to encourage you with the words of Robert Schumann, spoken on the day of signing the Schuman Declaration: 'World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it'.

Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE). – Frau Präsidentin! Wer hätte das noch vor einem Jahr gedacht? Diese Europäische Union hat gezeigt, dass wir für Herausforderungen des historischen Moments fit sind. Wer hätte das gedacht? Nun müssen wir unsere EU fit machen für die wichtige Herausforderung der Erweiterung und die Ukraine – die ukrainische Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft – fit für die Union. Das wird ein langer Weg sein, und das wissen unsere ukrainischen Freundinnen und Freunde, aber wir gehen diesen Weg gemeinsam. Und das ist unsere Friedenslogik, das ist unsere Friedenslogik.

Wir sind nicht immer mit der Kommission einer Meinung, aber diesmal – diese Reise, die die Kommission unternimmt nach Kiew, die ist im Namen aller Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Union. Sie will unsere Friedenslogik und unseren Friedenswillen zeigen, weil sie dem Land beisteht, das überfallen worden ist, gedemütigt worden ist, geplündert worden ist, aber dieser Aggression sich mutig gestellt hat, weil dieses Land eines will: Frieden. Und dem stehen wir bei.

Anna Bonfrisco (ID). – Signora Presidente, signor ministro della Difesa svedese Jonson, signor Commissario Hahn, onorevoli colleghi, chiunque creda nei principi e nei valori dell'attuale ordine internazionale basato su delle regole sa di doversi opporre all'aggressione russa, per diverse ragioni e doveri morali.

Non possiamo permettere l'uso della forza per anettere territori di altri Stati; non possiamo permettere il ritorno dell'imperialismo e della colonizzazione; non possiamo rimanere indifferenti mentre la popolazione civile viene massacrata. Questa guerra è tra una dittatura che ha invaso e un paese sovrano che si sta difendendo.

E che dire degli aspetti di difesa e sicurezza legati alla nostra risposta all'aggressione russa? Dobbiamo assicurare gli alleati della NATO e i paesi che condividono gli stessi principi. Dobbiamo dissuadere la Cina dalla tentazione di anettere Taiwan e di cancellare la democrazia di Taiwan. Dobbiamo promuovere il modello sociale e le libertà fondamentali che ci contraddistinguono. Dobbiamo rafforzare la nostra leadership nei partenariati strategici globali. Dobbiamo sostenere lo Stato di diritto ovunque, perché solo lo Stato di diritto mantiene la pace tra le nazioni e tra i popoli.

Il nostro ruolo di parlamentari, quindi, oggi sta nel garantire una corretta informazione ai nostri cittadini, nel garantire il consenso all'incremento di una spesa per la difesa dei nostri Stati sovrani e dell'Occidente.

Anna Fotyga (ECR). – Madam President, colleagues, I'm deeply grateful for all Europeans do for Ukraine. In particular, I'm proud of my people.

Now let me tell you quickly and shortly, it's 'sanctions, sanctions, sanctions', without circumventing of them; weapons that are necessary to defeat Russia delivered to Ukraine immediately; and real fighting impunity, including crime of aggression, not just as a slogan used, but by NGOs.

And Commissioner, running marathon in times of earthquake and people shedding their blood for our values is not advisable. We have to have clear timeline agreed with Ukraine for accession to the EU and NATO.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, Zelenskyy has now banned 12 opposition parties and used the war to carry through deeply anti-democratic labour reforms. The International Trade Union Confederation, which unites more than 200 million workers worldwide, are protesting against the laws. General Secretary Sharan Burrow said in a statement, 'it is grotesque that Ukrainian workers who defend the country and care for the injured, sick and displaced, are now being attacked by their own parliament'.

Zelenskyy is attacking the people and structures necessary for the country to win a war. He is forcing through the most dramatic privatisation programme in the country's history: a fire sale of public assets to Western vulture funds. What will that do for Ukrainian society? Since when did handing over public assets to big business ever help the people of any country? This is a programme for even deeper corruption and inequality.

The EU is promising the sun, moon and stars to Ukraine, including fast-tracking EU accession. Be careful what you wish for!

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η συζήτηση που διεξάγεται αλλά και το ίδιο το ψήφισμα είναι αποκαλυπτικά. Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες της Αμερικής, Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, NATO και οι κυβερνήσεις τους προωθούν την κλιμάκωση πολεμικών επιχειρήσεων στέλνοντας τεθωρακισμένα και μεθοδεύοντας και μαχητικά αεροσκάφη. Η ρωσική πλευρά ενισχύει τις δικές της επιχειρήσεις, κυρίως στο Ντονμπάς. Στα πλαίσια του ιμπεριαλιστικού πολέμου που τον πληρώνουν ο ουκρανικός λαός και ο ρωσικός λαός με το αίμα τους, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση εντείνει την παρέμβασή της στην Ουκρανία για επενδύσεις, ενεργειακές συμφωνίες και ανοικοδόμηση αξίας δισεκατομμυρίων ευρώ σε ανταγωνισμό με τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες της Αμερικής. Συμφωνίες που υποθηκεύουν το μέλλον του ουκρανικού λαού για την καπιταλιστική κερδοφορία. Αποδεικνύεται περίτρανα ότι ο πόλεμος γεννιέται από τους σκληρούς ανταγωνισμούς των μονοπωλίων, διεξάγεται από τις αστικές τάξεις και σκοτώνονται οι λαοί για του αφέντη το φαί. Στην Ελλάδα, η Νέα Δημοκρατία, ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ και το ΠΑΣΟΚ ευθυγραμμισμένα στηρίζουν τα ευρωατλαντικά σχέδια, τροφοδοτούν την κούρσα εμπλοκής, εξοπλισμών και κυρώσεων, που όχι μόνο δεν θωρακίζουν κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα, αλλά μετατρέπουν τον λαό σε στόχο. Απάντηση μπορεί να δώσει ο αυτοτελής αγώνας του λαού για απεμπλοκή από τον πόλεμο και αποδέσμευση από τις δολοφονικές συμμαχίες.

Andrzej Halicki (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Wszyscy chcemy, by w Europie panował pokój. Ale by zapanował pokój, tę wojnę Ukraina musi wygrać – i to jest też nasza wspólna świadomość.

Dlatego tak ważny jest ten szczyt Unii Europejskiej i Ukrainy. Tak ważny, by zakończył się bardzo konkretnymi działaniami. Bo tu już nie ma czasu na myślenie o tym, jaki sprzęt powinien dotrzeć na front – jak najszybciej, jak najnowocześniejszy, jak najpoważniejszy i najcięższy. I nie tylko Leopardy, ale także rakiety dalekiego zasięgu, samoloty myśliwskie. Ukraina musi tę wojnę wygrać, bo walczy o przyszłość Europy, także walczy za nas.

I sankcje – wielokrotnie padało to słowo tutaj: one muszą być jeszcze twardsze, jeszcze bardziej konsekwentne i także symboliczne. Pamiętajmy: w przyszłym roku odbędą się igrzyska olimpijskie bez rosyjskich i białoruskich sportowców. Ci sportowcy nie mogą reprezentować krajów, które są agresorami i napastnikami w Europie. Przecież to są także symboliczne igrzyska pokoju.

Powtarzam: sankcje i pomoc dla Ukrainy.

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (S&D). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Wojna trwa. Zanim się skończy, będzie jeszcze ostrzejsza. Ukraina nie może przegrać, bo zniszczy to europejski porządek oparty na przestrzeganiu prawa.

Będziemy kontynuować wszelką pomoc dla narodu ukraińskiego. Pomożemy odbudować ten kraj po wojnie. Chcemy, by Ukraina dołączyła do nas w ramach Unii i gotowi jesteśmy otworzyć drogę do szybkiego rozpoczęcia negocjacji akcesyjnych. Będzie to ważne dla podtrzymania optymizmu i wiary w dobrą przyszłość Ukrainy.

Wszyscy muszą jednak zrozumieć, że rozszerzenie Unii Europejskiej to nie jest wyłącznie proces polityczny i nie możemy składać nierealnych obietnic. Grozi to rozczarowaniem.

Bohaterstwo żołnierzy ukraińskich budzi podziw. Cierpienia milionów obywateli rodzą współczucie, ale i solidarność. Pomoc humanitarna także dla uchodźców to test moralny dla Europy.

Wytrwamy. Ukraina zwycięży. Europejskie marzenie milionów Ukraińców spełni się.

Guy Verhofstadt (Renew). – Madam President, it's a pity that Mr Schirdewan is no longer in the room. After everything what he said he should go to Kramatorsk, maybe, where yesterday, again, an apartment block was brutally attacked and destroyed by Russia. The only way to end this war is a victory of Ukraine. That's the way to end the war the fastest as possible.

And for that – I hope Mr Hahn that you are in direct contact with Ms von der Leyen, I suppose, on what she will do in Kyiv – my impression is that it is a weak proposal what you are bringing to Kyiv. On weapons, for example, I see no long-range missiles in the package. On sanctions, Mr Séjourné has said it, it's already a year that we are asking to put the full backbone of the Russian Putin regime on the sanctions regime. And the Commission is not moving on that. The same on the assets, the frozen assets of the Russian central bank. It's possible to seize them, to freeze them and to transfer them to Ukraine. That's possible. There is the legal service of the Council, Mr Hahn, that's something that cannot be disputed. And they have said that it is possible.

And finally, a fast-track membership to 2026. If I see what is happening on corruption in Hungary, I think, and I see the actions that are happening in Ukraine, Ukraine deserves a place in Europe.

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, I am an unapologetic fan of EU enlargement, which is why I welcome Presidents Zelenskyy's commitment to reforms – changing legal, social and political reality to align with our European acquis, even during wartime. I have high hopes for the upcoming summit to bring Ukraine even closer to the EU family. In the European family, they already are.

Furthermore, the summit must convey strength and commitment also from the EU – in political, economic and military assistance. But it must also reinforce its humanitarian support, especially on the issue of forced filtration of people in Russian-occupied territories and deportation to the Far East, as well as forced re-adoption of children into Russian families. The summit also brings an opportunity to discuss all necessary instruments to try Russia for all the committed crimes, which is a must for the international order.

Jordan Bardella, au nom du groupe ID. – Madame la Présidente, un dirigeant politique devrait sans cesse aspirer à deux objectifs fondamentaux: la paix à l'intérieur et la paix à l'extérieur; la paix dans la nation et la paix entre les nations. En l'absence de l'une ou de l'autre, la liberté disparaît ou n'est qu'un bien fragile, qui peut à tout moment être brisé.

Depuis presque un an, la Russie a envahi l'Ukraine, violé ses frontières, commis des actes de guerre contre des populations civiles et occupé une partie importante de son territoire, illégalement. En agissant ainsi, Moscou a donné aux Ukrainiens un ennemi commun et à la nation ukrainienne, qu'elle prétendait chimérique, un esprit de résistance et une existence plus intense et plus concrète que jamais. Nous devons réaffirmer ici que, comme tous les peuples du monde, les Ukrainiens ont le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes et de refuser l'ombre de l'empire. Et, comme toutes les nations du monde, l'Ukraine a le droit légitime, et peut-être même le devoir, de défendre son territoire, son intégrité et ses frontières.

Quant à nous, parce que l'histoire nous enseigne et nous regarde, parce que la paix est un équilibre fragile qui résonne plus fortement sur notre continent qu'ailleurs, nous avons le devoir de veiller à ce que le reste de l'Europe ne se précipite pas dans la guerre et qu'elle se prémunisse d'un irréversible engrenage. Nous avons un devoir d'aide et d'assistance à l'égard de nos voisins agressés, à commencer par l'accueil de ses réfugiés de guerre ou l'octroi de matériel de défense. En revanche, la mobilisation d'avions de combat ou de chars de guerre, dont je rappelle que la France ne dispose même plus pour elle-même dans ses propres capacités, placerait nos États et l'Union européenne dans une dimension et une escalade nouvelle, celle de la cobelligérance. Rappelons-nous: hier, il n'était question que d'équipements individuels et d'armes défensives. Aujourd'hui, on nous dit qu'il ne s'agit que d'une poignée de chars et l'on parle d'ores et déjà d'avions de combat. Après-demain, pourquoi pas d'ogives nucléaires? La guerre est déjà là, elle fait rage entre les Russes et les Ukrainiens en dévastant villes, familles et paysages. Mais demain, elle pourrait s'élargir à d'autres et embraser tout le continent si nous effaçons totalement de notre horizon la possibilité de la paix. Affirmer que celle-ci est désormais impossible, c'est rendre la guerre plus probable que jamais.

Il est inquiétant que la volonté de rechercher des conditions de paix soit présentée par certains va-t-en-guerre comme le souhait d'une victoire russe. Seul un grand traité de paix continentale permettra d'offrir à l'Europe tout entière la stabilité dont elle a besoin dans un monde déjà largement marqué par l'insécurité géopolitique. Parler de la paix, la souhaiter et la rechercher activement, ce n'est pas sacrifier la liberté et l'indépendance ukrainiennes, c'est au contraire les rendre possibles. Si nous voulons la paix, il faut plus que jamais la préparer dans nos discours et dans nos actes.

Bernhard Zimniok (ID). – Frau Präsidentin! Trotz aller Sanktionsmaßnahmen wächst die russische Wirtschaft laut IWF ungebrochen weiter, schneller jedenfalls als die deutsche Wirtschaft. Unsere Bürger dagegen verarmen aufgrund der hohen Energiepreise und der Inflation. Trotzdem wird eine Ausweitung der Sanktionen gefordert, obwohl quasi nur China, die Türkei und natürlich die USA davon profitieren.

Wie lernresistent zeigen wir uns denn eigentlich in diesem Parlament? Im April 2022 hat Selenskyj die Verhandlungen mit Russland platzen lassen, nachdem die Waffenlieferungen zugesichert wurden. Die Folge sind Zehntausende sinnlos getötete Soldaten und Zivilisten. Es wurden Tausende von Dörfern und Städten einfach ausgeradiert, und kein ernstzunehmender Kriegsbeobachter sieht noch eine realistische Chance für einen ukrainischen Sieg. Trotzdem wollen Sie alle hier die Waffenlieferungen ausweiten. Sind Ihnen denn Zehntausende von toten Menschen noch nicht genug?

Ich rufe Sie und die Regierungen der EU-Staaten auf, diesen offensichtlichen Irrweg zu verlassen und endlich zu akzeptieren, dass wir es hier mit einer anderen Realität zu tun haben, als wir hier im Parlament sehen. Beenden wir dieses unwürdige Sterben!

Witold Jan Waszczykowski (ECR). – Madam President, I would like to support all those colleagues who mentioned that to end this war, Ukraine has to win the war. To win the war, firstly, we have to provide all kinds of assistance to Ukraine. This is what I expect firstly from the summit – political, economic and military assistance; all kinds of weapons supposed to be delivered to win the war.

Secondly, what I expect from the summit is a clear and fast perspective of membership of the European Union based on the Copenhagen criteria and the *acquis communautaire* and nothing else. We cannot treat Ukraine as a guinea pig, as a laboratory of liberal visions.

Nikolaj Villumsen (The Left). – Madam President, let us stand in solidarity with Ukraine, the brave train and truck drivers, the nurses, the municipal workers, the miners, the farmers. They keep the country running, often unnoticed and poorly paid, and they bleed and die because of Putin's war of aggression. Their courage and that of civil society and trade unions is amazing. They need our help now. They will also need our help once the bullets stop flying and the aggressor withdraws.

Dear Commissioner, one thing the summit can do, one thing the summit should do, is to make sure that Ukraine is not weighted down by having to repay huge amounts to its creditors the moment the hostilities end. This will give Ukraine the possibility to take care of its population, to protect those who bore the cost of the war, to build a fair future.

Milan Uhrík (NI). – Vážená pani predsedajúca. Počúvam tu o vojne, počúvam tu o zbraniach, počúvam tu o sankciách, raketách, stíhačkách a všetkom možnom, ale ani raz som tu nepočul ešte nejakú poriadnu výzvu na mier. Vojna na Ukrajine trvá už takmer rok. Politici sa predbiehajú, kto bude viac proukrajinský, kto bude viac proruský, ale pritom často zabúdajú, že by sa mali starať v prvom rade o svoje vlastné národy. Iste, vám sa to niektorým ľahko vykrikuje, pošleme viac zbraní, pošleme viac rakiet, poďme ešte do väčšej vojny. Pretože vy, kolegovia politici, do tej vojny nepôjdete. Do tej vojny by išli zomierať obyčajní bežní ľudia. Lenže obyčajní bežní ľudia už majú plné zuby toho zdražovania, toho strachu a aj toho zomierania. Ja by som si želal, keby nasledujúci samit medzi Európskou úniou a Ukrajinou priniesol nie výzvy na viac zbraní, rakiet a tankov, ale práve naopak, konečne nejaké riešenia a výzvy na dosiahnutie mieru. Keby to bolo na mne, tak práve o to by som sa snažil.

Siegfried Mureşan (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, we have all seen this year that we can only live in safety and stability within the borders of the European Union if we are surrounded in our Eastern Neighbourhood by countries which are safe, stable, at peace. This is why I am telling to you today that the fight that the people of Ukraine are fighting is also our fight. This is why it is right to support Ukraine and it is also in the fundamental interest of the European Union to support Ukraine.

We did a lot this year and I think we can be proud of what we did in terms of sanctions, in terms of financial support. The EUR 18 billion put forward by the European Commission will allow the Ukrainian state to function this year, to pay salaries, to pay pensions, to keep hospitals, to keep schools going. And Commissioner Hahn, thank you for your personal engagement also for making this possible.

We did a lot, but more has to be done and we do not need excuses for what cannot be done but we need arguments and solutions on what can be done. More on sanctions, support financially as much as is needed, and make sure that even before EU accession becomes possible, we bring Ukraine closer to European projects. Integration into the single market will help Ukraine, will help ourselves and the principle: whatever we do for Ukraine we do for Moldova as well.

Tonino Picula (S&D). – Madam President, I welcome this initiative to gather in Kyiv to witness the extraordinary courage and resilience of Ukrainians and show our support. Yes, this is the first European Union summit to be held in the country where war is raging, so its historical significance must meet tangible results with clear guidelines and plans for immediate future.

The key message of the summit must be that we stand with Ukraine and count on its European Union perspective. Furthermore, I think it's essential for our citizens to clarify some doubts, fears and even propaganda that Ukraine is rejecting diplomatic solutions. Since the 90s, there have been many diplomatic initiatives, Minsk 1 and 2, the Normandy Format, let alone the Budapest Memorandum, and they were all bluntly disrespected by Russia when it started its aggression.

Yes, peace should remain the ultimate goal, but as they pay the highest possible price in this war, true peace for Ukrainians only means their victory over invaders.

Dragoş Tudorache (Renew). – Madam President, dear Commissioner, dear Council representatives, dear colleagues, it is said that time and resources are everything in wartime. I would add hope and morale. I hear more and more arguing that giving hope to Ukraine and Moldova last year when accepting their candidate status was wrong because it created false expectations. Well yes, that historic decision did create expectations, legitimate expectations that once we went down the path of thinking and acting strategically, geopolitically, that we would stay on that path. Working hard to start the process of accession negotiations, like our resolution says, is the minimum that we must do to be consistent with ourselves and with the commitment that we made to the Ukrainian cause and people. We cannot afford fatigue or commodity, just like the Ukrainians on the front cannot.

Let us be courageous in maintaining hope for a Ukraine that wants to be in the European family.

Slava Ukraini!

Jakop G. Dalunde (Verts/ALE). – Fru talman! Kära kollegor! Ukraina tillhör Europa. Det som den ryska regimen och Vladimir Putin försöker göra gällande, när man försöker påstå att den ukrainska nationen inte finns utan egentligen är samma nation som Ryssland, det är historieförfälskning.

Tittar man tillbaka genom historien finns det självklart band till Ryssland, men det finns fler och starkare band, exempelvis till det polsk-litauiska samväldet, och många andra kopplingar: till Österrike, till Tyskland – och går man längre tillbaka: till Konstantinopel under Bysantinska riket.

Det är inte en slump att det finns en annan demokratisk strävan i det Ukraina vi ser i dag – som skiljer sig från det ryska samhället – och det är det som Putin är rädd för. Det är därför historieförfälskningen äger rum, för att Putin inte vill se att Ukraina är något annat och att Ukraina hör hemma i Europa.

Harald Vilimsky (ID). – Frau Präsidentin, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Was ich nicht verstehen kann, ist der Umstand, dass all jene Redner, die sich für friedensstiftende Maßnahmen, für Friedensverhandlungen einsetzen, einen derartigen Eissturm der Empörung bei Ihnen auslösen.

Wir haben, Stand November des Vorjahres, ungefähr 200 000 getötete oder verletzte Soldaten. Diese Zahl – gar nicht so einfach herauszufinden – kommt aus dem US-Generalstabsbereich. Rechnen Sie zweieinhalb Monate dazu, dann wären wir jetzt bei 250 000 – vielleicht noch mehr – getöteten oder verwundeten Menschen in diesem Bereich.

Ich sage: Das muss gestoppt werden. Wir müssen alles unternehmen, hier friedensstiftende Maßnahmen und Friedensverhandlungen in die Wege zu leiten. Ihre Politik der Sanktionen, und Waffen in diesen Bereich zu liefern – da gibt es Panzer, jetzt steht auf der Bucketlist des Herrn Selenskyj, dass wir auch noch U-Boote und Jets und weiß Gott was brauchen: Ich halte das für den falschen Weg. Ich würde mir wünschen, dass Europa, das ja gegründet wurde, Frieden, Freiheit und Wohlstand für alle Menschen zu schaffen, hier sich stark macht für Friedensverhandlungen und diesem Sterben endlich ein Ende bereitet.

Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Po pierwsze, chciałbym sprostować pewne *fake newsy*, które pojawiły się na tej sali. Przy całym szacunku dla wszystkich parlamentarzystów nie można jednak mówić, że my chcemy wysłać tam żołnierzy. To jest nieprawda. Trwa dyskusja o wysłaniu broni. I tę broń trzeba wysłać. Ale byłoby dobrze, gdyby niektórzy nasi koledzy nie wprowadzali w błąd opinii publicznej w naszej Europie, że chcemy tam wysłać żołnierzy.

Po drugie, jeden z kolegów z Niemiec mówił, że Rosja jest beneficjentem tej wojny, że Rosja gospodarczo rośnie. To nieprawda. Jest spadek PKB Rosji, o 3,5% tylko, ale jest to spadek. Szacunki były większe, że PKB spadnie o 10-15%, ale nie można mówić, że Rosja jest beneficjentem tej wojny, bo Rosja na tej wojnie traci.

Chciałem powiedzieć bardzo wyraźnie, że to bardzo ważny szczyt. Trzeba wspierać wejście Ukrainy do Unii Europejskiej i do NATO.

Miroslav Radačovský (NI). – Vážená pani predsedajúca. V súvislosti so samitom EÚ – Ukrajina mám jednu pragmatickú otázku. Všetci sme presvedčení, že spolu s Američanmi porazíme Rusko. A máme aj alternatívu B? A čo keď to Rusko neporazíme? Zatiaľ sa to nikomu v histórii nepodarilo. Ako Slovák a Slovan sa chcem opýtať našich západoeurópskych priateľov: Vaši otcovia a starí otcovia v boji proti Rusku počas druhej vojny zavraždili okolo 20 miliónov Slovanov, Rusov, Bielorusov, Ukrajincov, Srbov a ako bonus ešte 6 miliónov nevinných Židov. Koľko predpokladáte, že bude zabitých Ukrajincov a Rusov, kým sa táto vojna skončí? Ale vám je to asi jedno. Vy to jednoducho máte v génoch. Zastavte to šialenstvo, lebo sa nakoniec tou slovanskou krvou udusíte. Rokujme o zastavení bojov, rokujme o mieri a výhovorky „to Hitler, to Putin, to Napoleon“ neplatia. Keď to neurobíme, vystrielať sa tu všetci ako zajace.

Andrius Kubilius (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the keys to a sustainable peace on the European continent are in the hands of Ukraine. Sustainable peace in Europe is possible only if Russian people will transform their country back to democracy, because democracies are not fighting each other. The West needs to have a strategy of how to assist such a transformation.

First of all, Russia needs to be 'deputinised'. This means the total military defeat of Russia, an international tribunal for Putin and an invitation for Ukraine to become a member of NATO. Such an invitation would send the most powerful signal to Russians that their dream to restore their empire is gone.

From another side, the EU needs to assist Russians with the inspirational example of the success of Ukraine. Such a success of Ukraine can be created only through Ukraine's integration into EU, just like the success story of the Central Europe was created.

Ukraine's geopolitical integration into the West is no less important than Leopards or Abrams for Ukraine's defence because this is the only way to sustainable peace on the European continent. And that is why the summit should establish the 'Integration Ramstein' in order also to deliver integration.

Елена Йончева (S&D). – Г-жо Председател, днес войната в Украйна заплашва да се превърне в огромна европейска катастрофа. Милиони се страхуват от разширяването на конфликта. Убеждението, че предоставянето на все повече тежко оръжие, танкове ще доведе до края на военните действия, се разминава с реалността. Ние не само не се доближаваме до мира, но ескалацията изглежда неизбежна, неизбежна.

И коя е следващата стъпка? Какво ще изпратим утре, изтребители, военни? Може би ядрено оръжие? Украйна е изправена пред сила, която разполага и с огромен ядрен потенциал. Нима очакваме подобна битка да завърши с победа на Украйна на бойното поле? Да, превръщането на конфликта в перманентен може да дестабилизира Русия, но това ще обрече украинския народ на една дълга, самоунищожителна война и ще изгори Европа. Европейският съюз има нужда от печеливша стратегия за спиране на войната. Думата, която не чуваме от Брюксел, е преговори, преговори, за да може Украйна да постигне мирно споразумение, което в максимална степен да защити живота на нейните граждани.

Nathalie Loiseau (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, plus que jamais l'Ukraine a besoin de notre aide. Ici et là, j'entends en Europe des bruits étranges. N'aurions-nous pas déjà fait bien assez en matière d'aide militaire? Ceux qui disent que nous sommes cobelligérants mentent effrontément et ne sont que ceux qui sont liés à la Russie. Aucun Européen n'a de troupes en Ukraine. Nous donnons simplement à l'Ukraine les moyens de se défendre et nous devons arrêter de tergiverser: chaque journée de retard dans notre aide militaire, ce sont des vies perdues en Ukraine.

J'entends aussi que l'Ukraine serait bien pressée de rejoindre l'Union européenne, qu'il faudrait calmer ses ardeurs. Mais enfin, en pleine guerre l'Ukraine poursuit ses réformes. En pleine guerre le président Zelensky mène une lutte contre la corruption d'une ampleur sans précédent et, disons-le, sans équivalent dans certains de nos États membres.

J'entends enfin que nous peinerions à adopter de nouvelles sanctions à l'encontre de la Russie. Pourtant, nos économies résistent mieux que prévu. Pourtant, la Russie n'a pas encore renoncé à son agression militaire, elle teste notre détermination. Nous aurions tort de lui donner raison.

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (ECR). – Madam President, for Ukraine, a decisive moment approaches, with a new Russian offensive coming. Ukraine needs boost, not cold shower and nice words. Ukraine is not getting enough and quickly enough. There is no reason for EU being so self-satisfied and self-congratulatory, Mr Commissioner, for what it does for Ukraine because it does things below the needs of Ukraine, below EU capacity.

On weapons, EU is underperforming compared to US. Cowardly, hesitant and overcautious attitudes prevail. Ukraine needs fighter jets and long-range artillery now.

On money, EU is performing far below its weight, gives loans instead of grant money that leads Ukraine into a sovereign debt crisis.

On accession perspective, many urge to dash Ukraine's hopes for swift EU accession and call them unrealistic. They are mainly Russia understanders and ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

Márton Gyöngyösi (NI). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the people of Ukraine expressed unequivocally their desire to join the community of Western democracies instead of Moscow's tyranny. Europe was right to hear that desire and grant candidate status to Ukraine. However, full membership has conditions that need to be fulfilled. Sustainable peace and stability need to be attained prior to integration in order to avoid taking on a divided country with internal division. We have had that negative experience before and suffered the consequences.

Thus, sustainable peace and stability in Ukraine have two prerequisites. Restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine in full: the EU needs to help Ukraine to win this war with all it has. Second, Ukraine needs to reach out to ethnic minorities living in its territory – all of them – and guarantee their rights as Ukrainian citizens and ethnic minorities. The EU should support that endeavour by providing best practices to Ukraine and helping the transition.

Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE). – Señora presidenta, tenemos que seguir ayudando a Ucrania en estos momentos decisivos, también mediante el incremento del envío de armas.

Por otra parte, deberíamos conseguir que prácticamente toda la comunidad internacional se sume a la condena de la agresión rusa. Todavía son muchos los países que, incomprensiblemente, se abstienen o adoptan posturas de neutralidad muy poco razonables. La condena no debería ser, además, meramente declarativa, sino ir acompañada de la adopción de algunas de las sanciones que los países occidentales y los *likeminded* hemos puesto en marcha. Como mínimo deberíamos conseguir que estos terceros países no ayuden a Rusia a eludir las sanciones.

Por cierto, el alto representante estuvo la semana pasada en Sudáfrica. Por su blog, ayer me enteré de lo que les dijo. La actitud de Sudáfrica para con la agresión rusa está siendo inaceptable. Espero que el señor Borrell haya sido persuasivo y que las autoridades sudafricanas, al menos, inicien un cambio en su posición.

Por otra parte, todos debemos ser muy vigilantes para que en nuestros países se cumplan las sanciones impuestas. El Reino Unido, por ejemplo, ha conseguido duplicar el número de funcionarios que trabajan en el organismo competente del Tesoro.

Espero que la Unión Europea y los Estados miembros también lleven a cabo un refuerzo de estas administraciones.

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Doamna președintă, Ucraina se luptă nu doar pentru independența sa, ci și pentru noi. Atacul brutal al Federației Ruse la adresa Ucrainei a fost doar începutul unui plan sângeros pentru recucerirea influenței în regiune. Sprijinul Uniunii Europene, al Statelor Unite și al aliaților din NATO a permis blocarea ofensivei, însă riscul este în continuare foarte mare.

Amenințarea unei noi ofensive ruse încă există. Creșterea prezenței militare pe flancul de est, cât și în țările din zona Mării Negre, inclusiv în România, suportul militar pentru Ucraina, sprijinul financiar pentru Republica Moldova, menținerea sancțiunilor împotriva Rusiei sunt esențiale pentru victorie și pentru posibilele viitoare negocieri de pace.

În același timp, trebuie să creștem capacitatea europeană de producție militară, mai ales în statele aflate în prima linie. Trebuie să sprijinim populația pentru a crește reziliența societăților europene, dar și să reconstruim Ucraina pe noi baze, luptând împotriva corupției și respectând drepturile tuturor minorităților. Avem forța să câștigăm acest război, dar pentru acest lucru liderii europeni trebuie să aibă în vedere că o putem face numai păstrându-ne valorile democratice, unitatea și determinarea de care am dat dovadă până acum.

Paulo Rangel (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Conselho, Senhor Comissário, há quase um ano, a Ucrânia foi barbaramente atacada pelo regime russo. Todos os dias, todas as semanas, continuam a ser cometidos crimes de guerra desta guerra de agressão.

Nesta cimeira entre a União Europeia e a Ucrânia é fundamental manter o apoio financeiro, o apoio humanitário, o apoio logístico e todo aquele apoio que seja necessário ao reforço das capacidades militares da Ucrânia.

Finalmente, a União Europeia e a NATO disponibilizaram tanques para a Ucrânia. Infelizmente, vemos que o Governo português continua a hesitar com discussões entre a ministra da Defesa e o ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros e continua a ser contra a integração europeia da Ucrânia.

Temos, todos, de fazer um esforço para apoiar o Presidente Zelensky e a Ucrânia em termos militares, em termos humanitários, em termos financeiros.

Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D). – Pirmininke, kolegos, netrukus bus metai, kai Ukraina ir jos žmonės kaunasi už savo šalies laisvę, suverenitetą, teritorinį vientisumą. Nepateisinama Rusijos karinė agresija negrįžtamai pakeitė ir visos Europos geopolitinę padėtį. Ir visas pasaulis išvydo tikrąjį Rusijos ir Kremliaus režimo veidą. Todėl dabar yra laikas susitelkti ir iš esmės priimti ryžtingus politinius, ekonominius ir finansinius sprendimus, kad padėtume Ukrainai kovoti ir nugalėti Rusijos agresiją. Nepamirškime, kad Ukrainos pergalė prieš Rusiją yra mūsų visų saugumo, laisvės ir demokratijos garantas. Todėl turi būti rastas susitarimas dėl tarptautinio tribunolo Rusijos vykdomiems karo nusikaltimams įsteigimo, karo aukų kompensacijų ir Ukrainos atstatymo fondo įsteigimo, ir žinoma, nenutrūkstamos, ypatingai karinės ir visokeriopos kitos pagalbos Ukrainai teikimo bei tvirto išpareigojimo remti Ukrainos narystę Europos Sąjungoje.

Lukas Mandl (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues, it has been nearly a year that Putin's Russia has waged war militarily against Ukraine, but hybrid warfare against all of us – the free world, especially Europe – was already ongoing for many years – also in February last year – and has been ongoing now for many years.

But Europe defends its citizens, its freedom and wants to achieve peace with unprecedented means and measures. This was unexpected by Putin's Russia and this is why we have to underline that Europe is using the European Peace Facility exactly for what it was meant to be used for. And Europe is also fighting back in a bloodless way against the bloody war attack in terms of sanctions.

Yes, within Europe the leadership of Serbia is of concern, the leadership of Hungary is of concern, but the alignment and unity are unprecedented and will remain. So it's good to have the EU-Ukraine summit this week. It's good to talk about even more help in terms of military, in terms of sanctions, in terms of reconstruction in the future. And I have no doubt that freedom and peace will be restored.

Traian Băsescu (PPE). – Doamna președintă, infrastructura critică civilă și militară a Ucrainei este zilnic lovită de rachete lansate de aviație, de nave, din situri terestre, afectând grav populația și capacitatea armatei ucrainene. Pentru a da șanse Ucrainei să-și apere teritoriul național, este necesar să punem la dispoziția armatei ucrainene mijloacele necesare neutralizării logisticii militare, a bazelor aeriene, a navelor și a siturilor de rachete aflate pe teritoriul Federației Ruse.

Legat de aspirațiile europene ale Ucrainei, din acest punct de vedere, Ucraina trebuie să înțeleagă că noua lege a minorităților trebuie adusă la forma recomandată de Comisia de la Veneția pentru a garanta drepturile minorităților.

Herbert Dorfmann (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Krieg in der Ukraine hat auch die Lebensmittelversorgung in Europa und insgesamt in der Welt auf eine harte Probe gestellt.

Gut, dass die Kommission versucht hat, neue Exportwege aus der Ukraine zu öffnen, insbesondere solange die Seehäfen im Schwarzen Meer geschlossen waren. Aber der Abbau aller Exportzölle und die neuen Exportrouten direkt in die Europäische Union haben auch den Bauern in der Europäischen Union – besonders im Osten unserer Union, in den Grenzländern zur Ukraine – zu schaffen gemacht. Denn nur ein ganz kleiner Teil der importierten Agrargüter, Getreide und Fleisch, werden in Drittländer weitergeliefert: Die Hälfte ist Mais, über 60 Prozent der Sonnenblumen bleiben in Europa. Das führt natürlich zu Preisdruck bei uns.

Wir wollen natürlich den Bauern in der Ukraine alle Möglichkeiten eröffnen, um ihre Produkte auch Richtung Europäische Union zu verkaufen. Aber andererseits dürfen wir nicht wegschauen, wenn unsere Bauern damit in Bedrängnis kommen. Des Themas müssen wir uns annehmen. Wir müssen den betroffenen Bauern in der Europäischen Union helfen. Aber dann müssen wir vor allem in den nächsten Monaten und Jahren schauen, dass in einem Prozess des Heranführens an die Europäische Union die Standards der Europäischen Union auch in der Ukraine eingehalten werden.

Riho Terras (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Ukraine has fought bravely against Russia for almost nine years. The full-scale attack that Russia launched in February last year is a clear sign that Putin's regime goal is to destroy Western way of life.

Our task is to help Ukraine as much as they need today. Ukraine needs more weapons and Ukraine needs a plan for recovery. The EU-Ukraine summit must give Ukraine a message of hope. Ukraine belongs to European family.

Last but not least, Russian and Belarusian athletes should not compete on the Paris Olympic Games next year. I am collecting your support. Give your signatures to the letter I will send to the President of the European Council.

Ivan Štefanec (PPE). – Vážená pani predsedajúca. Na Ukrajine sa rozhoduje o budúcnosti Európy. Ide o to, či budeme chrániť život, ochraňovať práva slabších a demokraticky si rozhodovať o svojej budúcnosti, alebo nebudaj vyhrá tá druhá strana – neúcta k životu, bezprávie a svojvôľa diktátora. Ukrajinci bránia náš priestor, bránia slobodu a demokraciu v celej Európe a je našou morálnou povinnosťou im pomôcť a zvýšiť nielen ekonomickú, humanitárnu, ale aj obrannú vojenskú pomoc. Je to dôležité pre budúcnosť Európy a dlho sa hovorí o obrane Európy, o európskej armáde. Dnes ale vidíme, že túto armádu už máme. Je to armáda ukrajinská. Hovoríme o mierovom európskom projekte, ale nikto pre mier v Európe neurobil toľko ako Ukrajinci. Preto je dôležité, aby sme im pomohli na ich európskej ceste a konkretizovali aj túto cestu na novom samite, ktorý sa začína zajtra, hovorili o rozšírení ekonomickej spolupráce, o

rozšíření zóny roamingových hovorů či spolupráci v oblasti energetiky. Takýto posun v těchto oblastech pomůže nielen občanom Ukrajiny, ale aj všetkým občanom Európskej únie.

Catch-the-eye procedure

President. – We are really good in time, so we have more than five requests for the catch-the-eye, but as we are good in time I can take them all. So be prepared.

Juozas Olekas (S&D). – Gerbiama pirmininke, gerbiamas komisare, Jūs labai teisingai pasakėte, kad Ukrainos ateitis yra Europoje. Bet šiandien Ukrainoje sprendžiama, sprendžiasi Europos ateitis ir todėl mes galime pasiekti taikos tik vieninteliu atveju, jeigu agresoriaus Putino visi kariai paliks Ukrainos žemę ir bus atstatytas Ukrainos teritorijos vientisumas. Tam reikia, kad susitikime, apie kurį mes kalbame, būtų užtikrinta, kad bus uždarytos visos sankcijų skylės, kad bus įsteigtas tarptautinis tribunolas, kad Ukrainai bus suteikti visi reikalingi ginklai apginti šalį ir išvyti agresorių, ir kad šiais metais bus pradėtos Europos Sąjungos derybos dėl Ukrainos stojimo į Europos Sąjungą. Taip pat norėčiau atkreipti dėmesį, kad labai svarbu Ukrainą sujungti su Europos Sąjunga. Aš norėčiau pasiūlyti dar kartą peržiūrėti galimybes sujungti transporto linijas, ypatingai geležinkelio. Naudodamasis proga taip pat noriu padėkoti savo šalies žmonėms, kurie nenuilstamai aukoja Ukrainai ir savo namuose priglaudžia karo pabėgėlius. Šlovė Ukrainai!

Özlem Demirel (The Left). – Frau Präsidentin! Die EU könnte den EU-Ukraine-Gipfel zu einem Friedensgipfel machen. Doch stattdessen schreien Sie wieder auch in diesem Hause, als ob 1914 wäre. Sie sagen, auf dem Schlachtfeld soll die Ukraine diesen Krieg gewinnen. Ich sage Ihnen, was der Generalstabschef der USA, Mark Milley, gesagt hat. Er hat gesagt, es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass die Ukraine diesen Krieg militärisch gewinnen kann.

Ich frage Sie: Möchten Sie als NATO-Staaten in diesen Krieg ziehen und offiziell den dritten Weltkrieg beginnen? Wenn nein, dann hören Sie auf mit den Rufen nach dem Schlachtfeld! Dann suchen Sie nach einer politischen Lösung! Noch nie war die Ukraine so abhängig vom Westen, militärisch und ökonomisch, wie im Moment.

Nutzen Sie das nicht schamlos aus. Schicken Sie nicht immer mehr Menschen in der Ukraine in den Tod. Suchen Sie nach einer Lösung, denn die EU ist tatsächlich Kriegspartei, aber blutet nicht auf dem Schlachtfeld. Auf dem Schlachtfeld bluten die Armen aus der Ukraine und aus Russland, und deshalb mein Appell an alle Kriegsparteien, an die direkten und indirekten, an Russland und an die NATO: Hört auf mit diesem Krieg!

Georgios Kyrtos (Renew). – Madam President, Ukraine has already lost almost 20% of its territory to the Russian aggressor. That means we should increase the EU's support to Kyiv in order to liberate the occupied territories. We should increase the financial and military assistance, at least to the level of the United States of America. After all, we are dealing with a European war. We all know that if the Russians are not stopped and defeated in Ukraine, they will continue towards Moldova, the Baltic states, maybe Poland.

During the past 20 years, we have been encouraging Ukraine's European ambitions without offering adequate support. Our goal should be the integration of Ukraine in the European Union based on an unprecedented programme of economic support.

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Doamna președintă, domnule ministru, domnule comisar, vreau, în primul rând, să mulțumesc concetățenilor mei care au ajutat refugiații ucraineni, milioane de ucraineni, din momentul pornirii acestui conflict sângeros. Da, trebuie făcut totul pentru a opri masacrul populației civile, pentru că acolo mor cetățeni nevinovați și cred, domnule comisar, că mesajul dumneavoastră dat astăzi, este un timid mesaj de pace, sprijin diplomatic. Despre asta vorbim. Trebuie să facem, să dăm sprijin cetățenilor, pentru că acolo populația nu mai are ce mânca, nu mai are nici apă câteodată, și trebuie să mergem spre sprijin diplomatic.

Dar Ucraina trebuie să înțeleagă, ca un stat care a semnat un acord de aderare, că trebuie să respecte drepturile minorităților și de aceea vă cer, domnule comisar, să verificați respectarea statutului, a acordului pe care Ucraina l-a semnat, pentru că, da, minoritățile române nu pot să vorbească în limba română, nu pot să învețe în limba română și acum au început opresiuni împotriva preoților ortodocși români.

Manu Pineda (The Left). – Señora presidenta, se va a cumplir un año de la guerra, de la agresión e invasión de Rusia a Ucrania. Y una vez más nosotros reiteramos nuestra condena, como venimos haciendo desde el principio. Pero pensamos que desde la Unión Europea estamos trabajando en el sentido contrario al que requiere la situación.

Nosotros no podemos pensar que combatimos una guerra armando a las partes. No podemos pensar que combatimos una guerra armando a esa maquinaria de guerra que es la OTAN. Las guerras no las ganan los pueblos, señorías. Los pueblos ponen los muertos y la miseria. Las guerras, en todo caso, las ganan otros.

Así que creemos que es un error pensar que armando se va a ganar la guerra y que se va a ganar en el terreno. También creemos que es penoso que se haya enterrado la diplomacia, que la ONU y la OSCE estén enterradas dos metros bajo tierra.

Hacemos un llamamiento a la Unión Europea para que se sume al llamamiento que hizo ayer el presidente Lula, que, junto con China, junto con México, junto con el Vaticano, está pidiendo la salida diplomática y política. Que la diplomacia calle el ruido de los tanques y de las bombas.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, comisario Hahn, cuando se cumple un año de la guerra de agresión ilegal, ilegítima e injustificable de Putin contra Ucrania, este Parlamento Europeo ha hecho cuanto ha estado en su mano para mostrar su compromiso con las sanciones contra Rusia y su solidaridad con el pueblo ucraniano que padece esta guerra.

Hemos apoyado la confiscación de bienes de oligarcas. Hemos apoyado, por el procedimiento de urgencia, el refuerzo de Eurojust para la cooperación con la Fiscalía de la Corte Penal Internacional con el fin de evitar la impunidad de los crímenes de guerra. Y, además, hemos apoyado que la Unión Europea adopte la iniciativa de poner en marcha un tribunal especial para el crimen de agresión.

Pero, de los 11 millones de desplazados que huyen del terror, al menos 4 millones han decidido permanecer en la Unión Europea indefinidamente. Y eso requiere, además, el refuerzo de las líneas presupuestarias europeas para apoyar la solidaridad que existe en los Estados miembros, para atender las situaciones vulnerables y, particularmente, la escolarización de los menores. Y créame que para ello va a contar, desde luego, con el apoyo del Grupo Socialista.

Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D). – Señora presidenta, muchas gracias por su flexibilidad y generosidad también en este turno de solicitud incidental de uso de la palabra («catch the eye»). Yo voy a ser realmente muy breve.

Los aliados hemos pasado seis, siete, ocho meses debatiendo si se enviaban los tanques o no se enviaban los tanques a Ucrania. Y era muy evidente desde el principio que es absolutamente necesario poner a disposición del Gobierno y del pueblo de Ucrania todos los medios disponibles para que puedan hacer frente a esa agresión y recuperar su soberanía e integridad territorial. Y ahora está encima de la mesa la cuestión de entregar misiles de largo alcance y aviones de combate.

Digo desde aquí, desde esta Cámara, a los aliados, a Occidente, a la OTAN: por favor, no pierdan otros seis, siete, ocho meses debatiendo esta cuestión. Vayan directamente a hacer esta entrega lo antes posible, porque el pueblo de Ucrania lo necesita.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Johannes Hahn, Mitglied der Kommission. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Minister, meine Damen und Herren! Zunächst vielen Dank. Ich glaube, die Debatte hat grosso modo wieder gezeigt, dass es eine uneingeschränkte Unterstützung für die Ukraine und ihre Bevölkerung gibt, diesen Krieg – ich sage es ganz offen – zu gewinnen. Aus meiner Warte ist das alternativlos.

Ich würde auch sehr gerne Friedensverhandlungen führen, jeder von uns. Ich frage mich nur: Wer ist der russische Talleyrand? Den kenne ich noch nicht. Ich glaube, eins darf man auch nicht vergessen, das ist in der Debatte großteils untergegangen: Es geht hier um die Wiedererrichtung der territorialen Integrität der Ukraine. Manchmal hatte ich den Eindruck, es gibt eine Täter-Opfer-Umkehr hier in der Debatte. Ich meine, es steht außer Zweifel, wer der Aggressor ist. Und das muss eindeutig klargestellt bleiben, auch in der Zukunft.

Wir müssen alles dazu tun, der Ukraine zu helfen, die territoriale Souveränität wiederherzustellen. In dieser Hinsicht hat Europa eine ganze Menge getan. Wenn Sie die Leistungen der Mitgliedstaaten, der Kommission usw. zusammenrechnen, die militärischen, die humanitären Hilfen, dann ist das bis dato mehr, als die USA getan hat – nur damit man das auch einmal ins rechte Licht rückt.

Und ich bedaure – er ist jetzt nicht mehr im Raum –, dass ausgerechnet der Herr Verhofstadt hier einen leicht populistischen Anfall gehabt hat, indem er sozusagen die Kommission aufgefordert hat, Waffen zu liefern, wohlwissend, dass das entsprechend unseres Vertrags, des EU-Vertrags, nicht möglich ist. Aber wir tun alles dazu, diese Möglichkeiten zu schaffen, mit unseren Mitgliedstaaten und den entsprechenden Hilfen.

Zweitens: Natürlich ist da ein großer Konsens nicht nur hier im Hause, dass Russland in der Zukunft auch bei der Reparation, bei der Wiedererrichtung der Infrastruktur und vieler anderer Bereiche der ukrainischen Gesellschaft mitzuzahlen hat und dass auch die Mittel, die momentan vonseiten der russischen Zentralbank auf westeuropäischen und amerikanischen Konten sozusagen eingefroren sind, in der Zukunft herangezogen werden sollen für Reparationszahlungen, genauso wie die Gelder von Oligarchen. Aber das ist eine juristisch nicht einfache Übung, und jeder, der sich damit nur einigermaßen seriös beschäftigt, weiß, dass das nicht einfach ist. Aber ich denke, der moralisch-politische Anspruch ist hier klar und muss entsprechend auch verfolgt werden.

Es hat auch die Frage gegeben, warum wir nur Kredite geben. Das war am Ende des Tages die Möglichkeit, schnell zu helfen. Aber es ist mir auch wichtig zu betonen, dass die europäischen Mitgliedstaaten auch übereingekommen sind, in den nächsten zehn Jahren die Zinsen für diese Kredite zu finanzieren, zu zahlen, und die Bedienung des Kapitals ist erst in den 2030er-Jahren vorgesehen. Wir werden dann sehen, wie mit diesem Thema umzugehen ist.

Wenn heute, während wir hier debattieren, 15 Kolleginnen und Kollegen in der Ukraine sind, bei diesem Zusammentreffen der Kommission mit der ukrainischen Regierung, dann sind das vor allen Dingen jene Kollegen, die von ihrer Zuständigkeit her aktuell offene Themen haben – offene Themen, wie man aktuell der Ukraine helfen kann, aber auch, wie man die Beitrittsperspektive der Ukraine ganz intensiv unterstützen kann. Wir machen beides parallel, aber, auch das wurde oft gesagt, es kann keinen Discount für die Mitgliedschaft geben.

Aber man kann sich intensiv engagieren. Das tun wir und das werden wir auch in der Zukunft tun. Nochmals vielen herzlichen Dank auch für diese starke Unterstützung, die heute in der Debatte wieder zum Ausdruck gekommen ist. Ich darf schließen mit dem schon traditionellen, aber ungebrochen wichtigen und richtigen „Slawa Ukrajini“.

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. PINA PICIERNO

Vicepresidente

Pål Jonson, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you for all the interventions. This exchange shows once again the European Parliament's strong support for Ukraine. The EU-Ukraine summit will bring a message of strong, unwavering support – a way for the EU to say 'we stand by your side and the future for Ukraine and its citizens lies within the EU'.

I also listened carefully to all your interventions about accountability and further sanctions. And as I said in my introductory remarks, those responsible must be held accountable. And on sanctions, we stand ready to reinforce more restrictive measures. We will further step up the ongoing diplomatic efforts to support Ukraine in all relevant international fora, calling for steadfast solidarity with Ukraine and against Russia's war of aggression.

We are ready to support Ukraine's initiative for a just peace, and we will continue to stand by Ukraine once peace has returned – to reconstruct and to help make the future brighter for the Ukrainian people. We firmly stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes.

Presidente. – Comunico di aver ricevuto 5 proposte di risoluzione a conclusione della discussione.

La discussione è chiusa.

La votazione si svolgerà oggi.

Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)

Marek Belka (S&D), in writing. – The upcoming EU-Ukraine Summit will be the first EU summit to take place in an active warzone. Symbolical for itself but we need to use it. First, we need to commit ourselves to a political and financial support of Ukraine until its whole territory is free and unified. This is our own interest, too. Second, it's not the time to talk but to deliver – especially military equipment. A promised equipment is nothing you can use unless it's on Ukraine's territory. Last, it is time for further sanctions towards Russia and cutting it off from the international community.

Andrea Bocskor (NI), írásban. – Az EU–Ukrajna-csúcstalálkozó egy fontos mérföldkő Ukrajna eurointegrációjában, melyet Magyarország és a magyarok a kezdetektől támogattak, és támogatunk most is. Oroszország Ukrajna elleni jogtalan háborúja – melyet teljes mértékben elítéltek – soha nem tapasztalt megpróbáltatások elé állítja az országot és lakosságát, azonban így is folytatnia kell a reformokat, hogy haladni tudjon az EU-s csatlakozás útján. A háború árnyékában a reformok teljesítése nagy erőfeszítéseket igényel Ukrajnától, azonban az Uniós tagságra vonatkozó kritériumok, beleértve a koppenhágai kritériumokat és az Európai Bizottság által júniusban meghatározott feltételek végrehajtása nélkülözhetetlen követelményei a csatlakozásnak!

Ezen feltételek egyike a nemzeti kisebbségek jogainak garantálása. Az ukrán parlament azonban decemberben olyan új törvényt fogadott el a nemzeti kisebbségekről, melyet nem egyeztettek a Velencei Bizottsággal, és a nemzeti kisebbségek képviselőinek véleményét sem vették figyelembe a szöveg elfogadásánál. Ennélfogva, a törvény nem garantálja a nemzeti kisebbségek alapvető jogainak érvényesítését és védelmét, így nem javítja például az Ukrajnában élő magyar kisebbség helyzetét, csupán bebetonozza a 2017-es oktatási törvény és a 2019-es nyelvtörvény által okozott jogszűkítéseket. Felháborító és sajnálatos, hogy az Európai Parlament határozata egyáltalán nem foglalkozik az ukrainai nemzeti kisebbségek helyzetével, így, bár őszintén támogatom Ukrajna EU-s előrehaladását, a mielőbbi béke és stabilitás helyreállítását, a jelentés elfogadásában nincs módomban részt venni!

Kinga Gál (NI), írásban. – Elítéljük az orosz agressziót, a háború kezdete óta a megtámadott oldalán állunk, kiállunk Ukrajna függetlensége és területi integritása mellett. Erőnkön felül segítjük a menekülteket. Álláspontunk egyértelmű: támogatjuk Ukrajna uniós csatlakozását és teljes mértékben elítéljük Oroszország agresszióját Ukrajnával szemben. Támogatjuk az ország újjáépítését is, ehhez azonban az Unió tagállamainak gazdasági nehézségeit mélyítő szankciós politika helyett a béke mielőbbi megteremtésére van szükség. Ez elsősorban Ukrajna lakosságának az érdeke. A csatlakozási folyamat során ugyanazon feltételeknek kell érvényesülniük, mint a többi tagjelölt ország esetében.

Így a koppenhágai kritériumok betartása is kulcsfontosságú, hiszen az Ukrajna területén élő magyar, román, bolgár kisebbségek jogainak érvényesülése a csatlakozási tárgyalások egyik előfeltétele. Pedig éppen ezek a kisebbségi közösségek lehetnének a legelkötelezettebb támogatói Ukrajna uniós perspektívájának. A most elfogadott törvények azonban nem ezt segítik elő.

Karol Karski (ECR), na piśmie. – W dniu jutrzejszym odbędzie się w Kijowie historyczny szczyt Unia Europejska – Ukraina. Historyczny z wielu względów – Ukraina otrzymała bowiem status kraju kandydującego do UE, a jednocześnie na jej terytorium szaleje najbardziej krwawy i bestialski konflikt od zakończenia drugiej wojny światowej, wywołany przez rosyjską agresję. Świat zachodni oczywiście nie przygląda się bezczynnie i przekazuje bezcenną pomoc finansową, techniczną oraz wojskową dla broniącej się Ukrainy. Podjęta bardzo niedawno decyzja o wysłaniu zachodnich czołgów z USA, Polski, Niemiec, Wielkiej Brytanii, Kanady oraz innych krajów stanowi moment zwrotny i może być kluczowa dla przebiegu działań zbrojnych oraz coraz bardziej prawdopodobnej ukraińskiej kontrofensywy na wiośnię. Kolejnym krokiem powinno być jak najszybsze przekazanie nowoczesnych myśliwców wielozadaniowych. Jednak pole walki – na którym oczywiście życzę Ukraińcom jak największych i najszybszych sukcesów – to nie wszystko. Już teraz trzeba zastanowić się nad ogromnym zadaniem, jakim będzie odbudowa Ukrainy – do czego powinniśmy wykorzystać zamrożone środki rosyjskie, a także przyszłe reparacje ze strony agresora po zakończeniu działań wojennych. Należy doprowadzić odpowiedzialnych za tę agresję przed oblicze specjalnego trybunału. Musimy wreszcie wspierać Ukrainę w podejmowanych reformach oraz przygotowaniach do członkostwa w UE pomimo trwającej agresji rosyjskiej.

Marian-Jean Marinescu (PPE), în scris. – Locul Ucrainei este, fără nicio îndoială, în UE. Însă, pentru a putea vorbi despre o integrare fără sincope, aderarea trebuie să fie un proces bine pus la punct.

Înainte summit-ului UE-Ucraina de la Kiev am adoptat în Parlament o rezoluție care exprimă viziunea legislativului european asupra consolidării parcursului european al Ucrainei.

Astfel, summit-ul de la Kiev ar trebui să acorde prioritate stabilirii unui pachet UE de măsuri pentru redresarea Ucrainei și să demareze negocierile de aderare, precum și să convină asupra necesității unei foi de parcurs pentru aderarea Ucrainei la piața unică a UE. În plus, autoritățile ucrainene sunt invitate să răspundă opțiunii proeuropene a cetățenilor și să accelereze procesul de adoptare a reformelor necesare pentru a îndeplini în mod eficient criteriile de aderare la UE.

PE subliniază necesitatea ca statele membre să adopte cel de-al zecelea pachet de sancțiuni împotriva Rusiei, cât mai curând posibil, și să continue dezvoltarea sancțiunilor prin includerea de noi sectoare și persoane. Rezoluția reiterează apelurile anterioare ale Parlamentului către toți partenerii, în special țările candidate și potențial candidate, să se alinieze la pachetele de sancțiuni.

De asemenea, se solicită statelor membre să susțină cele 10 propuneri de pace prezentate de președintele Ucrainei la sfârșitul anului trecut.

Tom Vandenkendelaere (PPE), schriftelijk. – Dinsdag laatstleden vond in de Subcommissie veiligheid en defensie een debat plaats over het Kyiv Security Compact, waarbij de vraag werd gesteld hoe we de lidstaten op regeringsniveau kunnen bewegen tot nog verdere stappen in de ondersteuning van Oekraïne. De vraag is terecht, want het zijn vooral zij die een verschil kunnen maken. Maar evengoed moeten we ervoor zorgen dat tussen het Parlement en de Raad geen hinderlijke kloof ontstaat in de positionering tegenover Oekraïne.

Er werd met het oog op de top van morgen ook opgeroepen om opnieuw nadrukkelijke steun uit te spreken voor het Compact. Ik onderschrijf deze oproep met dien verstande dat dit engagement gedragen moet blijven door actieve betrokkenheid van en eensgezindheid tussen de trans-Atlantische partners, in de eerste plaats de VS. Eenheid blijft hier dus het sleutelwoord, zowel binnen de Unie als binnen het trans-Atlantisch partnerschap.

3. Sytuacja byłego prezydenta Gruzji Micheila Saakaszwilego (debata)

Presidente. – L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulle dichiarazioni del Consiglio e della Commissione sulla situazione dell'ex presidente della Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili (2023/2543(RSP))

Pål Jonson, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, allow me to open this debate on the situation of Mr Saakashvili by recalling the importance of strengthening the rule of law in Georgia. It's very relevant in today's debate on the situation of Mr Saakashvili. An ambitious and comprehensive judicial reform in Georgia, ensuring the independence, integrity and transparency of key judicial institutions remains essential.

State authorities have a duty of care with respect to persons deprived of their liberty and this includes ensuring their physical and mental health, as well as their physical integrity. The United Nations' basic principles for the treatment of prisoners, which Georgia has signed up to, indicate that the deprivation of liberty does not mean reduce the right to appropriate health care. Rather, the opposite is the case. A state takes on the responsibility to look after prisoners' health conditions.

Mr Saakashvili is being detained in Georgia since his return in 2021. At his request, in May 2022 he was transferred to a private clinic for reasons related to his health conditions. We have been paying particular attention to the numerous and concerning reports on Mr Saakashvili's declining health, and we have also frequently raised the issue with the Georgian authorities, as well as in our public statements.

The High Representative has raised our concern on the occasion of the EU-Georgia Association Council in September last year. More recently, the EU and the EU Member States represented in Georgia expressed their concern to the Ministry of Justice. This also raised the regular exchange and talking taking place between the EU delegation to Georgia, the EU Member States and the Georgian authorities.

The European Union's message has been clear and constant. We recall the authorities' responsibilities for Mr Saakashvili's health and well-being and of course his right to a fair trial. The European Union remains fully available to assist our Georgian partners in this matter.

Johannes Hahn, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Minister, honourable Members, the Commission has been following the situation of Mr Saakashvili very closely since his return to Georgia in September 2021. Mr Saakashvili, as it was mentioned by Mr Jonson, is being detained under charges of abuse of power, among others, for which he had been convicted in absentia.

Due to health issues he was transferred to a medical civilian clinic in May 2022 at the request of his family and lawyers. We have been paying particular attention to the numerous concerning reports of Mr Saakashvili's deteriorating medical condition, and we have frequently raised the issue both with the Georgian authorities directly, as well as in our public statements.

Most recently, on 28 December, our EU delegation, together with EU Member States represented in Georgia, carried out a formal *démarche vis-à-vis* the Minister of Justice. They expressed concerns and reports of the deteriorating medical condition of Mr Saakashvili. This was followed up with a dedicated meeting with the Ministry of Justice by our EU Ambassador in Georgia. In these instances and in all previous occasions we have repeated that it is the Georgian authorities' responsibility to take all necessary measures to protect Mr Saakashvili's health. We have consistently stressed, both in private meetings and publicly, that the Georgian authorities have a legal responsibility to ensure the health of all detainees, to provide adequate medical treatment and respect for fundamental rights in line with Georgia's international commitments.

In addition, we systematically monitor Mr Saakashvili's court hearings, both regarding further charges brought against him and on his request to be transferred abroad. We have also recalled that his rights as a defendant in court should be safeguarded, including the right to be present himself in court. His rights as an inmate should also be respected, including his right to privacy.

Hence, the position of the European Union has been made very clear. The Georgian authorities have a responsibility to act if Mr Saakashvili's health is in a critical condition. On this point, assessments of his health condition, as well as the adequacy of healthcare available in Georgia, are being contested by the different sides. I believe that it's in everyone's interest that the Georgian authorities consider drawing on medical expertise from an independent, uncontested international organisation. The European Union remains fully available to assist our Georgian partners in this matter.

Miriam Lexmann, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, the very life of the former President of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, is at risk. Games, tricks and delays must stop. This shameful behaviour by the Georgian authorities is in direct contradiction to the government's stated European aspiration and the very values and principles it entails.

As Members of this House have done on many occasions in the past weeks and months, I once again plead with the Georgian authorities: allow Mikheil Saakashvili to undergo medical treatment abroad without any delay, in accordance with Article 283 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia. Ex-President Saakashvili must not be allowed to die in prison. Georgian authorities bear full responsibility for his health and wellbeing, and will be held accountable should anything happen to him.

Nacho Sánchez Amor, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, todos en esta Cámara hemos señalado la polarización como el grave problema del sistema político de Georgia. Un sistema político que parece girar solo alrededor de un asunto, que es la situación del señor Saakashvili. Una situación respecto de la que es necesario recordar que fue provocada deliberadamente.

Todo el mundo en esta casa recomendó al señor Saakashvili que no entrara ilegalmente en el país. El señor Saakashvili decidió hacerlo en plena campaña electoral, lo que ha creado una situación que nos obliga ahora a los que le recomendamos no hacerlo a intentar resolver la situación.

No obstante, mi Grupo reitera una posición que ya hemos expresado. Lo mejor es una suspensión de la ejecución de la condena para que el señor Saakashvili sea tratado médicamente fuera del país. Por motivos humanitarios, sí, pero también porque eso —creemos— ayudaría a crear una agenda política más normalizada, menos polarizada y, seguramente, con más energía política dedicada a retomar el camino de la Unión Europea.

Petras Auštrevičius, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Council representative, Commissioner, dear colleagues, the current Georgian Government claims to be pro-European and wants closer ties with the West. At the same time, society is deeply polarised and there is a fierce political struggle that ignores elementary political culture.

Mikheil Saakashvili, the former Georgian President who awakened Georgia and changed the country beyond recognition, has been languishing in prison for 16 months. Is this retribution for political rivalry or a return to the past? I call on President Saakashvili to be granted the right to go abroad for medical treatment without any delay, preserving his life and the country's chances to maintain its European face.

Markéta Gregorová, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues and dear Georgians who are listening, there are far too many challenges ahead of Georgia. The Commission will be now evaluating the 12-point recommendations and how the Georgian authorities were able to fulfil them. At the end of the road, there might even be a candidate status waiting for them. Yet we already know that there are some persisting issues, although we all appreciate attempts at legislation tackling oligarchisation. We also hear varying messages from Georgian authorities regarding which persons in the country will be affected by the legislation and which thus suggest that the legislation won't really solve the problem.

Another issue is, of course, polarisation of the political spectrum and consequently society. I have no signals of improvement, maybe even on the contrary – the longer there is infighting, the more it's being fuelled by various disinformation and manipulation. Why am I talking about it now? Because these are the challenges all of us in this House want to focus on and want to keep focusing on. However, the case of Mikheil Saakashvili is so overwhelming that we cannot look away. It represents everything we are talking about when we talk about problems and reforms, mistrust in judiciary, polarisation, disinformation.

There is no big conspiracy such as that we are being paid by the UNM, or coerced by Saakashvili – yes, I have heard that. That is nonsense. We care because we have to care, because there is a highly politicised case and the person is dying in prison.

So I urge the Georgian authorities: keep in mind not only the political points you can gain by keeping him in prison, but also the points you are losing, because we have to have a debate today about a political prisoner instead of, for instance, the candidate status.

Anna Fotyga, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, colleagues, several years ago, Vladimir Putin personally described the kind of treatment he wanted to impose on Mikheil Saakashvili, who was then the third President of Georgia. As any other person in the world, he is entitled to his homeland, not being an outlaw. Therefore, he returned there, wishing to face the court. He's not treated as any other person there. I appeal to the Georgian authorities to release him to be cured abroad for humanitarian reasons. He is dying in prison and that affects the future of Georgia a lot.

Johannes Hahn, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Minister, honourable Members, let me assure you that we will continue to closely monitor the developments regarding Mr Saakashvili's health, and we will keep mobilising all our diplomatic efforts in order to avoid any dramatic outcome that would carry unpredictable risks.

At the same time, we remain fully engaged in supporting and encouraging Georgia's ruling party and opposition parties to deliver and implement, in an inclusive and constructive way, key reforms in line with the EU's 12 priorities.

Pål Jonson, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I think today's debate highlights our shared concern of the health situation of Mr Saakashvili. We will continue to closely follow the situation, and we will remain engaged and available to provide EU support to Georgia if required.

This debate also highlights the importance of Georgia pursuing efforts to strengthen the rule of law. It stresses the need to ensure the fulfilment of the Georgian obligation under international law to respect, to provide and to fulfil human rights. This is particularly relevant to the current context of Georgia's application for membership of the European Union.

Presidente. – La discussione è chiusa e si concluderà con una risoluzione, che sarà sottoposta a votazione nel corso della tornata di febbraio II.

La seduta è sospesa per alcuni minuti e riprenderà alle 11.00 con le votazioni.

(La seduta è sospesa alle 10.23.)

VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND

Vizepräsident

4. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 11.01 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)

5. Głosowanie

Der Präsident. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Abstimmung.

(Abstimmungsergebnisse und sonstige Einzelheiten der Abstimmung; siehe Protokoll.)

- 5.1. **Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Nadine Morano (A9-0011/2023 - Angel Dzhambazki) (głosowanie)**

- 5.2. **Wniosek o skorzystanie z immunitetu poselskiego przez Helmuta Geukinga (A9-0013/2023 - Ibán García Del Blanco) (głosowanie)**

- 5.3. **Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Nicolasa Baya (A9-0015/2023 - Andrzej Halicki) (głosowanie)**

- 5.4. **Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Andrei Cozzolina (A9-0016/2023 - Manon Aubry) (głosowanie)**

- 5.5. **Wniosek o uchylenie immunitetu Marca Tarabelli (A9-0017/2023 - Manon Aubry) (głosowanie)**

- 5.6. **Europejski system rachunków narodowych i regionalnych w Unii Europejskiej (ESA 2010) (A9-0202/2022 - Irene Tinagli) (głosowanie)**

- 5.7. **Ochrona tuńczyka południowego: środki ochrony i zarządzania (A9-0134/2022 - Grace O’Sullivan) (głosowanie)**

- 5.8. **Poprawa warunków pracy za pośrednictwem platform internetowych (A9-0301/2022 - Elisabetta Gualmini) (głosowanie)**

— *Vor der Abstimmung:*

Elisabetta Gualmini, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, dear colleagues, today we vote for the mandate of the report on platform work to the trilogue. I'm asking you to vote in favour of this report, which is a very balanced and innovative text. I thank all the shadow rapporteurs because they have contributed to improve the text.

I would like to immediately correct the political narrative which is going on and on. No later than yesterday I got an email from Bolt saying that we would introduce a general automatic reclassification of all platform workers. This is simply not true, and even impossible legally and technically.

We are not against self-employment. If you are genuinely self-employed that is absolutely okay. We are not against job creation and innovation. But if you are bogus self-employed and, on the contrary, you are a slave of the algorithm, then you have to have your rights recognised as an employee. That is the point!

We have reached three goals: we defend the workers; we defend good employers and fair competition; and we are promoting the human use of the algorithm. We do not want machines governing the labour market. Never again should it happen that a young rider like Sebastian Galassi dies in a car accident and then is fired after he dies. This is a shame. This is a shame.

I ask you to support this text, to support social justice, which is the glue for democracy. I ask you not to disappoint the millions of workers who are waiting outside, and I ask you not to surrender to multimillionaires and powerful lobbies who try to interfere with our democratic process. Really, the conditions of workers are not an issue of right and left. It is an issue of dignity. That is why I ask you to vote in favour of this report, because this is what it is in play: social justice! *On va écrire une très belle page de l'histoire européenne!*

Miriam Lexmann (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, your vote today is not about whether you think platform workers should be employees or not. What we are voting on today is whether the European Parliament should effectively use its democratic procedures to debate this crucial piece of legislation.

You are also not being asked to delay the legislation, because in fact the Council is not yet ready to start a trilogue. Therefore, the European Parliament should take the time to consider and debate this crucial piece of legislation, which will fundamentally affect 28 million platform workers in Europe.

Many of us have requested, from the beginning, that this text has to ensure legal certainty. Instead, the proposed text is being interpreted differently by various stakeholders. That alone is a sign that it needs the further consideration of this House.

I accept that not everyone in this House agrees on how to best regulate this sector, but we should be able to agree that when we write the legislation we ensure that it is legally sound and that it is implementable.

Colleagues, I ask you today to allow this House to have a meaningful vote on the subject. Today, we each have the opportunity to improve the text and to achieve the goal of this directive, which is the improvement of the working conditions of platform workers, including social protection. For this reason, I call on you to vote against the committee's decision to enter into interinstitutional negotiations.

5.9. Przejrzystość i targetowanie reklamy politycznej (A9-0009/2023 - Sandro Gozi) (głosowanie)

— *Nach der Abstimmung über den Kommissionsvorschlag:*

Sandro Gozi, rapporteur. – Mr President, in accordance with Rule 59(4), I would like to request that the matter be referred back to committee, for interinstitutional negotiations.

(Das Parlament nimmt den Antrag auf Rücküberweisung in den Ausschuss an.)

5.10. Zmiana dyrektywy o europejskich radach zakładowych (A9-0295/2022 - Dennis Radtke) (głosowanie)

5.11. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (RC-B9-0092/2023, B9-0092/2023, B9-0093/2023, B9-0094/2023, B9-0095/2023, B9-0096/2023) (głosowanie)

— *Nach der Abstimmung über Ziffer 23:*

Michael Gahler (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, as the EPP Group we support the amendment to criticise the International Olympic Committee for its intention to allow Russia and Belarus back to the games.

We propose placing this call more prominently, as a separate paragraph of the resolution. The reason is that this will also allow us to take the split votes requested by the Renew and EPP Groups on paragraph 26.

I ask for your support for the following text in a new paragraph after 25 which reads 'Condemns the recent decision of the International Olympic Committee to allow Russian and Belarusian athletes to compete in qualifications for the Paris 2024 Olympic Games under a neutral flag, which runs counter to the countries' multifaceted isolation and will be used by both regimes for their propaganda purposes;'

(Das Parlament stimmt der Abstimmung über den mündlichen Änderungsantrag zu.)

Der Präsident. – Damit ist die Abstimmungsstunde geschlossen.

(Die Sitzung wird für kurze Zeit unterbrochen.)

6. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 11.34 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)

7. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania

Der Präsident. – Der nächste Tagesordnungspunkt sind die Stimmerklärungen.

7.1. Przejrzystość i targetowanie reklamy politycznej (A9-0009/2023 - Sandro Gozi)

Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, nous parlons de transparence et de ciblage de la publicité à caractère politique, et c'est un sujet très important parce qu'il a des conséquences sur le processus démocratique et sur l'avenir de l'Union européenne.

Ce dossier impose une série de restrictions aux partis politiques, en particulier en ce qui concerne les processus électoraux, afin de réduire la «popularisation» de la société à laquelle l'environnement en ligne a contribué de manière significative. Mais notre réponse ne devrait pas être une série de restrictions et d'interdictions qui ne tiennent pas compte de la communication moderne.

Notre attention devrait se concentrer sur l'éducation des citoyens, pour qu'ils soient capables de reconnaître les fausses nouvelles et les tentatives de manipulation. Je pense que ce ne sont pas les processus démocratiques qui conduiront à la polarisation et que le sujet n'est pas suffisamment débattu.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule președinte, nu cred că trebuie să mai convingem pe nimeni de importanța regulamentului votat astăzi. Transparența în politică este esențială, cu atât mai mult în publicitatea politică. Transparența în politică și relația cu cetățenii trebuie să fie una de respect profund și cred că din acest punct de vedere este esențial să facem tot ce ne stă în putință pentru a combate interferențele străine de manipulare și de dezinformare.

Am putut observa, mai ales în ultimii ani, ce consecințe dramatice pot produce acestea. Tocmai de aceea, pentru că avansul tehnologic le permite unor actori statali străini și nu numai, să interfeze în afacerile noastre politice, în acțiunile noastre politice, este esențial să ne pregătim cât mai bine, cu atât mai mult cu cât urmează alegeri europarlamentare anul viitor.

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Pane předsedající, dámy a pánové, po určitém váhání jsem usnesení o návrhu nařízení Evropského parlamentu a Rady o transparentnosti a cílení politické reklamy podpořila. Politické kampaně se stále častěji odehrávají v online prostoru a pro občany je stále složitější určit, zda se jedná o politické sdělení. Politická reklama může být využita k šíření dezinformací, zejména pokud není jasné, že jde právě o reklamu politické povahy. Usnesení usiluje o to, aby to mohlo být jasné rozpoznatelné v online i offline prostoru, a to zejména v případě, kdy pochází od zadavatele ze třetích zemí, tedy mimo EU. Nové nařízení by mělo přinést především transparentnost. Politická reklama by měla zahrnovat jasné označení totožnosti sponzora, oznámení o transparentnosti. S touto pozicí tedy Evropský parlament bude vyjednávat s Radou. Já očekávám, že dojde k dalšímu zpřesnění tak, aby návrh mohl platit již pro evropské volby.

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtarán, I was happy to vote in favour of this report on the transparency and targeting of political advertising. The report aims to make it easier for citizens to recognise a political advertisement, to know what they are seeing and who paid for it.*

One of our greatest challenges today is the fight against disinformation and external interferences to our democratic processes while maintaining the openness of the public debate. This legislation will help make manipulative online political advertising a thing of the past. It will also make political actors more accountable for the adverts they disseminate, and when rules are broken better sanctions may be imposed across the EU.

The political sphere is constantly evolving and political advertising is becoming an ever more important dimension of it. Once this legislation is in force, we hope that elections in the EU will be more transparent and resistant to manipulation.

Ангел Джамбазки (ECR). – Г-н Председател, гласувах въздържал се по доклада, защото не дава отговор на истински важните въпроси, свързани с политическата реклама и влиянието на социалните мрежи, а именно въпроса за организацията на модерацията на социалните мрежи, които ползват политически реклами.

Хубаво е да се говори за прозрачност, хубаво е да се говори за организацията на този процес, но докато няма ясни правила за модерация, докато социалните мрежи продължават да бъдат поле, и то най-голямото поле за пропаганда, и то враждебна пропаганда, особено в източната част на Европа, най-вече на Балканите, където са разположени най-големите тролски фабрики за създаване и разпространение на фалшиви новини и създаване на цели внушения, на цели настроения през тези социални мрежи, дотогава каквито и доклади да се гласуват тук, те няма да отговорят на истински важния въпрос. Истински важният въпрос е една модерация, която да дава възможност за недопускане, изобличаване и изолiranje на фалшивите новини в социалните мрежи и политическия живот.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Pane předsedající, já jsem tuto zprávu podpořil, a to z toho důvodu, že je evidentní, že evropské demokracie jsou pod tlakem dezinformací. Tyto kampaně běží a byli jsme jich svědky v minulosti a je třeba na tomto poli něco dělat. Souhlasím s tím, že politická soutěž by měla být co nejvíce svobodná, rovná, ale je také třeba se bránit útokům, které na naši demokracii provádí především třetí zahraniční státy. Dezinformace jsou největším nástrojem, jak ovlivnit myšlení lidí, a v moderní době, v technologickém pokroku se skutečně stírá rozdíl mezi informací a tou politickou reklamou. Myslím si, že nástroje, které v tomto nařízení volíme, jsou dobrou cestou. Je důležité je ještě dále zpřesňovat a já jsem z těchto důvodů toto nařízení podpořil. Trochu mě ale mrzí, že zůstala stranou otázka financování politických kampaní právě i ze třetích států. Toto bychom si měli ještě jednou rozmyslet.

7.2. Zmiana dyrektywy o europejskich radach zakładowych (A9-0295/2022 - Dennis Radtke)

Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, European Works Councils are one of the few genuine European workers representative bodies, and it's essential that they have proper access to justice.

As a consequence of Brexit, many companies are using Ireland as their legal base for their European Works Councils. Ireland is an attractive option for these companies because Irish legislation offers no collective bargaining rights and very limited – if any – legal remedies pertaining to European Works Councils.

The largest trade union in Ireland, SIPTU, wrote to the Commission almost two years ago, warning that unless changes are made to Irish legislation, European Works Councils would find themselves in an increasingly precarious position. Ireland has the second highest incidence of low pay in the EU, yet workers in Ireland are still waiting for changes to both Irish legislation and the European Works Council Directive.

Fianna Fáil's Renew Group voted with the far right at committee stage to remove references to trade unions in this report. Trade unions are democratic organisations with a legitimate role to play in European Works Councils

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Pane předsedající, dámy a pánové, já jsem se zdržela v hlasování o zprávě obsahující doporučení Komise o revizi směrnice o evropské radě zaměstnanců. Mám za to, že by měl být kladen daleko větší důraz především na účinné prosazování a implementaci stávající směrnice o evropských radách zaměstnanců v členských státech. Měl by být kladen důraz na osvětu zaměstnanců a společností, na to, aby využívali svá práva a povinnosti. Je velká chyba, že v některých členských státech nejsou sankce za nedodržování předpisů účinné, neodrazují a nejsou ani přiměřené, jak vyžadují stávající směrnice. Naopak jsem podpořila ty pozměňovací návrhy, které vyzývají Evropskou komisi, aby více sledovala provádění této směrnice ve vnitrostátním právu, a v případě potřeby zahájila řízení o nesplnění povinnosti.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule președinte, pe piața unică europeană avem de a face cu multe companii mari, care au mii de angajați în țări diferite, cu legislații diferite, cu niveluri de salarizare diverse și cu o varietate de instrumente de consultare și de protecție a angajaților.

Totuși, indiferent de statul în care lucrează, acești angajați se supun aceluiași decizii ale companiilor mamă. Astfel, comitetele europene de întreprinderi au un rol esențial în respectarea drepturilor lucrătorilor, în special dreptul lor la informare și consultare cu privire la deciziile care îi vizează. Tocmai de aceea, trebuie să ne asigurăm că avem un cadru legal riguros la nivel european și că Directiva privind comitetele europene de întreprindere este actualizată pentru a face față noilor realități.

Trebuie totuși să ne protejăm angajații întreprinderilor de dimensiunea comunitară prin asigurarea unei funcționări reale ale comitetelor de întreprinderi și prin sancțiuni aspre față de companiile care nu respectă obligațiile de consultare cu acestea. De aceea am votat pentru revizuirea acestei directive.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, I really welcome the fact that Parliament is taking this initiative, and I voted it for it.

European Works Councils are a good idea in principle, but they have fallen down in practice, particularly in Ireland, where the implementation of the old directive was so bad that the Commission had to initiate infringement proceedings.

So a revision is really badly needed, and I hope that the revision will make it harder for Ireland to take its usual 'softly softly' approach to multinationals. But I also hope that the revision will take into account the situation of retired workers, who are often overlooked, and whose pension rights can become eroded and affected by discussions that don't involve them.

We say that the role of works councils is to make sure that workers have a say when it comes to decisions made by far-away management. This principle has to apply to retired workers.

I'm struck by the situation of airport workers in Ireland whose pensions were decimated on the basis of discussions that they had no input into. They worked all their lives, made their contributions, and their income was taken away. This is wrong. We have an opportunity to correct it here. Let's hope we take it!

Seán Kelly (PPE). – A Uachtaráin, tacaím leis an tuarascáil féintionscnaimh seo, ina n-iarrtar go ndéanfaí athbhreithniú uailmhianach ar an Treoir maidir leis an gComhairle Oibreacha Eorpacha. Is athbhreithniú é seo a bhfuiltear ag súil leis le fada an lá.

Tá deis thábhachtach ann leis an treoir seo geilleagar trasnáisiúnta agus uile-Eorpach a oibreoidh do chách a chur chun cinn. Cuirimse fáilte roimh an tuarascáil seo atá tomhaiste agus a fhéachann leis an Treoir maidir leis an gComhairle Oibreacha Eorpacha a oiriúntú ar bhealach spriocdhírthe. Leis seo, tá cothromaíocht ann idir leasanna fostóirí agus fostaithe araon.

An tseachtain seo, bhí stailceanna móra ann sa Ríocht Aontaithe, nach bhfacthas a leithéid le blianta anuas. Dá bhrí sin, tá súil agam nach mbeidh a leithéid san Aontas agus cabhróidh an t-athbhreithniú seo leis sin a chosc, ní hamháin i mo thír féin mar a dúirt Feisirí Wallace agus Daly, ach trasna na hEorpa ar fad.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Pane předsedající, já jsem tuto zprávu také podpořil. Podle mě vyvažuje postavení zaměstnanců žadáním směrem ve vztahu k těm největším společnostem, kde doposud postavení zaměstnanců nebylo příliš silné. My máme i aktuální zkušenost z České republiky, kdy jedna korejská firma blokuje kolektivní vyjednávání a dokonce protestující zaměstnance ani nepouští do továrny. To si myslím, že jsou příklady, kde se evidentně ukazuje, že je třeba stávající směrnici prohloubit. Já jsem ji tedy podpořil i z toho důvodu, že je tam celá řada zajímavých návrhů, postupů, jak i soudní praxí a přístupem této Evropské rady zaměstnanců k soudu umožnit odstranit blokaci a posunout vyjednávání dál. Takže z mé strany je to žádané prohloubení té stávající směrnice.

Ангел Джамбазки (ЕСР). – Г-н Председател, гласувах убедено против този доклад заради неговия пожелателен и популистски характер. Разбирам желанието на левицата да се представи като защитник на правата на хората на наемния труд, но първо, с този доклад това нещо няма да бъде постигнато, и второ, в него са изпълнени пожеланията от най-добрите времена, в които хората в Централна и Източна Европа живяха дълги години под комунистическа пропаганда и болшевишка окупация.

Този доклад няма да реши нито един въпрос на колективните права на хората на наемния труд, ще бъде използван, както и предишният подобен, за някаква форма на пропаганда и за да може партиите отляво в този Европейски парламент да представят себе си като защитници на права, вдигайки лозунги от социализма, не познавайки социализма и не знаейки ефекта от тази система върху живота на милиони хора в Централна и Източна Европа.

7.3. Przygotowanie szczytu UE-Ukraina (RC-B9-0092/2023, B9-0092/2023, B9-0093/2023, B9-0094/2023, B9-0095/2023, B9-0096/2023)

Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew). – Domnule președinte, am votat, dragi colegi, această rezoluție, pentru că Ucraina are nevoie de ajutorul nostru. Situația tragică în care se găsesc milioane de ucraineni poate să se răsfrângă asupra oricăroro din țările noastre, din țările din Europa de Est. Ucrainenii trebuie să știe că noi, Uniunea Europeană și acest parlament, suntem alături de ei și îi vom ajuta în toate modalitățile care ne stau în putință.

Tendențele expansioniste ale Rusiei aparțin secolelor trecute. Cooperarea și prosperitatea cetățenilor trebuie să fie acum singura preocupare a tuturor guvernelor, nu restabilirea unor granițe din secolul trecut. Milioane de oameni refugiați, mii de soldați morți de ambele părți, familii sfâșiate de durere, familii întregi deportate, copii ucraineni dezrădăcinați și trimiși departe de căminele lor. Toate aceste nenorociri pot fi oprite de Rusia. Autoritățile de la Kremlin sunt responsabile de urmările deciziilor lor naționaliste, atât asupra poporului ucrainean, cât și asupra propriului popor.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule președinte, invazia Rusiei în Ucraina a scos la suprafață o lume pe care o credeam uitată. Europa este din nou în război și este esențial ca Uniunea Europeană să rămână ferm angajată pe poziția pe care și-a asumat o din prima clipă, aceea de a-i ajuta pe ucraineni să facă față acestei invazii brutale. Ucraina însă trebuie să își consolideze instituțiile interne chiar și în vreme de război, să-și respecte angajamentele față de toți cetățenii ei.

În perioada sovietică, pe lângă majoritatea populației ucrainene, unui proces diabolic de deznaționalizare au fost supuși și cei aproape un milion de români care trăiesc astăzi în Ucraina și Ucraina trebuie să creeze instrumente pentru a proteja toate minoritățile, în mod special cei care astăzi sunt alături, în prima linie, alături de majoritatea populației și luptă împotriva Rusiei, așa cum o fac și românii, cetățeni ucraineni ai acestui stat. Cred că problema minorităților nu trebuie să rămână o chestiune abandonată chiar și în aceste vremuri complicate.

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Pane předsedající, dámy a pánové, v těchto chvílích se v Kyjevě scházejí zástupci Komise a Ukrajiny na summitu EU–Ukrajina, a je proto velmi důležité, že Evropský parlament přijal své usnesení a přijal ho tak masivním počtem hlasů. Podpořilo jej 489 z 574 přítomných poslanců. Samozřejmě jsem ho podpořila také. Evropský parlament vyzývá orgány Evropské unie i členské státy a všechny partnery, aby i nadále Ukrajině poskytovali maximální politickou, vojenskou, ekonomickou i humanitární pomoc. V této souvislosti zdůrazňujeme i potřebu věnovat se návratu násilím deportovaných dětí i dospělých z Ukrajiny do Ruska, navrátit tyto děti ukrajinským rodinám. Evropský parlament vyzývá účastníky summitu, aby spolupracovali na úspěšném zahájení přístupových jednání, a Evropský parlament také podpořil desetibodový mírový plán prezidenta Zelenského.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, I voted against the resolution because for all the shrill jingoism and belligerent moral outrage about Ukraine winning and Russia being defeated, the truth is that nobody wins in war except the military industrial complex feasting off the billions of taxpayers' money or vultures like Blackstone, swooping in to feed off the carcass of the devastation and destruction of Ukraine and benefit from the rebuilding against the backdrop of privatisation, deregulation and decimation of workers' rights.

Thousands of civilians dead, tens of thousands of soldiers, 15 million people displaced. This is horror. And our response is to send in just enough weapons to make sure it doesn't end. It's barbarous.

The motion talks about peace, which is good – when we refused to support Ukraine when they reached an agreement with Russia last April, forcing them to fight on – but it has to be a just and sustainable peace. No serious person thinks Ukraine can win an absolute victory. So a plan that talks about NATO membership, with Ukraine being the European equivalent of Israel on steroids, retaking Crimea, has to stop if we want Ukraine to survive.

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtarán*, the Russian leadership has shown its cruelty towards the Ukrainian people, engaging in war crimes as part of its standard operations on a daily basis. But not only this: they have also shown a complete indifference to their own soldiers, sending wave after wave as cannon fodder to their deaths.

I voted in favour of this resolution for many reasons. I support Ukraine's independence and sovereignty, and the need to increase humanitarian aid to Ukraine, and I join calls for the upcoming EU-Ukraine Summit to prioritise a recovery package for Ukraine.

However, I would like to underline my support for Ireland's longstanding policy of military neutrality. As a nation we are not politically neutral when it comes to Russia's illegal and barbaric war against Ukraine. We do not oppose and would not seek to block other EU Member States from providing military assistance, which is badly needed, to help Ukraine defend itself.

Slava Ukraini!

Ангел Джамбазки (ЕСР). – Г-н Председател, убедено гласувах в подкрепа на тази резолюция, защото смятам, че украинският народ има нужда от подкрепа и от това всички ние тук да заявим ясно тази подкрепа. Абсолютен срам, абсолютен позор е да се говори, че нападнатият трябва да се предаде и да не се защитава. Ясно е кой е агресорът на всички, които мислят и не са платени от кремълската пропаганда. Агресорът в този случай е Русия и руското държавно ръководство.

Ако някой иска мир, то той трябва да убеди агресора да прекрати това нападение и да се изтегли и да търси отгук нататък някакви разговори, но да твърдиш, че не трябва да помагаш на нападнатия, на по-слабия, този, на който му е нападнат домът, този, който е бомбардиран, този, който е под бомбите 24/7, защото би трябвало да се прекрати войната по този начин, е срамно, позорно и е проява на кремълска пропаганда. Тази пропаганда, за съжаление, продължава да си пробива път дори в тази зала и да оправдава неоправданото, а именно убийството на невинни хора.

Така че подкрепих резолюцията и за мен е ясно кой е нападнат и кой трябва да бъде защитен.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Pane předsedající, já jsem samozřejmě tento návrh usnesení podpořil. To, co Rusko páchá, je popření toho, jak se po druhé světové válce podílelo na tvorbě mezinárodních pravidel pořádku. Jeden stát nemůže napadnout druhý stát. A to nejsou jenom otázky mezinárodního práva. Podívejme se na ty obrázky z Buče, z Irpině, z mnoha dalších ukrajinských měst. Vidíme opravdovou genocidu, proto já jsem i podpořil pozměňovací návrh kolegů z ECR, abychom to také takto nazvali. Ty obrázky ukazují mrtvé, mrtvé děti, unesené, naprosto zdecimované regiony, kam vstoupila bota vojáka z Ruska. Já jsem pro to, abychom poskytli Ukrajině maximální bezpečnostní záruky pro budoucí období a také dodávali zbraně a rovněž i finanční podporu tomuto státu. Oni se brání, oni byli napadeni.

Der Präsident. – Damit ist dieser Tagesordnungspunkt geschlossen.

8. Zatwierdzenie protokołów posiedzeń bieżącej sesji i przekazanie przyjętych tekstów

Der Präsident. – Die Protokolle der heutigen Sitzung und der gestrigen Sitzung werden dem Parlament zu Beginn der nächsten Sitzung zur Genehmigung vorgelegt. Wenn es keine Einwände gibt, werde ich die in der heutigen Sitzung angenommenen Entschlüsse den in diesen Entschlüssen genannten Personen und Gremien übermitteln.

9. Kalendarz następnych posiedzeń

Der Präsident. – Die nächste Tagung findet vom 13. bis 16. Februar 2023 in Straßburg statt.

10. Zamknięcie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 12.02 Uhr geschlossen.)

11. Przerwa w obradach

Der Präsident. – Ich erkläre die Sitzungsperiode des Europäischen Parlaments für unterbrochen.

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Skróty i symbole

*	Procedura konsultacji
***	Procedura zgody
***I	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, pierwsze czytanie
***II	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, drugie czytanie
***III	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, trzecie czytanie

(Typ procedury zależy od podstawy prawnej zaproponowanej w danym projekcie aktu.)

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych

AFET	Komisja Spraw Zagranicznych
DEVE	Komisja Rozwoju
INTA	Komisja Handlu Międzynarodowego
BUDG	Komisja Budżetowa
CONT	Komisja Kontroli Budżetowej
ECON	Komisja Gospodarcza i Monetarna
EMPL	Komisja Zatrudnienia i Spraw Socjalnych
ENVI	Komisja Środowiska Naturalnego, Zdrowia Publicznego i Bezpieczeństwa Żywności
ITRE	Komisja Przemysłu, Badań Naukowych i Energii
IMCO	Komisja Rynku Wewnętrznego i Ochrony Konsumentów
TRAN	Komisja Transportu i Turystyki
REGI	Komisja Rozwoju Regionalnego
AGRI	Komisja Rolnictwa i Obszarów Wiejskich
PECH	Komisja Rybołówstwa
CULT	Komisja Kultury i Edukacji
JURI	Komisja Prawna
LIBE	Komisja Wolności Obywatelskich, Sprawiedliwości i Spraw Wewnętrznych
AFCO	Komisja Spraw Konstytucyjnych
FEMM	Komisja Praw Kobiet i Równych Szans
PETI	Komisja Petycji
DROI	Podkomisja Praw Człowieka
SEDE	Podkomisja Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony
FISC	Podkomisja do Spraw Podatkowych

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych

PPE	Grupa Europejskiej Partii Ludowej (Chrześcijańscy Demokraci)
S&D	Grupa Postępowego Sojuszu Socjalistów i Demokratów w Parlamencie Europejskim
Renew	Grupa Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupa Zielonych/Wolne Przymierze Europejskie
ID	Grupa Tożsamość i Demokracja
ECR	Grupa Europejskich Konserwatystów i Reformatorów
The Left	Grupa Lewicy w Parlamencie Europejskim - GUE/NGL
NI	Niezrzeszeni