

**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 16 LIPCA 2019 R.**

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STRASBURG

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 16 LIPCA 2019 R.

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. DAVID MARIA SASSOLI

*Presidente*

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è aperta alle 9.07)*

### 2. Działania podjęte w związku z rezolucjami Parlamentu: patrz protokół

### 3. Oświadczenie kandydatki na stanowisko przewodniczącej Komisji (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione del candidato alla carica di Presidente della Commissione.

Ricordo agli onorevoli colleghi che, per questa discussione, non è prevista la procedura «catch-the-eye» né saranno accettate domande «cartellino blu».

**Ursula von der Leyen,** *candidate à la présidence de la Commission.* – Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, il y a exactement 40 ans, la première Présidente du Parlement européen, Simone Veil, était élue et présentait sa vision d'une Europe plus unie et plus juste.

C'est grâce à elle et à toutes les autres icônes européennes que je vous présente aujourd'hui ma vision de l'Europe.

Et 40 ans plus tard, c'est avec une grande fierté que je peux dire: «C'est finalement une femme qui est candidate à la présidence de la Commission européenne.»

*(Applaudissements)*

Je le suis grâce à tous ceux et toutes celles qui ont brisé les barrières et les conventions. Je le suis grâce à tous ceux et toutes celles qui ont construit une Europe de paix, une Europe unie, une Europe des valeurs.

C'est cette conviction européenne qui m'a guidée tout au long de ma vie et de ma carrière, en tant que mère, en tant que médecin et en tant que femme politique.

C'est ce courage et cette audace des pionnières, comme Simone Veil, qui sont au cœur de ma vision de l'Europe. Et ce sera cet esprit qui guidera la Commission européenne que j'ai l'intention de présider.

Herr Präsident, meine Damen und Herren Abgeordnete! Die Gründungsmütter und Gründungsväter Europas haben – aus den Trümmern und der Asche der Weltkriege – ein gewaltiges Werk errichtet: Frieden.

Ein starker gemeinsamer Markt, grenzenloser Handel, Reisen, Forschen, Arbeiten. 500 Millionen Europäerinnen und Europäer leben heute zwischen Riga und Limassol, zwischen Athen und Lissabon in Wohlstand und Freiheit.

Die Generation meiner Kinder kann sich ein Leben ohne dieses Heimatgefühl Europa gar nicht vorstellen. Als diese glückliche Generation geboren wurde, dachten auch wir Älteren, dass es immer so weiterginge.

Heute ist auch den Letzten klar, dass wir wieder kämpfen müssen, dass wir aufstehen müssen für unser Europa. Die ganze Welt ist herausgefordert, mit disruptiven Entwicklungen umzugehen, die auch an Europa nicht vorbeigehen.

Der demografische Wandel, die Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft, die rasante Digitalisierung unserer Arbeitswelt und natürlich der Klimawandel. Keine dieser Meta-Entwicklungen ist neu, sie wurden von der Wissenschaft lange vorausgesagt. Das Neue ist, dass wir heute als Bürgerinnen und Bürger Europas – egal, in welchem Land wir wohnen – die Auswirkungen konkret erleben und spüren.

Ob es die finnischen Weizenbauern, die durch die Dürre betroffen sind, ob es die tödliche Hitzewelle in Frankreich ist: Wir spüren den Klimawandel ganz konkret. Ob es die Rentnerin in Irland ist, die mit Online-Banking umgehen muss, oder der Arbeiter in Polen, der sich nach 20 Jahren im Job weiterbilden muss, um überhaupt seine Arbeit zu behalten: Wir spüren die Digitalisierung ganz konkret. Ob es Regionen in Europa sind, in denen Schulen, Krankenhäuser, Betriebe schließen müssen: Wir spüren den demografischen Wandel konkret.

All of this has left people with a feeling of losing control: of looser ties with our communities.

None of these challenges will go away. But there have been different ways to react to these trends. Some are turning towards authoritarian regimes, some are buying their global influence and creating dependencies by investing in ports and roads. And others are turning towards protectionism.

None of these options are for us. We want multilateralism, we want fair trade, we defend the rules-based order because we know it is better for all of us. We have to do it the European way.

*(Applause)*

But if we are to go down the European path, we must first rediscover our unity. If we are united on the inside, nobody will divide us from the outside. If we close the gaps between us, we can turn tomorrow's challenges into tomorrow's opportunities.

Our most pressing challenge is keeping our planet healthy. This is the greatest responsibility and opportunity of our times. I want Europe to become the first climate-neutral continent in the world by 2050.

*(Applause)*

To make this happen, we must take bold steps together. Our current goal of reducing our emissions by 40% by 2030 is not enough. We must go further. We must strive for more. A two-step approach is needed to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 2030 by 50%, if not 55%. The European Union will lead international negotiations to increase the level of ambition of other major economies by 2021 because, to achieve real impact, not only do we have to be ambitious at home – we have to do that, yes – but the world also has to move together.

To make this happen, I will put forward a Green Deal for Europe in my first 100 days in office. I will put forward the first ever European Climate Law, which will set the 2050 target in law. This increase in ambition will need investment on a major scale. Public money will not be enough. I will propose a Sustainable Europe Investment Plan and turn parts of the European Investment Bank into a Climate Bank. This will unlock EUR 1 trillion of investment over the next decade.

*(Applause)*

It means change. All of us and every sector will have to contribute, from aviation to maritime transport to the way each and every one of us travels and lives. Emissions must have a price that changes our behaviour. To complete this work, and to ensure our companies can compete on a level playing field, I will introduce a Carbon Border Tax to avoid carbon leakage.

But what is good for our planet must also be good for our people and our regions. Of course, I know about the importance of cohesion funds. But we need more. We need a just transition for all. Not all of our regions have the same starting point – but we all share the same destination. This is why I will propose a Just Transition Fund to support those most affected. This is the European way: we are ambitious; we leave nobody behind; and we offer perspectives.

*(Applause)*

If we want to succeed with this ambitious plan we need a strong economy – because what we want to spend we first have to earn. For that, we need to strengthen the backbone of our economies: the small and medium-sized enterprises. They are innovative, they are entrepreneurial, they are flexible and agile, they create jobs, they provide vocational training to our youth. But they can do all this only if they have access to capital everywhere in this huge single market. Let's get rid of all the barriers. Let's open the door. Let's finally complete the Capital Markets Union. Our small and medium-sized enterprises deserve it.

*(Applause)*

And we need to work within the Stability and Growth Pact. Where investment and reforms are needed, we should make sure they can be done. We should make use of all the flexibility allowed in the rules. We are proud of our economy. We want to make it stronger. But there is also a clear and simple logic. It's not people that serve our economy: it's the economy that serves our people.

*(Applause)*

In our social market economy we must reconcile the market with the social. Therefore, I will refocus our European Semester to make sure we stay on track with our Sustainable Development Goals. And I will stand for fair taxes – whether for brick-and-mortar industries or for digital business. When the tech giants are making huge profits in Europe, this is fine because we are an open market and we like competition. But if they are making these profits by benefiting from our education system, our skilled workers, our infrastructure and our social security, if this is so, it is not acceptable that they make profits but barely pay any taxes because they are playing our tax system. If they want to benefit they have to share the burden.

*(Applause)*

Honourable Members, the European way is also about using all of our potential: our people, our talent, our diversity. It is about creating a fairer and more equal Union. This will drive me forward every single day I am in office – as it has throughout my career. We have come a long way since I was a minister for family affairs and had to fight to introduce parental pay or access to childcare for families. But the fight for fairness never stops. It is still too difficult for hard-working families to make ends meet in Europe. I want to ensure that work pays. In a social market economy, every person who is working full time should earn a minimum wage that pays for a decent living.

*(Applause)*

Therefore we will develop a framework, of course respecting the different labour markets, but I think the optimal option is to have collective bargaining by employers' unions and trade unions, because they tailor the minimum wage to the sector or to the region as necessary. Of course, I am aware there are different models, but we have to create the framework.

And I want better protection for those who lose their jobs when our economy takes a severe hit. A European Unemployment Reinsurance Scheme will support our economies and our people in times of external shocks. Of course, there are national unemployment insurance systems, but the Reinsurance Scheme for those heavy external shocks is needed in Europe.

I also want more equality and fairness for our young people. Youth unemployment is at 14% in Europe, but ranges from 5% to 40% in some countries. We cannot accept this. Young people have aspirations – they want to work, they want to have a future – and it is our job to let them achieve this. That is why I will make sure that the Youth Guarantee, which I started when I was a Minister for Labour Affairs in the Council, is working as well as it can in every Member State. And I will support the European Parliament's idea of tripling the Erasmus+ budget as part of the next long-term budget.

*(Applause)*

We have to care for the most vulnerable: our children. We have to fight poverty. I know, as a mother of seven, that it makes a difference for their entire life if children have access to education, sports, music, healthy food – and a loving environment. We need a Child Guarantee to help ensure that every child in Europe at risk of poverty and social exclusion has access to the most basic of rights, like healthcare and education. It will empower them and it pays tremendously if we back them when they are young. This is part of my action plan to bring our Pillar of Social Rights to life.

And I will start at home by example: I will ensure full gender equality in my College of Commissioners.

*(Applause)*

If Member States do not propose enough female Commissioners, I will not hesitate to ask for new names. Since 1958 there have been 183 Commissioners. Only 35 were women. That is less – less – than 20%. We represent half of our population. We want our fair share.

*(Applause)*

We also need to talk openly about violence against women. If one in five women have already suffered physical or sexual violence in the European Union, and 55% of women have been sexually harassed, this is clearly not a women's issue. I will propose to add violence against women to the list of EU crimes defined in the Treaty, and the European Union should join the Istanbul Convention. I am convinced: if we close the gaps between us, we will emerge stronger as a Union.

*(Applause)*

The cradle of our European civilisation is Greek philosophy and Roman law. And our European continent went through its darkest period when we were ruled by dictators and the rule of law was banished. For centuries, Europeans fought so hard for their liberty and independence. The rule of law is our best tool to defend these freedoms and to protect the most vulnerable in our Union. That is why there can be no compromise when it comes to respecting the rule of law. There never will be.

*(Applause)*

I will ensure that we use our full and comprehensive toolbox at European level. In addition, I fully support an EU-wide Rule of Law Mechanism. And to be clear: the new instrument is not an alternative to the existing instruments, but an additional one. The Commission will always be an independent guardian of the Treaties. Lady Justice is blind – she will defend the rule of law wherever it is attacked.

Honourable Members, the rule of law is universal. It applies to all. In the last five years, more than 17 000 people have drowned in the Mediterranean, which has become one of the deadliest borders in the world. At sea, there is the duty to save lives ...

*(Loud applause)*

... and in our treaties and conventions there is the legal and moral duty to respect the dignity of every human being.

The European Union can and must defend these values. The European Union needs humane borders. We must save, but saving alone is not enough. We must reduce irregular migration and we must fight smugglers and traffickers: it is organised crime. We must preserve the right to asylum and improve the situation of refugees: for example, through humanitarian corridors in close cooperation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We need both empathy and decisive action.

I am aware of how difficult and divisive discussions on these issue are. We need to address the legitimate concerns of many, and to look at how we can overcome our differences. I will propose a New Pact on Migration and Asylum, including the relaunch of the Dublin reform. This will allow us to return to a fully functioning Schengen Area of free movement, the key driver of our prosperity, security and freedoms. A centrepiece in this ambition is a reinforced European Border and Coast Guard Agency. We need to reach a standing corps of 10 000 Frontex border guards not by 2027, but way earlier, at least by 2024. We have to modernise our asylum system. A Common European Asylum System must be exactly that – common. We can have stable external borders only if we give enough help to Member States facing the most pressure because of where they are on the map.

We need solidarity. We need to help each other and to contribute. We need a new way of burden sharing. And we must make a fair cooperation offer to countries of origin and transit, in the interest of both sides. Diplomacy, economic development, investment, stability and security are needed so that people have a perspective.

I would like to tell you a story about perspective. Four years ago, I was lucky enough to welcome a 19-year-old refugee from Syria into my home and my family. He spoke n° German, he was deeply scarred by his experience of civil war and flight. Today, four years later, he is fluent in German, he is fluent in English and, of course, he is fluent in Arabic. He is a community leader by day, in vocational training, and a student for his high school degree by night. He is an inspiration to us all. And one day, he wants to go home.

Honourable Members, as a defence minister, I have been many times in this war-torn neighbourhood. I will never forget the words of former President of Iraq Fuad Masum, who said: «We want to see more Europe here.» The world is calling for more Europe. The world needs more Europe.

I believe Europe should have a stronger and more united voice in the world – and it needs to act fast. That is why we must have the courage to take foreign policy decisions by qualified majority, and to stand united behind them.

*(Loud applause. Mixed reactions)*

The cornerstone of our collective defence will always be NATO. We will stay transatlantic, and we have to become more European. That is why we created the European Defence Union. Our work for our European Union of security and defence is embedded in comprehensive security. Stabilisation always comes with diplomacy, reconciliation and reconstruction. Our servicemen and servicewomen work side by side with police officers, diplomats and development aid workers. These men and women deserve our utmost respect and recognition for their tireless service for Europe.

*(Applause)*

I cannot talk about Europe without talking about our friends from the United Kingdom. In 2016, for the very first time, a Member State decided to leave the European Union.

*(Applause from a section of the House)*

This is a serious decision. We regret it, but we respect it. Since then, together with the current Government of the United Kingdom, the European Union has worked hard to organise the orderly departure of the United Kingdom. The Withdrawal Agreement concluded with the Government of the United Kingdom provides certainty where Brexit created uncertainty: in preserving the rights of citizens and in preserving peace and stability on the island of Ireland. These two priorities are mine, too. However, I stand ready for a further extension of the withdrawal date, should more time be required for a good reason.

*(Applause. Objections)*

In any case, the United Kingdom will remain our ally, our partner and our friend.

(Applause)

Honourable Members, when I came to Strasbourg 13 days ago, I promised I'd come to listen. I have heard your concerns, your hopes and your expectations. The political guidelines, which I sent to you today, reflect our discussions. From what I have heard, I have drawn my conclusions and I have made my decisions. First, I want European citizens to play a leading and active part in building the future of our Union. I want them to have their say at a Conference on the Future of Europe, to start in 2020 and to run for two years.

Second, I want us to work together to improve the *Spitzenkandidaten* system. We need to make it more visible to a wider electorate and we need to address the issue of transnational lists at the European elections as a complementary tool of European democracy.

(Applause)

And third – yes – I support a right of initiative for the European Parliament.

(Loud applause)

When this House, acting by majority of its Members, adopts resolutions requesting the Commission to submit legislative proposals, I commit to responding with a legislative act in full observance of the proportionality, subsidiarity and better-law-making principles. I am convinced that our stronger partnership will further help to make people's voices heard.

Herr Präsident, mein Vater war 15 Jahre alt, als der schaurige Krieg, durch den mein Land Tod, Verwüstung, Vertreibung und Zerstörung über unseren Kontinent gebracht hat, endete.

Er hat seinen Kindern, mir und meinen sechs Geschwistern, oft davon erzählt. Er hat vor allem davon erzählt, was es für ihn bedeutet hat, dass die anderen Länder uns wieder die Hand gereicht haben und uns zurückgenommen haben in den Kreis der demokratischen Völker. Er hat bei der Montan-Union angefangen und hat uns anfangs gesagt: «Wir treiben wieder Handel und wenn man Handel treibt, dann schließt man Freundschaften, und Freunde schießen nicht aufeinander.»

Er war Kabinettschef bei von der Groeben in der Hallstein-Kommission und später Generaldirektor für Wettbewerbsfragen. Deshalb bin ich hier in Brüssel geboren und Europäerin gewesen, bevor ich später gelernt habe, dass ich Deutsche bin und Niedersächsin bin. Und deshalb gibt es für mich nur eines: Europa einen und stärken.

Wer mit mir dieses Europa stärken, wachsen und blühen lassen will, hat mich als leidenschaftliche Kämpferin an seiner oder ihrer Seite. Wer aber dieses Europa schwächen, spalten und ihm seine Werte nehmen will, der findet in mir eine erbitterte Gegnerin.

(Beifall)

Als mein Vater alt und an seinem Lebensende war, da hatte sich seine Erzählung von Europa verändert. Er sprach nicht mehr so viel vom Krieg. Er sagte: «Europa ist wie eine lange Ehe. Die Liebe wird vielleicht nicht größer als am ersten Tag, aber sie wird tiefer». Weil wir wissen, dass wir uns aufeinander verlassen können, in guten wie in schweren Zeiten. Weil wir wissen, dass wir streiten können, aber uns auch wieder versöhnen können. Weil wir nie vergessen, warum wir diesen Bund eingegangen sind. Und wir hier alle in diesem Raum leben in einem Europa, das gewachsen ist, das gereift ist, das stark geworden ist mit seinen 500 Millionen Menschen. Über 200 Millionen Menschen sind zur Wahl gegangen. Dieses Europa hat Einfluss. Dieses Europa will Verantwortung übernehmen für sich und diese Welt.

Das ist nicht immer leicht, das weiß ich, das ist schmerzhaft und anstrengend, aber es ist unsere nobelste Pflicht! Die Menschen wollen sehen, dass wir liefern, dass wir vorankommen. Die Jugend fordert das. Meine Kinder sagen mir zurecht: «Spielt nicht auf Zeit, macht was draus».

Und dazu bin ich angetreten. Dazu brauche ich Ihre Hilfe und Unterstützung. Dazu rufe ich alle Europäerinnen und Europäer auf, mitzumachen. Es ist das Kostbarste, was wir haben: Es lebe Europa, *vive l'Europe*, *long live Europe!*



**Manfred Weber**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau von der Leyen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Nach der Wahl unseres Präsidenten vor zwei Wochen steht jetzt die Wahl der Präsidentin der Europäischen Kommission an. Ich danke Ursula von der Leyen für ihre Programmatik, für ihre Ideen, für ihre Vorschläge für die Zukunft Europas.

Für uns als EVP-Fraktion stehen unsere Wahlversprechen im Mittelpunkt. Die Zusagen, die wir den Menschen gegeben haben, sind für uns Orientierungspunkt. 40 Millionen Menschen haben die 183 Abgeordneten der EVP-Fraktion gewählt. Diesen 40 Millionen Menschen sind wir verpflichtet, und sie erwarten von uns, dass wir die Themen, die wir ihnen versprochen haben, umsetzen: ein gerechtes Europa mit vergleichbaren Lebensbedingungen für alle, ein modernes Europa, wo wir die Forschungsabteilung der Welt bleiben oder wieder werden müssen, ein sicheres Europa, das Grenzen gegen illegale Migration sichert und zeitgleich Menschen in Not hilft, ein weltoffenes Europa, das Handel treibt und die Partnerschaft mit Afrika lebt, und ein ökologisches Europa, das unsere Umwelt, unser Klima schützt und dabei soziale und ökonomische Folgen im Blick behält.

Ursula von der Leyen ist eine Christdemokratin, sie ist eine überzeugte Europäerin, und deshalb werden wir mit ihr gemeinsam unsere Wahlversprechen umsetzen. Die Europäische Volkspartei wird Ursula von der Leyen heute geschlossen unterstützen und wählen.

Ich danke Frans Timmermans, Ska Keller, Bas Eickhout und anderen für ihren engagierten Wahlkampf auf europäischer Ebene. Ich habe den Wettbewerb genossen, Kandidat zu sein, Gesicht zu zeigen, den Wettbewerb anzunehmen, für seine Überzeugungen sachlich zu kämpfen, Menschen zu überzeugen und dann als Demokrat das Wahlergebnis zu respektieren. 201 Millionen Menschen haben sich bei den Europawahlen beteiligt – welch ein Fest der Demokratie! Und ihr Wunsch ist es, ein demokratisches Europa zu bekommen.

Die Entwicklungen der letzten Tage haben dieses starke Zeichen der Menschen nicht immer aufgenommen. Wenn wir beispielsweise demokratisch nominierte Kandidaten aus parteipolitischen Egoismen heraus als nicht wählbar bezeichnen, entsteht damit Schaden für die Demokratie. Es ist Schaden entstanden, ja, aber man kann entstandenen Schaden nicht heilen, indem man neuen Schaden verursacht. Europa braucht jetzt Handlungsfähigkeit und Stabilität. Deshalb hat meine Fraktion vor zwei Wochen den sozialdemokratischen Kandidaten David Sassoli als Präsidenten des Europäischen Parlaments unterstützt, und ich erwarte heute als Fraktionsvorsitzender der EVP, dass andere Ursula von der Leyen als Kommissionspräsidentin unterstützen. Gerade ich sage heute: Wir müssen uns aufeinander verlassen können, nur so kann Europa gelingen.

(Beifall)

Natürlich müssen wir in den kommenden fünf Jahren im Zeichen eines demokratischen Europas stehen: ein legislatives Initiativrecht – ich bedanke mich für die Zusage –, gestärkte Untersuchungsrechte, bessere Kontrolle der Implementierung von Europarecht und die rechtliche Verankerung des Spitzenkandidatenkonzeptes, damit die Hinterzimmer endlich der Vergangenheit angehören. Ich und meine Fraktion werden dafür eintreten, für ein Europa, das den Menschen gehört. Für uns Christdemokraten ist das heute ein Tag des Aufbruchs. Wir wollen jetzt anpacken und gestalten, mit Ursula von der Leyen als neue Kommissionspräsidentin.

(Beifall)

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, señora von der Leyen, hoy es un día importante, de esos que hacen historia. Está en nuestras manos el futuro de la Unión. Y mi grupo político, que ha estado desde los inicios y tiene el europeísmo en su ADN, quiere seguir construyendo esta Europa nuestra.

Tenemos una responsabilidad hacia la ciudadanía que nos ha dado su confianza y por eso queremos actuar con responsabilidad. Queremos estar seguros de que, en los próximos cinco años, sentaremos las bases de un proyecto y de un futuro sostenible para todos los europeos y europeas.

Permítanme que, en un día como hoy, recuerde a un gran europeísta que, hace justo cuarenta años, tomó la palabra en este Parlamento: Willy Brandt. En ese pleno, celebrado justo después de las primeras elecciones directas en 1979, hizo un llamamiento que hoy merece la pena recordar. Se lamentaba por lo despacio que avanza la democracia europea y por que se había tardado demasiado tiempo en implantar las elecciones de sufragio directo. Y también se lamentaba por que las instituciones europeas parecían todavía alejadas de la ciudadanía. Por eso pedía a los eurodiputados que fueran capaces de ponerse a trabajar, más allá de las diferencias ideológicas y geográficas, para solucionar los problemas de las personas y, sobre todo, para conectar con los jóvenes.

Cuarenta años después, este discurso está hoy más vivo que nunca. A los socialistas nos sigue pareciendo que la democracia europea avanza demasiado despacio. Hemos puesto mucha ilusión en el proyecto del *Spitzenkandidat* y también nos hemos batido por las listas transnacionales. Pero en esta ocasión no lo hemos conseguido. Sin embargo, no nos rendimos. La democracia europea no tiene marcha atrás. Por eso acogemos su compromiso, señora von der Leyen, de retomar y perfeccionar el proceso del *Spitzenkandidat* para el 2024.

También queremos que Europa resuelva los problemas de la gente, que sea capaz de afrontar los retos actuales. Y eso lo tenemos que saber antes de darle nuestro apoyo para presidir la Comisión. Necesitamos saber si será capaz de liderar el cambio que nos piden los ciudadanos y la transformación que los jóvenes europeos nos están pidiendo. Nos ha enviado usted una carta que apunta en la buena dirección, que propone avances, pero ahora tiene usted la posibilidad de concretar aún más.

Usted asume el objetivo de combatir la urgencia climática y de traducir esa ambición en legislación. Esa ley es necesaria, así como fijar los objetivos vinculantes para cumplir nuestros compromisos de reducción de emisiones para el 2030. Pero, además de la transformación ecológica, para nosotros es fundamental que nadie se quede atrás y, por eso, nos alegra ver que acepta el fondo para una transición justa.

También recoge la necesidad de poner en marcha un plan de inversiones para una Europa sostenible. Es importante que quede claro que una parte importante de ese esfuerzo debe venir de inversiones públicas. Cuando pedimos introducir los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible en el Semestre Europeo, no solo queremos que se tengan en cuenta como un principio. Queremos que se introduzcan también criterios e indicadores de medición. No queremos que se siga penalizando con déficit excesivo a los Gobiernos que invierten en una transformación económica que cuida de las personas, que crea nuevas oportunidades y que pone las bases para un futuro sostenible. Por eso insistimos —y también lo ha recogido así en su carta— en la flexibilidad de las reglas económicas y en la incorporación del seguro de desempleo.

Europa tiene que proteger a los más vulnerables. Por eso apoyaremos siempre desde nuestro grupo político el pilar social europeo y, en concreto, la Garantía Infantil y la Garantía Juvenil. Señora von der Leyen, nos hace falta una acción más contundente contra la pobreza en general. Para financiar todas estas políticas, cada uno debe poner de su parte, también las grandes corporaciones tecnológicas. Usted quiere que contribuyan con sus impuestos al esfuerzo común, pero ¿ha pensado en una cifra? También menciona que se debe proteger y mejorar la situación de los trabajadores y las trabajadoras de las nuevas plataformas. Aquí tendrá a un grupo político que apoyará una directiva en ese sentido.

Me alegra ver que, en cuestiones de igualdad de género, estamos en la misma línea. Porque sabe que, para mi grupo político, es una prioridad clara. Adoptar una estrategia de igualdad vinculante e incluir la violencia de género como uno de los delitos contemplados en los Tratados de la Unión es, sin duda, un buen comienzo.

Dice que va a defender el Estado de Derecho y propone un mecanismo nuevo para asegurar su cumplimiento. ¿Nos puede explicar en qué consistiría ese mecanismo? Creo que a muchos y a muchas en esta sala nos tranquilizaría comprobar que, efectivamente, usted tiene la intención de mantener la exigencia que ha mostrado la actual Comisión y, en concreto, el comisario Frans Timmermans en materia de *rule of law*.

Respecto a la gestión de la migración, apreciamos su propuesta de actuar con más solidaridad entre los Estados miembros y de terminar con la reforma de Dublín. Necesitamos hablar de solidaridad. Necesitamos hablar de corredores humanitarios. No solo se trata de reforzar la seguridad y aumentar los efectivos de Frontex. Se trata también de salvar la vida de las personas y, para eso, necesitamos un sistema de rescate que no criminalice a las ONG y un sistema de visados humanitarios. Solo así estaremos a la altura de las circunstancias.

Señora von der Leyen, estamos aquí para escucharla. No queremos una crisis institucional que retrase más los cambios que Europa necesita. Pero necesitamos garantías de que, en los próximos años, Europa será capaz de afrontar las medidas necesarias. Mi grupo político tomará una decisión esta tarde. No tenga duda de que lo hará pensando en lo mejor para Europa, en los hombres y mujeres que quieren recuperar la confianza y la esperanza en el proyecto europeo. Y, en ese camino, nos encontraremos en la tarea tan apasionante de construir más y mejor Europa.

**Dacian Cioloș**, în numele grupului *Renew*. – Doamnă președintă desemnată, Parlamentul în fața căruia vă aflați astăzi nu a fost niciodată atât de important și de implicat, conștient de responsabilitate și gata să și-o asume pe deplin.

Știți foarte bine, Consiliul care v-a desemnat este un Consiliu divizat. A convenit în cele din urmă asupra unui pachet global de numiri, pentru a obține un compromis după negocieri lungi și dificile. De altfel, regret că echilibrul dintre estul și vestul Uniunii Europene nu este reflectat în acest pachet și sper, totuși, că va fi parțial restabilit odată cu atribuirea portofoliilor importante în viitorul colegiu. Astăzi, aici, nu există niciun pachet. Există o singură nominalizare – a dumneavoastră – pe baza angajamentelor pe care le-ați luat în fața noastră. Azi, căutăm o majoritate care să permită Europei să avanseze și să răspundă așteptărilor foarte clar exprimate în timpul alegerilor.

Ideea de *Spitzenkandidat* – de a alege Președintele Comisiei Europene prin votul tuturor cetățenilor europeni – nu a fost dusă până la capăt. Acest Parlament va trebui să o facă până la sfârșitul acestui mandat și mă bucur că vă asumați ideea unei conferințe pentru viitorul Europei, care să desăvârșească acest proces de democratizare. Europeanii trebuie să știe că în aceste ultime zile, negocierea purtată cu dumneavoastră de către grupuri politice proeuropene a avut la bază o platformă politică comună a acestor grupuri. Dacă veți fi aleasă, această platformă ar trebui să ne ofere un cadru de lucru comun și transparent între Parlament și Comisia Europeană, cu obiective clar asumate pentru următorii 5 ani.

Grupul nostru este gata să vă susțină, în măsura în care vă asumați independența și forța de propunere pentru reînnoirea Europei. Cu cât angajamentele pe care le luați azi sunt mai clare și sunt împărțite de o majoritate proeuropeană puternică, cu atât mai mult vom fi capabili să construim pentru cetățenii europeni o Europă care să redea încredere și speranță.

Înainte de alegeri, a fost anunțat un mare val antieuropean, care ar fi copleșit acest Parlament și ar fi pus Europa în mare dificultate. Ei bine, acest tsunami nu a avut loc, iar forțele proeuropene sunt puternice în acest nou Parlament. Însă nu mai trebuie să dezamăgim milioanele de europeni care au spus „da” acestei Europe. Ei se așteaptă ca aceasta să apere statul de drept fără ezitare. Nu putem dezamăgi milioane de tineri care au venit să voteze și au lansat un apel pentru luptă împotriva schimbărilor climatice, pentru locuri de muncă decente pentru generația lor. Nu trebuie să dezamăgim milioane de antreprenori, salariați și agricultori, care se așteaptă ca Europa să devină o oportunitate reală într-o lume deschisă, o Europă care să construiască o economie în slujba oamenilor, în măsură să integreze ecologia, echilibrul climatic, durabilitatea, dar și noile tehnologii și strategia digitală, ca pe niște oportunități și nu constrângeri. Piața internă trebuie să fie scoasă din logica cifrelor și a birocrației și să genereze bunăstare pentru oameni.

Dar, mai presus de toate, așteptăm de la dumneavoastră, doamnă Ursula von der Leyen, o conducere europeană și proeuropeană reală. Europa nu este doar administrație, ci este în primul rând o ambiție politică, o ambiție a cetățenilor. Dacă veți fi confirmată de acest Parlament, ceea ce eu vă doresc, veți auzi adesea în jurul dumneavoastră explicații și argumente care să vă convingă că multe schimbări nu sunt posibile și, totuși, va trebui să le faceți posibile.

**Philippe Lamberts**, au nom du groupe *Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, notre maison commune brûle. Elle brûle d'un climat qui se détraque, d'une biodiversité qui s'effondre et de ressources naturelles qui s'épuisent. Elle brûle d'inégalités toujours plus profondes, alimentées par la mondialisation néolibérale et les révolutions technologiques. Elle brûle d'un recul brutal, ou parfois plus sournois, des libertés fondamentales et de l'état de droit.

Face à cette triple urgence, la bonne volonté et les intentions générales ne suffisent pas. Il nous faut une détermination farouche à changer de cap, quitte à heurter de front les intérêts de ceux qui défendent le statu quo.

Telle est notre détermination et c'est sur un tel mandat pour le changement que le groupe des Verts/Alliance libre européenne a été élu en mai.

Vous voici donc aujourd'hui face à nous, Madame von der Leyen. Il y a trois semaines encore, vous n'aviez pas la moindre idée que vous brigueriez la plus haute fonction de l'Union européenne. C'est peu dire que l'apprentissage a dû être rapide.

Vos prestations de la semaine dernière ne nous avaient pas convaincus de votre sens de l'urgence, ni de votre détermination à réorienter les politiques de l'Union. Par comparaison, le discours que vous venez de prononcer et les écrits qui l'accompagnent constituent un net progrès. Je salue votre plaidoyer, étayé par des mesures concrètes, pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes.

Je relève aussi que vous vous dites personnellement favorable à la réduction de moitié de nos émissions de CO<sub>2</sub> d'ici 2030, que vous reprenez à votre compte l'idée d'une taxe carbone aux frontières ou encore celle d'une réassurance chômage européenne, autant d'idées taboues dans la famille politique dont vous venez; je salue à cet égard votre courage. Mais si votre discours est aujourd'hui plus concret, il reste bien en deçà de nos attentes. Laissez-moi vous expliquer pourquoi sur la base de quelques exemples.

Pourquoi, par exemple, relever en deux étapes nos objectifs climatiques face à l'urgence, et pas immédiatement? En fait, quand on lit le détail de ce que vous écrivez à deux groupes politiques, on sent poindre cette idée de la conditionnalité. Autrement dit, nous avancerons lorsque les autres seront prêts à avancer aussi.

Vous soulignez, à juste titre, que la transition écologique ne doit laisser personne au bord de la route. Or, vous ne pouvez ignorer que si le prix du carbone augmente, tout le monde – et, en particulier, les plus précaires – sera touché.

La réponse à cela n'est pas, comme vous le suggérez, un Fonds d'ajustement européen, mais bien une révision profonde de notre fiscalité pour qu'enfin elle redevienne juste. L'environnement, ce n'est pas non plus que le climat. Pas un mot de votre part sur la biodiversité ou l'épuisement des ressources comme les terres arables ou l'eau douce. En ces domaines, la politique agricole commune, premier budget de l'Union, a un impact désastreux. Une révolution copernicienne s'impose donc, mais cela reste tabou pour vous. Les grandes ambitions se fracasseraient-elles sur les intérêts bien compris de certains?

Passons aux traités de libre-échange. En leur forme actuelle, ils sont des instruments cardinaux d'une mondialisation qui, à la fois, épuise la planète et accentue les inégalités. Vous vous dites favorable à ce que ces traités incluent, comme ils le font déjà, des clauses de développement durable, mais vous vous absteniez prudemment de vous engager à ce que ces clauses soient contraignantes et sanctionnables. Pas un mot non plus sur le traitement de faveur qui continue à être réservé à ceux qu'on appelle les investisseurs.

Sur la question de l'asile et des migrations, je ne vous ai pas entendu véritablement remettre en cause le scandale de l'«Europe forteresse». Il est honteux et indigne que l'Union s'appuie sur des régimes autoritaires ou des États faillis pour assurer coûte que coûte l'étanchéité de ses frontières. Et cela au prix de violations massives des droits humains, commises parfois par des bandes armées comme ces fameux gardes-côtes libyens, financés avec de l'argent européen. Vous nous proposez un nouveau pacte sur l'asile et les migrations. Madame von der Leyen, ce pacte existe. Il a été adopté par une majorité de cinq groupes politiques par ce Parlement. Ne réinventez pas la roue! Reprenez-le à votre compte et allez combattre le Conseil!

Enfin, sur l'état de droit, votre langage est d'autant plus fort que vos propositions restent relativement vagues. S'agit-il ici de changer la donne et de faire en sorte que les valeurs européennes soient respectées partout et en tout temps ou, au contraire, de ménager ces chefs d'État et de gouvernement qui, au sein même de l'Union, comme en Hongrie et en Pologne, bafouent régulièrement les libertés fondamentales et la séparation des pouvoirs?

Pour résumer, là où un changement de cap s'impose à la mesure de la triple urgence sociale, environnementale et démocratique, vous proposez ici une inflexion, là des changements incrémentaux et, surtout, beaucoup de flou.

Vous comprendrez que, dans ces conditions, les écologistes ne sont pas prêts aujourd'hui à vous confier le gouvernail de l'Union.

Chère Madame von der Leyen, je veux souligner que depuis les élections, le groupe Verts/Alliance libre européenne n'a ménagé aucun effort pour constituer ici une majorité à la fois pro-européenne et pro-changement. Pareille entreprise requiert du temps pour porter ses fruits. Votre insistance à obtenir un vote aujourd'hui nous prive de ce temps.

Si nous saluons votre courtoisie à notre égard, nous n'avons pas senti de votre part une réelle préférence pour une pareille alliance. Au contraire, nous vous sentons prête à accueillir tout soutien d'où qu'il vienne, y compris des rangs nationaux populistes. Cela, nous ne pouvons nous y retrouver. Mais, comme je vous le disais il y a une semaine, la vente commence quand le client dit non.

Si vous deviez être élue ce soir, soyez assurée que nous serons prêts à nous laisser convaincre et à apporter notre concours chaque fois que vos propositions seront à la hauteur de l'urgence sociale, environnementale et démocratique, autrement dit à la hauteur des défis existentiels auxquels nous avons à faire face.

**Jörg Meuthen**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, werte Frau Ministerin von der Leyen, geschätzte Kollegen! Wir haben heute in diesem Haus eine sehr wichtige und exponierte Personalentscheidung zu treffen. Das Amt des Präsidenten der Europäischen Kommission ist von großer Bedeutung für die Union und ihre Mitgliedstaaten. Darum will diese Entscheidung mit großer Sorgfalt getroffen sein. Nur eine Person höchster Eignung kann für diese Position infrage kommen. Frau Ministerin von der Leyen, bei allem Respekt vor Ihrer Person, wir von der Fraktion Identität und Demokratie sind nach sorgfältiger Prüfung der Meinung, dass Sie den Ansprüchen, die an dieses Amt zu stellen sind, nicht gewachsen sind.

Ich möchte das kurz begründen: Zunächst haben wir Deutsche mit Ihrer Art der Amtsführung und Politikgestaltung unsere ganz eigenen Erfahrungen. Wir haben Sie im Laufe der Jahre in Deutschland als Familienministerin, als Ministerin für Arbeit und Soziales, schließlich als Ministerin der Verteidigung erlebt. In keinem dieser Ämter sind Sie Ihrer Aufgabe, dem Wohle des deutschen Volkes zu dienen, zufriedenstellend gerecht geworden. Ich erspare Ihnen und dem Auditorium hier eine explizite Auflistung Ihres Scheiterns. Sie haben unsere Truppe kaputtgespart. Sie ist heute miserabel wie nie ausgestattet und praktisch nicht verteidigungsfähig. Es wird ein großes Aufatmen in der Bundeswehr geben, wenn Sie morgen ungeachtet des Ausgangs des heutigen Tages Ihr Amt als Verteidigungsministerin niederlegen. Ein kompletter Neustart in praktisch allen Bereichen wird hier vonnöten sein.

Nun haben gerade deutsche Regierungen in früheren Zeiten oft missliebig gewordene Politiker auf Brüsseler Posten untergebracht. Das aber kann der Anspruch hier und heute wohl nicht mehr sein. Nichts spricht aus unserer Sicht dafür, dass Sie die Position der Kommissionspräsidentschaft besser ausfüllen würden als Ihre vorherigen Ämter. Ihre Vorstellungstour durch das Haus und seine Fraktionen, Ihre lange Liste an wolkigen Versprechungen von diesem und jenem und meist zugleich auch von seinem Gegenteil, je nachdem wo sie gerade vorstellig wurden, fiel ja beileibe nicht nur uns kritisch auf. Den Linken und Liberalen versichern Sie, am Artikel-7-Verfahren gegen Polen und Ungarn strikt festhalten zu wollen. In der EKR-Fraktion sagen Sie milde *rules of law* und Toleranz bei der Verteilung von Migranten zu. Diese Widersprüche sind eklatant. Und heute servieren Sie hier einen schier unglaublichen Strauß an wohlklingenden Schlagwörtern. Für alle und jeden soll etwas dabei sein, was sie gerne hören. Sie legen hier in Ihrer Bewerbungstour ein klassisches Mainstream-Politikerverhalten an den Tag, machen leere Versprechungen, spielen eine Art von Jekyll and Hyde mit den Fraktionen in der banger Hoffnung, am Ende irgendwie genug Stimmen für Ihre Wahl generieren zu können. Ihr Problem bei alledem ist: Ihnen fehlt jede überzeugende Vision einer modernen, einer den Menschen der Union wirklich dienenden, einer sich klug und sinnvoll auf ihre Kernaufgaben beschränkenden Union der Vaterländer. Im Gegenteil: Sie versprechen hier noch mehr Zentralisierung, noch mehr Besteuerung, noch mehr Bevormundung, noch mehr Kompetenzanmaßung und eben sich komplett widersprechende Inhalte. Sie sind noch ganz im alten Denken behaftet, spüren das aber offenkundig nicht. Von den Fragen, die ich Ihnen vergangene Woche in der Konferenz der Präsidenten für meine Fraktion gestellt habe, haben Sie zwei erst gar nicht und die dritte hochgradig unbefriedigend beantwortet. Uns von der ID-Fraktion können Sie mit einer solchen sozialistischen Anbiederungs-Performance, wie heute hier vorgetragen, nicht überzeugen. Wir werden deshalb gegen Sie stimmen.

(Beifall)

**Raffaele Fitto**, a nome del gruppo ECR. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, L'ho ascoltata con molta attenzione, signora von der Leyen, l'ho fatto anche nella nostra riunione di gruppo, e devo dire che, nel suo intervento di oggi, le posizioni sono abbastanza cambiate rispetto a quanto abbiamo ascoltato la settimana scorsa.

Farò un intervento partendo da un dato, da quello che Lei ha affermato, in più circostanze, in questi giorni, rispetto al ruolo del Parlamento: lo ha chiamato giustamente «il cuore della democrazia». Parto da questo per dire che in questa sede noi abbiamo sistemi in grado di far funzionare le cose, ma le cose funzionano solo se tutti rispettano il sistema.

Ha parlato di parità di genere, ha parlato della grande importanza e rilevanza del ruolo di una donna per la prima volta a capo della Commissione. Lo fa a poche ore di distanza da quello che è accaduto ieri sera in questo Parlamento, nel quale un'altra donna, tra le più votate in Europa in assoluto, già primo ministro del suo paese in Polonia, non è stata votata presidente della commissione EMPL per una scelta faziosa, antidemocratica, illogica e incomprensibile.

E parto da questo, perché penso che sia importante quando richiamiamo le regole ricordarcene sempre, diversamente rischiamo di apparire ipocriti rispetto alle regole, perché non si può in alcun modo immaginare di chiedere un consenso o di dare un ruolo al Parlamento non rispettando il metodo d'Hondt o avendo dei pregiudizi di questa gravità.

E perché la nostra posizione porterà ad una riflessione ancor più attenta? Perché Lei nelle scorse ore ha scritto delle lettere e, si sa, le parole volano e invece gli scritti restano. E quindi noi abbiamo letto con molta attenzione le lettere che Lei ha scritto al gruppo dei socialisti e al gruppo Renew e su questo Le chiediamo questa mattina dei chiarimenti, esattamente come hanno fatto gli altri gruppi.

Ma, se possibile, rispetto per esempio alle cose che ha detto la collega García Pérez, opposte a quelle che Lei ha chiesto. Cioè Lei ha chiesto un chiarimento sul tema del meccanismo dello Stato di diritto. Ebbene, noi Le chiediamo altrettanto di far chiarezza su questo, nella sua replica, però da posizioni diametralmente opposte, perché se il metodo è quello degli scorsi cinque anni, inventato da Timmermans, certamente noi siamo su una posizione totalmente alternativa e di contrasto e quindi non abbiamo chiarezza rispetto al meccanismo dello Stato di diritto, così come è importante parlare anche dei cambiamenti climatici. Perché è evidente che sul tema dei cambiamenti climatici esistono dei punti positivi, che sono stati indicati da Lei, come il *Just Transition Fund* per aiutare le comunità a mitigare gli effetti della politica climatica, una banca per gli investimenti sostenibili per mobilitare il capitale privato, ma ancora una volta si discute di target. Stiamo spostando sempre più in alto i paletti delle nostre ambizioni senza dire come poterli realizzare.

Ci porremo mai un obiettivo e ci atterremo realmente ad esso? È tutto un po' confuso. Lei suggerisce di cambiarlo, stamattina se ho capito bene il 50 %, la settimana scorsa il 55 %, non mi sembra una differenza minima rispetto all'obiettivo da realizzare e tutto questo sembra più una dichiarazione di intenti, visto che ci sono paesi che, come è noto, e Lei sa molto bene, hanno più di un terzo di produzione di carbone.

Ma ancora il tema della politica sociale al quale si fa riferimento. Un tema importante come quello che il nostro gruppo ha sempre avuto modo di criticare, perché si parla con entusiasmo del salario minimo europeo che garantisca a tutti i giovani un posto di lavoro, con quali risorse e con quale rapporto rispetto alla politica dei singoli Stati membri su tutto questo?

E ancora sull'immigrazione, Lei ci ha fatto questa mattina un esempio di scuola molto bello, positivo. Ci ha raccontato che un profugo è arrivato in Germania, è stato da Lei accolto e che poi è diventata una storia molto bella e interessante. Ebbene, non è così, perché oltre ai profughi ci sono gli immigrati, ci sono gli immigrati clandestini e ci sono situazioni per le quali è bene chiederle una parola di chiarezza, perché in questo Parlamento, nei giorni scorsi è accaduto qualcosa dal nostro punto di vista molto grave.

Perché una persona che è sotto inchiesta nel nostro paese per aver speronato una nave della Guardia di finanza, non rispettando gli ordini delle autorità nazionali e rischiando di far morire degli uomini delle forze dell'ordine italiane, in questo Parlamento, la settimana scorsa è stata oggetto di un dibattito all'interno della commissione LIBE per poterla invitare a un'audizione.

Sono degli approcci semplici, per i quali io Le chiedo delle risposte altrettanto chiare, perché con queste risposte potrà agevolare la nostra riflessione che sarà fatta al termine di questo dibattito nella nostra riunione di gruppo.

**Martin Schirdewan, im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion.** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau von der Leyen! Es ist ja viel die Rede gewesen von den europäischen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern, und ich habe in den letzten Tagen Hunderte, wenn nicht Tausende E-Mails bekommen, wie wahrscheinlich viele andere Kolleginnen und Kollegen auch, die sich mit Ihrer Nominierung auseinandersetzen. Ich möchte die Gelegenheit nutzen, dem europäischen Demos hier auch das Wort zu erteilen, indem ich aus einer dieser E-Mails zitiere. Da steht: „Als Wählerin erwarte ich, dass das Parlament einen der Spitzenkandidaten zum Präsidenten beziehungsweise zur Präsidentin der Europäischen Kommission wählt.“ Und die Dame, aus deren E-Mail ich gerade zitiere, setzt dann fort: „Die Ernennung einer Verteidigungsministerin zur Kommissionspräsidentin wäre aus meiner Sicht eine Entscheidung mit fataler Signalwirkung, dass die EU einen Kurs in Richtung Militarisierung und Abschottung nimmt.“ Ich finde, an dieser Stelle ist weder der Kritik am Verfahren Ihrer Nominierung noch am Inhalt etwas hinzuzufügen.

Ich möchte auf das Treffen Bezug nehmen, das wir in der letzten Woche hatten. Sie waren in der Linksfraktion und haben Ihre Idee, Ihre Vision von der europäischen Zukunft vorgestellt, und da ist deutlich geworden, dass unsere Vision eine andere ist. Ich will das an dieser Stelle auch begründen. Wir lehnen als einzige Fraktion hier im Haus geschlossen die Fortsetzung der Austeritätspolitik ab. Und wenn jemand wie Sie, wer wie Sie von der Zukunft Europas spricht, der muss meiner Ansicht nach endlich mit dieser falschen neoliberalen Ideologie brechen. Die Sparpolitik hat eben nicht dazu geführt, dass zum Beispiel die Staatshaushalte saniert worden sind, sondern ganz im Gegenteil hat sie ausschließlich dazu geführt, dass zum Beispiel öffentliche Investitionen nicht mehr vorgenommen werden konnten, dass in Bildung nicht mehr investiert wurde, dass in Gesundheitsschutz nicht mehr investiert wurde, und auch dazu, dass keine Mittel zur Verfügung standen, um entschieden gegen den Klimawandel zu kämpfen. Die Leidtragenden dieser Politik sind die Bürgerinnen und Bürger in der gesamten Europäischen Union.

Frau von der Leyen, wer den Klimanotstand bekämpfen will, der muss jetzt handeln, und wer den wirtschaftlichen Strukturwandel bewältigen will, der muss jetzt investieren, und wer soziale Sicherheit garantieren will in der Europäischen Union, der muss jetzt mit dieser falschen Austeritätspolitik brechen. 113 Millionen Menschen – das sind offizielle Zahlen der Kommission – leben in der Europäischen Union in Armut oder sind von Armut betroffen, und da erwarte ich von einer Kommissionspräsidentenskandidatin mehr als blumige Worte. Da erwarte ich, dass Sie hier stehen und sagen: Ja, ich habe verstanden, wir brauchen eine soziale Offensive für die Europäische Union. Mein Ziel ist es, dass in fünf Jahren keine europäische Bürgerin und kein europäischer Bürger – egal welchen Alters, egal in welcher Region – mehr von Existenznot betroffen ist, sondern ein würdevolles Leben führen kann.

Dafür braucht es natürlich die finanziellen Voraussetzungen. Aber zum Beispiel im Bereich der Steuerpolitik sind Sie heute ja leider sehr vage geblieben. Ich sag Ihnen: Samthandschuhe sind das falsche Werkzeug, um für Steuergerechtigkeit zu sorgen. Ich erwarte von einer Kandidatin für die Kommissionspräsidentenschaft den entschiedenen Willen und den Mut, sich auch mit den Konzernen anzulegen und hier ganz klar zu sagen: Ja, ich will das Steuerdumping beenden, ich will die Steueroasen auch in der Europäischen Union schließen, und ich will Konzerne und Vermögen endlich wieder gerecht am Steueraufkommen beteiligen und für Steuergerechtigkeit sorgen.

(Beifall)

Weitere Milliarden sollen ja jetzt in die Aufrüstung der Europäischen Union gesteckt werden. Das haben Sie auch nochmal deutlich gemacht. Das ist also Geld, was zum Beispiel für die soziale Sicherheit, für Gesundheit, für Bildung etc. fehlen wird, und das wird eben nicht in die öffentliche Daseinsvorsorge fließen, sondern zum Beispiel in moderne Waffensysteme. Manch einer träumt ja heutzutage sogar schon von einer Weltraumarmee. Ich finde, ehrlich gesagt, das ist eher ein Alptraum. Aber ob Sie nun von einer europäischen Armee oder von einer Armee der Europäer sprechen, das ist für mich Wortklauberei an der Stelle. Denn das Ziel ist doch ganz klar: Das Ergebnis ist eine Aufrüstung der Europäischen Union und eine Militarisierung der Außenpolitik. Das lehnen wir als Linksfraktion im Europäischen Parlament entschieden ab. Wir fordern eine EU-Strategie zur Stärkung diplomatischer Konfliktlösung. Ein erster Schritt wäre unserer Ansicht nach die Einberufung einer internationalen Abrüstungskonferenz.

Einen letzten Punkt möchte ich noch erwähnen. Die europäischen Außengrenzen sind derzeit die tödlichsten Grenzen der Welt. Ich halte es für eine politische Bankrotterklärung europäischer Politik, dass jeden Tag Menschen im Mittelmeer sterben müssen, während diejenigen, die die universellen Menschenrechte verteidigen, in einigen Mitgliedstaaten kriminalisiert werden. Frau von der Leyen, ich habe sehr genau zugehört, was Sie vorhin dazu gesagt haben.

Wir werden als Linksfraktion sehr genau darauf achten, welche Politik Sie versuchen umzusetzen. Ich denke aber, dass unser Plan – und das ist deutlich geworden – für die Zukunft der Europäischen Union, einer sozialen Europäischen Union, einer klimagerechten Europäischen Union und einer friedlichen Europäischen Union, mit Ihrer Vision wenig kompatibel ist. Deswegen werden wir heute leider nicht für Sie stimmen können.

**Nigel Farage (NI).** – Mr President, I may be speaking from the back of the chamber today but, as I predicted last time I was here, in the European elections the Brexit Party were very much to the front of the elections and massive, massive winners. I come back to a place that has been humbled and humiliated.

The European Council stitch-up has rendered this place impotent, until today when you've got some real power if you choose to use it. What you've seen from Ursula von der Leyen today is an attempt for the European Union to take control of every single aspect of our lives. She wants to build a centralised, undemocratic, updated form of communism, where the state controls everything and nation-state parliaments will cease to have any relevance at all. I have to say, from our perspective, that in some ways I'm really rather pleased, because you've just made Brexit a lot more popular in the United Kingdom. Thank God we're leaving.

But it is in the aspects of defence that, I think, people's minds should be focused. She's a fanatic for building a European army, but she's not alone. When it's completed, NATO will cease to exist or have any relevance in Europe at all. And, not to be left out of this, French President, Emmanuel Macron, on Bastille Day last Sunday, stood at the front of an open-top car with his nascent European defence force behind him looking for all the world like an updated version of Napoleon.

Be in no doubt. Five years of these people and the European defence union will be complete. What is there for defence can also be used for attack. You, as a House, will have no control over it. Vote against this nominee. Strike a blow for democracy. Strike a blow for your citizens. Do it today.

**Ursula von der Leyen, Kandidatin für das Amt des Präsidenten der Kommission.** – Vielen Dank Herr Präsident! Ich muss ganz ehrlich sagen, wenn ich dem letzten Redner gerade zugehört habe, will ich noch einmal bekräftigen, wie sehr uns an unseren britischen Freunden liegt, wie intensiv wir in der Zukunft auch mit ihnen zusammenarbeiten wollen, aber Mister Farage, Reden wie die Ihre, auf die können wir weiß Gott verzichten.

(Beifall)

Und das ist das Schöne an diesem Europa: In diesem Europa sind Länder freiwillig in der Europäischen Union zusammen, weil niemand sie gezwungen hat, sondern weil wir gemeinsam wissen, dass wir zusammen stärker sind, dass wir gemeinsam Werte verteidigen können, die uns wichtig sind und die uns zusammengebracht haben, dass die Aufgaben der Welt, die uns herausfordern, so groß sind, dass keiner von uns sie alleine bewältigen kann, aber dass wir, wenn wir zusammenarbeiten, eine Kraft entwickeln, eine *Soft Power*, die einzigartig europäisch ist, auf den Werten unserer Europäischen Union gegründet, und die uns stark macht und uns auch ermöglicht, diese Zukunft zu bewältigen, die wir für unsere Kinder mit großer Kraft und mit großer Zuversicht angehen wollen.

Deshalb möchte ich auf einige der Themen eingehen: Die soziale Marktwirtschaft, ein europäisches Alleinstellungsmerkmal, ist eben diese wunderschöne Verbindung von einer kraftvollen Wirtschaft. Aber wir wissen, dass wir alle gemeinsam in dieser kraftvollen Wirtschaft arbeiten, und deshalb muss das Ergebnis dieser kraftvollen Wirtschaft auch zurückgegeben werden an die Menschen. Das ist soziale Marktwirtschaft. Deshalb reden wir über die soziale Säule, die gemeinsam vom Rat, vom Europäischen Parlament und von der Kommission verabschiedet worden ist. Das heißt, eine stärkere Unterstützung dafür, dass es richtig ist, an diesen Themen mit aller Ambition, mit aller Zielstrebigkeit zu arbeiten, kann es gar nicht geben. Wir werden nie perfekt sein, aber die Anstrengung besser zu werden, die einzelnen Themen in der sozialen Säule auch tatsächlich mit Kraft anzugehen, das muss unser oberstes Ziel sein.



Und wenn das Thema der Nachhaltigkeitsziele, die für uns Leitschnur sind, angesprochen wird, dann sind die Nachhaltigkeitsziele doch in unser aller Interesse. Wir haben doch alle inzwischen verstanden, dass die Uhr tickt, dass die Zeit begrenzt ist, dass unser Planet Hilfe braucht, dass unsere Schöpfung die Lebensgrundlage ist, in der wir unser gesamtes Leben aufbauen, dass dieses in einer klimafreundlichen und in einer nachhaltigen Weise betrachtet werden muss. Und deshalb es in unser aller Interesse, die Nachhaltigkeitsziele auch mit aller Kraft und mit aller Intensität umsetzen zu können.

Was die zwei Schritte angeht, so müssen sie parallel erfolgen. Das, was ich eben gesagt habe, impliziert ja, dass wir kraftvolle Veränderungen bei uns zu Hause in der Europäischen Union angehen müssen, aber wir wissen, dass wir genauso parallel Veränderungen auf diesem Globus der großen Player brauchen. Und da kann Europa eine Führungsrolle einnehmen, da muss Europa eine Führungsrolle einnehmen, um diese Veränderung voranzubringen. Es hat im Klimaabkommen von Paris schon einmal einzigartig dieses Bündeln aller Kräfte gegeben. Lasst uns darauf zurückgreifen, lasst uns auch in diesem Geist weiter mit einer der drängendsten Aufgaben, die wir überhaupt haben, vorangehen!

Die zweite große drängende Aufgabe ist das Thema der Digitalisierung, und auch da brauchen wir vereinte Kräfte. Auch da brauchen wir einerseits die Kräfte, die in der Lage sein müssen, diese Digitalisierung mit Schwung anzugehen, unsere Wirtschaft voranzubringen, ihr die Möglichkeiten zu geben, andererseits aber auch im Sinne unserer sozialen Marktwirtschaft mit ethischen Rahmen das ganze Thema „künstliche Intelligenz“ und Risiken das ganze Thema „Verhalten im Cyberraum“ mit großer Sorgfalt, Behutsamkeit und mit Maß auch angehen zu können. Und wir müssen in der Cybersicherheit kraftvoller werden als Europäer. Wir wissen, dass es dort viele Risiken gibt, die wir nur gemeinsam bewältigen können. Seien es Risiken, die für unsere Wirtschaft relevant sind, oder seien es Risiken, die für unsere Gesellschaft relevant sind. Und auch da ist kein Staat von uns allein in der Lage, das zu bewältigen, sondern wir können nur gemeinsam hier die Sicherheit für unser Europa aufbauen, die dieses Europa auch verdient hat.

Die Menschen in der Digitalisierung – das ist doch die nobelste Aufgabe unserer sozialen Marktwirtschaft, dass wir die Grundprinzipien des Schutzes, nämlich, dass wenn hier jemand arbeitet, er oder sie auch Schutz bekommt in dem Maß, wie gearbeitet wird, und der Art und Weise der Arbeitsbedingungen, bei denen wir jetzt lernen müssen, wie sie in die digitalisierte Welt zu übertragen sind. Das Thema der Clickworker oder der Cloudworker – wie können wir dort die Grundprinzipien des Schutzes und der Leistungsfähigkeit umsetzen?

All das sind Aufgaben, die wir gemeinsam bewältigen wollen, und deshalb habe ich Ihnen mit großem Interesse zugehört. Ich kann nur sagen Herr Meuthen, wenn ich Ihnen zugehört habe, dann bin ich ja geradezu erleichtert, dass ich von Ihnen keine Stimme bekomme. Das ist für mich das absolute Gegenteil von dem, was ich erwarte.

*(Lebhafter Beifall)*

**Nico Semsrott (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident! Ich möchte mich beziehen auf Annex 7 Artikel 1 „Volle Offenlegung der finanziellen Interessen“ und Artikel 2, das Parlament aufzufordern, zu überprüfen, ob ein Interessenskonflikt vorliegt. Ich habe auch schon einen Vorschlag, wie das aussehen könnte. Das hier wäre der Ansatz:

*(Der Redner zeigt sein mit verschiedenen Stickern besetztes Sweatshirt und setzt eine Brille auf.)*

**Daniel Caspary (PPE).** – Herr Präsident! Wir als Europäische Volkspartei und wir als deutsche Christdemokraten sind mit Manfred Weber als Spitzenkandidat in diese Europawahl gezogen und wir wollten, dass er Präsident der Europäischen Kommission wird. Aber nachdem nach der Wahl im Europäischen Rat einige Staats- und Regierungschefs den Wählerwillen mit Füßen getreten haben, nachdem hier im Europäischen Parlament leider einige Fraktionen nicht wie vor fünf Jahren den Mut hatten, auch den Spitzenkandidaten der siegreichen Fraktion zum Präsidenten der Europäischen Kommission zu machen, sind wir glücklich und froh, Sie, Frau von der Leyen, heute als Kandidatin hier im Plenarsaal zu haben, und wir werden bis 18 Uhr alles tun, was wir können, damit Sie auch eine Mehrheit für dieses Amt bekommen und Präsidentin der Europäischen Kommission werden.

Zweitens: Wir stehen hier in der Europäischen Union in schwierigen Situationen, und Sie haben ein Riesenaufgabenpaket vor sich. Wann immer wir in den letzten Jahren vor schwierigen Themen standen, waren wir hier im Europäischen Parlament dazu in der Lage, fraktionsübergreifend – nicht mit allen Fraktionen, weil es leider Extremisten und Populisten gibt, die Europa nicht weiterentwickeln, sondern zerstören wollen – zwischen vielen proeuropäischen Fraktionen Kompromisse zu schließen und diesen Kontinent im Interesse der Bürgerinnen und Bürger weiterzuentwickeln. Deswegen meine Bitte: Nehmen Sie dieses Europäische Parlament – es haben mehr als die Hälfte der Bürgerinnen und Bürger bei der Europawahl mitgemacht – immer als Partner, wenn es darum geht, Europa voranzubringen und gegen Blockadehaltung im Europäischen Rat anzugehen. Die Europäische Kommission und wir im Parlament waren immer an der Speerspitze der Weiterentwicklung der Europäischen Union. Ich wünsche mir, dass Sie auch in Zukunft genau diese Speerspitze mit uns gemeinsam bilden.

Sehr geehrter Herr Meuthen, wir haben uns Ihre Schimpf-, Verleumdungs- und Hasstiraden gegenüber Frau von der Leyen angehört. Und da Sie gestern Abend als Bundesvorsitzender Ihrer Partei im eigenen Kreisverband nicht mal eine Mehrheit gefunden haben, Bundesparteitagsdelegierter zu werden, können wir Ihren Frust verstehen, aber dafür kann Frau von der Leyen nichts. Und deswegen: Suchen Sie sich bitte einen anderen Ort, um Ihren Frust abzuladen.

(Beifall)

**Roberto Gualtieri (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora von der Leyen, la Sua nomina è il risultato di un difficile stallo che ha visto il Consiglio europeo incapace di trovare la maggioranza richiesta per nessuno degli Spitzenkandidaten. È una possibilità prevista dalle regole e tuttavia, politicamente e istituzionalmente, si tratta di una ferita cui è necessario porre rimedio per non inaridire il processo di costruzione di una vera democrazia europea.

Per questo è importante che il nostro gruppo – e anche altri – abbiano intavolato con Lei un negoziato politico e programmatico, vincolando il nostro sostegno a degli impegni precisi. Si tratta di una novità significativa che può rafforzare il rapporto tra i cittadini e l'Europa e che va presa sul serio da tutti, a partire dal Consiglio, altrimenti il danno di credibilità sarà incalcolabile.

Nella Sua lettera al nostro gruppo e nel Suo bel discorso, Lei ha risposto positivamente a molte delle nostre richieste. Obiettivi ambientali più ambiziosi, piano di investimenti per la sostenibilità che – preciso bene – richiede più investimenti pubblici, pieno utilizzo della flessibilità per garantire il sostegno alla crescita, schema europeo di riassicurazione dei sussidi di disoccupazione, salario minimo, garanzia europea contro la povertà infantile, base consolidata comune per la tassazione delle imprese, difesa dello Stato di diritto, corridoi umanitari, nuovo patto per la migrazione e l'asilo basato sulla solidarietà, e poi, sul piano istituzionale, diritto d'iniziativa del Parlamento, passaggio al metodo comunitario in ambiti cruciali, rafforzamento del sistema degli Spitzenkandidaten.

Appreziamo questi impegni e ci batteremo con determinazione per la loro piena attuazione. Dalla Sua lettera e dal dibattito mi sembra risulti evidente – e questo è positivo – che gli interlocutori politici della nuova Commissione sono e saranno le forze proeuropee e noi non accetteremo mai nessuna ambiguità in tal senso. Mi sembra che risulti chiaro – e questo è un bene per l'Europa – che i sovranisti nazionalisti sono e saranno irrilevanti.

Signora von der Leyen, il nostro gruppo sarà un interlocutore attento ed esigente. Noi non ci accontentiamo delle parole. Se a queste parole non seguiranno i fatti, Lei non avrà più il nostro sostegno. Se, al contrario, gli impegni che Le abbiamo chiesto saranno ribaditi e concretizzati, Lei potrà contare sul nostro contributo leale, vigile e combattivo per un'Europa migliore, più unita e più giusta.

**Stéphane Séjourné (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame von der Leyen, je n'ai qu'une minute; aussi, je serai bref et j'irai droit au but. Nous, la délégation française et notre groupe, vous apporterons notre soutien à 18 heures pour que vous ayez une majorité assez ample de pro-européens dans cet hémicycle lors de l'élection à la présidence de la Commission.

Nous avons vécu une élection un peu particulière, avec des nationalistes qui nous prédisaient qu'ils auraient une majorité dans cet hémicycle, où siègent aujourd'hui une majorité de pro-européens de tous bords prêts à soutenir un certain nombre de propositions que vous avez formulées.

Nous avons retrouvé dans votre projet plusieurs propositions que nous portions: la banque sur le climat, notamment, la neutralité carbone, la question de la taxe carbone et du salaire minimum, autant d'éléments importants pour un certain nombre de groupes politiques, notamment parmi les pro-européens de cet hémicycle. Il faudra aller plus loin, notamment sur les accords commerciaux, et subordonner l'ensemble des accords commerciaux à l'accord de Paris – à l'initiative de la Commission, éventuellement.

Je voudrais également adresser un message aux Verts notamment, puisque si nous avons une majorité de pro-européens dans cet hémicycle, nous avons aussi besoin de l'ensemble des pro-européens sur ce projet. Ceux qui nous disent tous les jours que l'urgence climatique est la plus importante ont raison. Ceux qui nous disent que cette question doit être traitée dans cet hémicycle, parce qu'elle est d'envergure européenne, voire mondiale, doivent aussi, au vu de vos déclarations et de vos propositions, être au rendez-vous de l'histoire.

C'est la première fois que nous avons de telles propositions, en tout cas un tel engagement environnemental, dans cet hémicycle. Nous avons besoin d'une majorité de pro-européens autour de votre candidature. Par conséquent, j'appelle à la responsabilité et à l'engagement autour de vous et d'une majorité de pro-européens pour cette Commission.

**Sven Giegold (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident! Frau Ministerin von der Leyen, Sie haben uns einen *Green Deal* angeboten, doch in diesem *Deal* ist eine grüne Überschrift drauf, aber wenig grüner Inhalt drin. Unsere Welt steht vor zwei großen ökologischen Krisen: der Klimakrise und der Krise des Artensterbens. Bei der Klimakrise hat dieses Parlament klar gesagt, dass wir bis 2030 minus 55 % liefern müssen. Sie haben heute nicht klar erklärt, dass Sie sich dieses Ziel mit voller Kraft zu eigen machen. Das ist jedoch der Maßstab, den die Menschen – die jungen Menschen auf den Straßen Europas – zu Recht fordern und den die Wissenschaft von uns fordert. Wir brauchen eine eindeutige Zusage minus 55 % Treibhausgase bis 2030.

(Beifall)

Und das Zweite ist das Artensterben. Sie haben relevante Teile ihres Lebens in Hannover gelebt, ich habe dort Schmetterlinge und Libellen gezählt. Die Tiere, die ich damals gezählt habe in der Hannoveraner Region, sind heute nicht mehr da. Sie haben nichts gesagt zur Biodiversitätskrise. Wir fordern ganz klar eine neue europäische Agrarpolitik, die die Bauern schützt und das Artensterben beendet. Verpflichten Sie sich heute, eine neue europäische Agrarpolitik vorzulegen, die das Klima schützt und ökologisch endlich ein Zeichen setzt gegen das grassierende Artensterben. Und zuletzt möchte ich eines noch sagen: An den europäischen Außengrenzen ist es nicht genug, das Sterben im Mittelmeer zu beklagen. Die Frage an Sie ist: Sind Sie bereit, eine europäische Seenotrettungsmission einzusetzen und Frontex mit einem robusten Mandat zum Beenden des Sterbens auszustatten? Ihre Rede war gut. Ihre Inhalte waren nicht gut genug.

**Marco Zanni (ID).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ministro von der Leyen, il Suo discorso è stato un discorso che non ci ha sorpreso. È stato un discorso che abbiamo sentito parecchie volte all'interno di quest'Aula, pieno di promesse che anche Lei sa che non potrà mantenere. Il suo percorso sarà un percorso difficile, lo abbiamo visto in questi giorni e lo abbiamo visto nel dibattito in Aula.

Dovrà bilanciare due parti e due interessi molto divergenti, quelli della destra che vuole un'Europa che controlla l'immigrazione in maniera più forte, che vuole un approccio realista e pragmatico sul clima, che supporta l'economia, la crescita, l'industria e il lavoro, e quello di una sinistra che ha un approccio ideologico, che ha un approccio di accoglienza indiscriminata, che ha un approccio talebano sulla questione del clima, e questo sarà il grande problema del suo mandato.

Da politica di centrodestra decidere se vorrà cedere al ricatto della sinistra, come è sembrata voler fare nelle Sue lettere di risposta ai socialisti e liberali o come è sembrato in molti punti del Suo discorso odierno avere un approccio pragmatico che permetta veramente all'Europa di uscire dal fango dove questo approccio l'ha portata, dalla crisi, dove le politiche sbagliate l'hanno portata, da una crisi senza fine.

Ecco Lei ha parlato di accoglienza, di salvare vite in mare, insomma, tutto bellissimo, però non ho visto molta enfasi nel Suo discorso sui milioni di europei che hanno sofferto e soffrono tutt'oggi per le politiche sbagliate fatte da questa maggioranza. Non ho sentito una parola sul disastro combinato in Grecia e sul fatto che quel paese sia stato distrutto dalle politiche che l'Europa ha voluto imporre, ecco non sembra che Lei né abbia la volontà, né abbia una maggioranza pronta a portare avanti quel cambiamento radicale che i cittadini europei ci hanno chiesto nel voto del 26 maggio.

Radicalizzarsi o escludere a priori le idee di chi la pensa diversamente non aiuterà l'Europa a crescere, non aiuterà Lei a governare, non aiuterà questo Parlamento davvero a stabilire una supremazia o un percorso importante per i prossimi cinque anni. Non crediamo che Lei possa rappresentare il cambiamento che è necessario e non crediamo che avrà vita facile nel mantenere in piedi una maggioranza che fa acqua da tutte le parti e che sembra un colabrodo.

Io, ancora una volta, dico che i voti di chi sta da questa parte dell'Aula conteranno, che nessuno, da questa parte dell'Aula ha offerto supporto per l'elezione del presidente, ma è stata una richiesta che è arrivata proprio nella consapevolezza che questo Parlamento e questa legislatura non si può spostare a sinistra e nella consapevolezza che chi siede in questo gruppo conterà nei prossimi cinque anni per spostare gli equilibri.

**Roberts Zile (ECR).** – Mr President, I would like to say to Ms von der Leyen that in politics, in this House, we understand that you sometimes need to create a majority, but what is always important is what kind of promises you give and how far you go with those promises. Like a chef in a huge restaurant, you are responsible for the ingredients which you will put in a baked pie, what the taste of this pie will be and how satisfied customers will be. After five years, a majority of citizens, in Riga or in a small village in the west of Portugal, should be able to say that this is a good result.

I don't think this will be the case. Why? Last week, you came to our Group and you said that one of the key principles is subsidiarity. Today, I calculated that the first time you said this was after 30 minutes. I don't think that transnational lists will become closer to the hearts of citizens; I don't think that a qualified majority vote can decide everything and be good for everybody. And where are the rights of minorities on the political scene, or proportionality? So, sorry, but it is a bit disappointing today compared with last week.

#### IN THE CHAIR: MAIREAD McGUINNESS

*Vice-President*

**João Ferreira (GUE/NGL).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora von der Leyen, a senhora representa o consenso que há décadas determina o rumo da União Europeia. O consenso das desigualdades entre países em que os superávits de uns são construídos em cima dos défices e dos sacrifícios dos outros. O consenso da precariedade, da instabilidade na vida de milhões de trabalhadores, do desemprego e do subemprego, da desigualdade entre homens e mulheres. O consenso do grande capital, que sacrifica o ambiente e os direitos sociais em prol dos lucros das multinacionais. O consenso das privatizações e do ataque aos serviços públicos. O consenso do militarismo e da guerra.

Pois bem, a Europa do progresso, da justiça social, da defesa do ambiente, a Europa da democracia, da solidariedade, da cooperação e da paz, esta outra Europa não vai nascer deste consenso e é, por isso, que, para a sua eleição, vai contar com os mesmos de sempre. Não contará com aqueles que lutam por esta outra Europa e, asseguro-lhe, que esta luta vai continuar nos próximos anos.

**Martin Sonneborn (NI).** – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Frau von der Leyen, herzlich willkommen! Es freut mich sehr, dass ich ab sofort nicht mehr der unseriöseste Vertreter der europäischen Demokratie bin. Das Personaltableau, das der Rat vorgelegt hat, hat es in sich: Josep Borell – ein spanischer Typ, der als Präsident des Europäischen Hochschulinstituts zurücktreten musste, weil er vergessen hatte, eine jährliche Gratifikation von 300 000 Euro zu erwähnen – soll als Außenbeauftragter die europäischen Werte in der Welt vertreten. Christine Lagarde – eine Juristin, die wegen Veruntreuung von 400 Millionen Euro öffentlicher Gelder schuldig gesprochen wurde und noch nie eine nationale Notenbank geführt hat – soll die EZB leiten. Charles Michel – ein Belgier, der nicht einmal in Belgien eine funktionierende Regierung bilden konnte – soll Ratspräsident werden und für den Ausgleich in einem immer komplexeren Geflecht nationaler Interessen sorgen, und dazu Sie, Frau von der Leyen – eine europapolitisch völlig kenntnisfreie deutsche Ministerin, die lediglich durch einen irren Hang zu überteuerten Beratern, Missmanagement und Euphemismen aufgefallen ist, wie „Trendwende Finanzen“ für die größte deutsche Aufrüstungskampagne seit Kriegsende. Um diese Parade von Inkompetenz und moralischer Wurstigkeit abzusichern, paktieren Sie mit der illiberalen PiS-Partei sowie den Mächtgernefaschisten Orbán und Benito Salvini? Wir sollten Europa nicht den Laien überlassen – Zwinkersmiley.

**Tamás Deutsch (PPE).** – Tisztelt Elnök asszony, tisztelt von der Leyen Asszony! A Néppárt magyar nemzeti delegációjának álláspontját három pontban szeretném összefoglalni.

Először: az Európai Bizottság új elnöke csak akkor jár el helyesen, ha mindent megtesz az Unió külső határainak megvédelem érdekében. A bevándorlást meg kell állítani, és csak így lehet megállítani. A tömegessé vált illegális migráció súlyosan fenyegeti az európai polgárok biztonságát, a békés hétköznapokat, a hagyományos európai életformánkat. Az Európai Bizottság új elnökétől azt várjuk, hogy ismerje el és támogassa az unió külső határait megvédő országok erőfeszítéseit.

Másodszor, az Európai Unióról szóló szerződés negyedik cikkelye így fogalmaz, idézem – „az Unió tiszteletben tartja a tagállamoknak a szerződések előtti egyenlőségét, valamint nemzeti identitását, amely elválaszthatatlan része azok alapvető politikai és alkotmányos berendezkedésének” –, idézet vége. Az elmúlt években az Európai Parlament baloldali bevándorláspárti többsége minden eszközzel, a szerződés hetedik cikkelye szerinti eljárással is ezeket, az Európai Unióról szóló szerződés negyedik cikkelyében rögzített jogokat akarta felszámolni. Az Európai Bizottság új elnökétől azt várjuk, hogy a szerződések őreként tevékenykedő testület vezetőjeként mindent tegyen meg a nemzeti identitás és a tagállamok alkotmányos szuverenitásának maradéktalan tiszteletben tartása érdekében.

Harmadszor, a regionális fejlesztési, valamint az agrártámogatási és vidékfejlesztési források nem könyöradományok az Unió jelenleg még kevésbé fejlett tagországainak, régióinak, az ott élő polgároknak, hanem az Unió működésének egyik alapvető célját, a szerződés harmadik cikkelyében rögzített gazdasági, társadalmi és területi kohézió elérését szolgáló befektetések. Azt várjuk az Európai Bizottság új elnökétől, hogy az Unió következő hétéves keret költségvetése ne büntesse, hanem támogassa az Unió átlagánál nagyobb ütemben fejlődő, gyorsabban felzárkózó, a szegénység visszaszorítása érdekében komoly erőfeszítéseket tevő közép-európai tagállamokat, a V4-országokat.

**Miriam Dalli (S&D).** – Madam President, the next five years require leadership that does not consider ‘business as usual’ as the point of departure. We need a European Commission that is ambitious, progressive and not resistant to change.

Ms von der Leyen, it is positive that you plan to make the European Union climate neutral by 2050 and that you are committing to putting this into law during your first 100 days. But when it comes to the 2030 target, keep in mind that this Parliament asked for a 2030 target of 55%, because this is what is in line with the long-term strategy and with the Paris goals.

You speak about extending the Emissions Trading System (ETS). Maritime and aviation need to contribute, but the ETS can never be extended to transport in general, as that risks undermining the CO<sub>2</sub> standards we have worked hard for. That’s why we ask for a clear commitment that you will not go back from the CO<sub>2</sub> standards that we agreed upon.

We need to see much more on the environment. We need you to speak and commit to a biodiversity strategy and we also need to understand your position on the non-toxic environment strategy.

The EU requires also a revamped industrial policy, an Industry 4.0 that does not focus only on digitisation and automation but includes also the ecological aspect; an industrial policy that takes into account our current workers, our future employees, our students and our youth.

Allow me a final word on migration. You speak about a fresh start on migration. As an MEP hailing from one of the frontline Member States, Malta, I urge you to put migration as a priority, where solidarity does not remain a buzzword but where legislative proposals, such as the Dublin regulation, are enacted and become law so that not only a few countries shoulder the responsibility alone, as is happening today. We need policies that are game-changers if the European project is to move forward, and these are the policies that we, as the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, will be pushing for.

**Caroline Voaden (Renew).** – Madam President, along with many colleagues in Renew Europe, I have thought hard about whether to support Ms von der Leyen today. The system that has put her in front of us is clearly broken, but I was placed in this Chamber by millions of British people who believe in the European Union, who demand the best from Europe and who want us to stay here. We would be fools to refuse this opportunity.

Europe needs action, not indecision. But Ms von der Leyen, I tell you firmly and clearly that my vote does not come cheaply. If I am to support you today this is the price that I ask for your support. You must reform this broken system. You must commit real action, and not just words, to the climate emergency. You must immediately begin reform of the Dublin Agreement. And Ms von der Leyen, the price for me will be to use your influence at every table at which you sit to agree a long extension, so that Britain may remain part of this European family.

**Bas Eickhout (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, I would like to thank Minister von der Leyen for her speech. Compared to last week, that's a huge step, but it really makes me wonder what we are voting for and who we are voting for. There's so much changing and there's so much unclear now. For example, on climate change you are fiddling around with the minus 50, minus 55, but what is Europe going officially to put on the table when Paris officially starts in December 2020? It is still unclear. You mentioned in your programme the biodiversity strategy, but there is no word on agricultural policies. What are you going to do about the current reform of agricultural policies?

And then extending ETS to traffic. What does that mean? The carbon prices we need in order to make sure our cars get clean are way higher than those we have now. This sounds like the tune of the German car industry – they would love to see these prices instead of the CO<sub>2</sub> standards.

Finally, on the rule of law, there have been some very good words, but one concrete action, so do you support the European Parliament in its Article 7 procedure against Hungary? It's time you became concrete on that.

**Nicolas Bay (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame von der Leyen, il y a cinq ans, dans cet hémicycle, celui à qui vous ambitionnez de succéder, Jean-Claude Juncker, avait déclaré que c'était, je cite, «la Commission de la dernière chance». Vous risquez donc d'être à la tête de la «Commission de la liquidation», celle du dernier arrêt avant le retour des peuples et des nations au cœur d'une vraie coopération européenne.

Résultat d'une discussion à Bruxelles dans le dos des peuples, méthodiquement tenus à l'écart du processus opaque de nomination aux hautes fonctions au sein des institutions européennes, vous vous présentez ici parce que vous avez su rassurer certains groupes politiques en donnant des gages. Vous irez toujours plus loin, et vous l'avez réaffirmé ce matin, dans le libre-échange mondialisé qui détruit nos emplois et épuise notre planète. Vous irez toujours plus loin dans le fédéralisme à marche forcée qui muselle les peuples et cadenas les nations avec, par exemple, la suppression de l'unanimité. Vous irez toujours plus loin dans le laxisme migratoire et le multiculturalisme, qui mettent en danger la sécurité et l'identité de nos pays.

C'est pour toutes ces raisons, Madame, que vous aurez certainement tout à l'heure les voix des libéraux et de la gauche et c'est aussi pour toutes ces raisons, Madame, que vous n'aurez pas les nôtres.

**Peter Lundgren (ECR).** – Fru talman! Ursula von der Leyens övertygelse om förträffligheten i ett Europas förenta stater står i stark konflikt med medlemsstaternas rätt till självbestämmande. Medlemsländerna kommer i er vision, Ursula von der Leyen, att förlora sin rätt till självbestämmande i er iver att fullborda denna vision. En kommissionsordförande ska leda med sunt förnuft och framför allt ha en verklighetsuppfattning för att kunna leda ett Europa där medlemsländerna kan samarbeta optimalt med varandra och utbyta erfarenheter.

En central politisk union har inget stöd hos väljarna, och det är en utopi eftersom medlemsländerna självklart vill behålla sin identitet, sin kultur och sin historia. Varje medlemsstat står så klart upp för sina egna intressen.

Det ni ska företräda är invånarna i alla medlemsstater och inte era personliga intressen eller ambitioner. Efter att ha hört ert anförande här i dag står det fullständigt klart för mig att ni är olämplig för denna uppgift. Jag kommer att rösta nej till er kandidatur, och jag hoppas att resten av ECR-ledamöterna gör samma sak.

**Marisa Matias (GUE/NGL).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora von der Leyen, a senhora chegou aqui com o apoio inequívoco do seu partido europeu e dos governos da extrema direita. Várias audições e cartas depois veio aqui apresentar aos restantes grupos os compromissos que os seus apoiantes sempre rejeitaram e sempre bloquearam nesta Casa. Disse a toda a gente o que toda a gente queria ouvir. Mas o que a União Europeia precisa neste momento é de escolhas, escolhas, e, por isso, pergunto-lhe: para termos coesão os países têm de compensar os excedentes excessivos? Vai exigir isso ao seu governo? Ou investimos no combate às alterações climáticas servindo o planeta ou investimos na militarização servindo a indústria do armamento alemã? Quem é que, na realidade, a senhora vai servir? Ou combatemos as *offshores* dentro da União Europeia ou combatemos os serviços públicos. Quem é que a senhora vai combater?

Ou vai defender os direitos dos trabalhadores ou vai continuar a recomendar a sua destruição. Quem é que vai defender? Ou temos uma política de acolhimento ou temos o reforço do controle das fronteiras. De que lado é que a senhora vai estar?

Senhora von der Leyen, nós precisamos de cinco anos de escolhas claras, não precisamos de mais duas semanas de promessas contraditórias porque a Europa não aguenta mais um mandato de canto de sereia e, seguramente, de desilusões.

**Tiziana Beghin (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Presidente designata come donna e madre di tre figlie, sono lieta di vedere per la prima volta una donna destinata a presiedere l'esecutivo europeo. Questa è senz'altro una novità positiva. Ma io mi auguro che il cambiamento non si fermi qui. Perché i governi che hanno sostenuto la Sua nomina hanno certamente visto in Lei un presidente valido, ma soprattutto hanno voluto dire no a chi aveva preconfezionato un pacchetto di nomine con l'arroganza di credere che tutti gli altri avrebbero solo potuto accettarle.

Chi l'ha sostenuta ha voluto ribadire che se in Europa si vuole vivere insieme, bisogna anche decidere insieme, tutti insieme. Signora von der Leyen, dopo il nostro incontro, Lei ha fatto Suoi i punti principali del nostro programma, ha garantito che si impegnerà a realizzare un salario minimo europeo, un nuovo patto sull'immigrazione, riforme ambiziose per il clima e garantire finalmente l'iniziativa legislativa al Parlamento europeo.

Per questo il Movimento 5 Stelle intende sostenere la Sua candidatura, ma ogni giorno nei prossimi cinque anni, Lei dovrà dimostrarsi degna di questa fiducia. Noi La osserveremo attentamente e non ci faremo remore a contrastarla anche duramente se non rispetterà gli impegni presi, difendendo i cittadini italiani ed europei, come abbiamo sempre fatto. Per governare l'Europa non basta essere tedeschi, francesi, italiani o spagnoli, bisogna prendere il meglio di ciascuno di noi e dimostrare al mondo che l'Unione europea è molto più della somma dei suoi paesi. Signora von der Leyen, sia il cambiamento che i cittadini europei si meritano e non ci deluda.

**Esteban González Pons (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, todo el mundo sabe que ha sido inapropiada la forma en que el Consejo ha tratado a este Parlamento y la forma en la que le ha diseñado a usted su Comisión. Pero también todo el mundo sabe que este es el peor momento para una crisis institucional, que el Parlamento no puede darle la razón a los antieuropeos y que la irresponsabilidad del Consejo no exime al Parlamento de su propia responsabilidad.

El Consejo se equivocó, pero el Parlamento no puede equivocarse también. El Parlamento debe acertar. Por eso vamos a confiar en usted, porque en un mundo en crisis y al borde de la guerra comercial, Europa no puede quedar descabezada. Porque desde que usted ha sido propuesta, le ha mostrado al Parlamento su respeto y se ha comprometido con la democracia europea. Porque usted ha demostrado capacidad de diálogo, y la paz europea se basa en el diálogo. Europa es lo más contrario que hay al dogmatismo.

Porque usted cree en una Europa que no distingue entre el Este y el Oeste, el Norte y el Sur, y que no quiere dejar a nadie atrás. Porque usted viene del partido que ha ganado las elecciones, y su candidatura responde a la voluntad de los electores europeos. Porque compartimos con usted su fe en el Estado de Derecho y en la primacía de las constituciones. Y, por lo tanto, estoy seguro de que contamos con usted para defender el Estado de Derecho español y la unidad de España.

Porque su compromiso contra el cambio climático es indudable, exigente y ejemplar. Porque usted hoy representa al europeísmo y votar contra usted hoy es votar a favor del antieuropeísmo. Porque ya es hora de que una mujer presida la Comisión Europea, señora von der Leyen. Y todos aquellos que creemos en la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres, hoy, hoy, hoy —precisamente hoy—, no podemos dejar pasar esta oportunidad. Cuenta usted con mi voto.

**Claude Moraes (S&D).** – Madam President, Ms von der Leyen, there is a reason why you mentioned in quick succession two of the critical issues, which my Group regards as the key priorities, namely the relaunch of the Dublin process and the support for an additional, comprehensive European rule-of-law mechanism. I quote your words in your letter to our Group. And the reason is that, while these issues may not be the only important ones – you mentioned climate change, the social pillar and so on – they are issues which could make or break the European Union. We all know this. And for this reason, you are saying the correct words, giving the headlines that we want to hear, but, as you've heard from many Members, we need to have the concrete ideas underneath the words.

In the Dublin process, on this so-called Pact for Migration, you and I know that it requires qualified majority voting (QMV) from the Member States. The fact of this inertia in the Council – that there has been nothing on migration, while we see people drowning in the Mediterranean – is something that you can do something about. You mentioned QMV on foreign relations issues, but you didn't mention it here. And the criminalisation of NGOs, and the humanitarian corridors: all these things are the detail that we need to hear.

On the question of support for the rule of law, again, we need the detail: the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), the sanctions, Hungary and Poland – name the countries, because this is the essence of what we have to do here in order not to break Europe.

Ms von der Leyen, I'm a UK Member, and people are tweeting at the moment that you want an extension, come what may. This is not what you said in a letter to us. You said, in quite a dignified way, that should an extension be required for the United Kingdom there would have to be good reasons. And I think you dealt with the Brexit issue here in a dignified and pragmatic way. Pragmatic – that is the kind of partnership we want to see, as opposed to the kind of fantasy Brexit that we're hearing about from other people in this Chamber. So, for this reason, pragmatic partnership is the way forward.

**Luis Garicano (Renew).** – Madam President, I want to congratulate Ms von der Leyen on an excellent speech and on an excellent process over the last couple of weeks, working with Renew Europe to include our priorities in her programme. I want to say to the Greens and to Mr Eickhout, yes, I think there has been change over the last weeks and I think we have to recognise this change. I don't think it's wavering, I think there is a recognition here that there is a challenge which Europe is facing – a challenge that comes from those sides which want Europe to fail, from populists and nationalists who see the frustration and the anxieties that our citizens feel, and who offer this feeling of control and the sense that, well, if we just get back the walls and we divide our countries again then we will recover control and it will be better.

Ms von der Leyen knows that is the wrong alternative, she understands those anxieties and she has shown over these weeks that she can work with us to build a better Europe, to build a Europe that responds to our concerns on democratisation, to all our concerns on the climate, on digitalisation, on the frustration that our citizens feel with how the euro crisis was resolved or not well resolved. For that reason I think this is the moment when all of us here need to make an effort and say, well, maybe not everything is there in this package, but it's the moment to come together and say 'no' to populism and nationalism and 'yes' to a better Europe that Ms von der Leyen is offering us today.

**Yannick Jadot (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la candidate, vous avez indiqué dans les auditions votre soutien à l'accord entre l'Union européenne et le Mercosur. Quelle est la valeur de l'engagement sur le climat que vous venez de prendre quand, dans cet accord, vous soutenez un président Bolsonaro qui a décidé de massacrer l'Amazonie pour l'agrobusiness et pour les projets miniers?

Quelle est la valeur de votre engagement pour le droit des femmes quand Bolsonaro attaque tous les jours les droits des femmes, attaque tous les jours les homosexuels, attaque tous les jours les libertés publiques et défend le travail des enfants? Cela n'est pas l'Europe sociale que vous prétendez défendre.

Madame la candidate, l'accord avec le Mercosur, c'est la mondialisation de la malbouffe, c'est l'emballement climatique, c'est la disparition des paysans au nord et au sud, des paysans dont vous n'avez pas dit un mot dans votre intervention.



Alors, si vous voulez défendre le projet européen, si vous ne voulez pas vendre l'Europe aux multinationales de l'agrobusiness et du lobby automobile, si vous ne voulez pas donner l'Europe à l'extrême droite, au Brésil et dans cet hémicycle, si vous voulez la rendre aux citoyens, alors condamnez et stoppez l'accord avec le Mercosur et revoyez la copie de la Commission européenne sur la politique agricole commune. Là, vous serez en accord avec vos valeurs.

**Jaak Madison (ID).** – Madam President, I have only one minute so I have only a few sentences to say. The first thing is that we have a lot of emotions here, and that is absolutely understandable because a lot of us don't like the other side and other sides don't like us. That's fine. It's part of democracy.

I have met Mr Timmermans a few times and I know that he was one of the problems in the European Council concerning the next candidate for the leader of the Commission. But it was his positions and his ideas about his political views were also problematic. I was listening to Ms von der Leyen on her climate policy, immigration policy and the federalisation of the European Union. I would like to say that there is no big difference between Mr Timmermans and Ms von der Leyen. It's pragmatic policy, I understand, but it's a fact.

I have only ten seconds left. I would just like to say that all the Member States in the Schengen area have agreed that we have to protect our external borders, like Italy is doing now, and like Hungary with our EUR 1 billion; we are even helping Germany with that. We have to stop illegal human trafficking because a lot of people here are in favour of giving millions of euros to traffickers who are getting money thanks to this migration, and we are just saying here, 'oh that's absolutely fine', and 'we have to open the borders'.

I don't think it's a very smart way to go forward, but anyway, good luck with the evening and I really hope that we will also have another candidate.

**Derk Jan Eppink (ECR).** – Voorzitter, de eerste conclusie die ik trek uit dit hele gebeuren is dat het Spitzenkandidaatfenomeen is mislukt, want de heer Weber zit daar in zijn stoel – u luistert nu mee – terwijl hij eigenlijk daar had moeten zitten. Het is maar een *small step for you, but a huge leap for the European Parliament*. Dus u bent weg, en daarmee heeft het systeem eigenlijk een staatsbegrafenis gekregen en is het gestorven op de *Boulevard of Broken Dreams*.

Ten tweede, mevrouw von der Leyen, uw beloftes. U bent bij ons geweest en u heeft tal van beloftes gedaan. Vervolgens hoor ik over beloftes aan de macronisten, aan de socialisten, aan de groenen enzovoort. Ik vergelijk ze, en het zijn allemaal verschillende dingen. Dan denk ik, hoe kan dat nou eigenlijk? U leest uw lijst voor als een soort van *Oberlehrerin*, maar ik vraag me toch af wat die woorden, die beloftes dan eigenlijk waard zijn.

Ten derde, de *Bundeswehr*. De *Bundeswehr* heeft allerlei misstanden en toestanden gekend, maar u gaf de top van de *Bundeswehr* de schuld. U verweet hen een *Haltungsproblem*, maar ik vraag me af of u dan zelf geen *Haltungsproblem* heeft, want u bent daar politiek verantwoordelijk voor. Als er dan iets misgaat in de Europese Commissie, waar ik zelf zeven jaar heb gewerkt, gaat u die mensen dan ook een *Haltungsproblem* verwijten? Mijn vraag is daarom: wat is uw vermogen om in de spiegel te kijken?

**Nikolaj Villumsen (GUE/NGL).** – Fru formand! Kære kolleger. Dagens afstemning er et klimavalg. Vi befinder os midt i en akut klimakrise. Spørgsmålet, som vi tager stilling til, er, om vi vil have den nødvendige grønne omstilling eller ej. Vi har hørt svaret fra fru von der Leyen i dag, og svaret fra fru von der Leyen er et klart nej. Svaret fra fru von der Leyen er nej.

50 procent reduktion af CO<sub>2</sub>-udslippet i 2030 er ikke nok til at undgå en klimakatastrofe. 55 procent reduktion er heller ikke nok til at undgå en klimakatastrofe.

Vi har brug for klimahandling nu. Derfor kommer jeg til at stemme imod von der Leyen, og jeg vil opfordre alle, der gik til valg på at sikre grøn omstilling, til at gøre det samme. Nu er tiden til at handle. Man kan handle, hvis man stemmer nej i dag. Nu er tiden til at sætte handling bag ordene. Derfor: Stem for klimaet. Stem for at undgå en klimakatastrofe. Og stem imod fru von der Leyen ved afstemningen senere i dag.

**Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, gospođo Von der Leyen, prije nego krenem na svoju raspravu, samo bih vas htio pitati hoće li Europska unija u kojoj vladaju ovakvi odnosi preživjeti sljedeću gospodarsku krizu? Vi predstavljate sve ono što je pogrešno u Europi, Vi predstavljate centralizaciju, Vi predstavljate deficit demokracije, Vi predstavljate ekonomsku hegemoniju centra u odnosu na periferiju.

Govorimo o centralizaciji. Evo, prije nekoliko dana Italija je dobila svojeg sedmog predsjednika Europskog parlamenta. Čestitam gospodinu Sassoliju. Sedmog predsjednika Europskog parlamenta! Njemačka i Francuska, ispravite me, imale su već šest, mnoge zemlje u centru veći broj, dok petnaest zemalja periferije, uključujući Hrvatsku, imalo je ravno nula. Slična stvar je i u Europskom vijeću, slična stvar je i u Europskoj komisiji.

Kada će Hrvatska ili neka druga članica, Malta, Slovačka, dobiti svoj pošten dio, „fair share“? Nikada!

Što se tiče demokracije, dolazite ovdje pred nas, a nemate legitimitet. U kojem izbornom procesu ste Vi sudjelovali? Kojim ste se to Vi biračima predstavljali da imate ovdje legitimitet tražiti od predstavnika tih birača, njih dvjesto milijuna, legitimitet? Dogovor u Bruxellesu je nepošten, nepravedan. On je nedemokratski, dogovoren je iza zatvorenih vrata, a nas ovdje dovodite pred gotov čin. Opet su se stare moćne članice u centru dogovorile: Francuzi će uzeti Centralnu banku, Nijemci će uzeti Komisiju, Belgija će uzeti Vijeće, za periferiju opet ništa!

Govorite o Siriji, kako ste uzeli dječaka iz Sirije u svoj dom. Svaka Vam čast. Međutim, drugom rukom govorite o NATO-u, trajnom generatoru nestabilnosti i imperijalističkoj sili koja ne služi miru. Od takvog odnosa Hrvatska nema koristi, samo štete.

Može se raditi ili pošteno ili nikako. Moj glas nećete imati.

**François-Xavier Bellamy (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame von der Leyen, un grand écrivain français, Charles Péguy, écrivait: «Il faut avoir le courage de dire ce que l'on voit mais, plus encore, il faut avoir le courage de voir ce que l'on voit».

Regardons la réalité en face: l'Europe est en crise profonde, elle semble condamnée à l'impuissance face aux défis économiques, face aux défis migratoires, face aux grandes puissances qui, aujourd'hui, semblent écrire l'histoire du monde. C'est le destin de notre civilisation qui se joue aujourd'hui. Il n'y a qu'un seul moyen de faire reculer l'inquiétude et le scepticisme, c'est refonder une Europe qui se mette au service des peuples européens et qui nous permette de ne plus subir, ne plus subir les déséquilibres de la mondialisation, cette absence de stratégie qui nous a fait perdre nos forces industrielles, notre savoir-faire, notre capacité à produire ce que nous consommons.

Je pense en particulier aux agriculteurs et je regrette, en effet, qu'ils n'aient pas été évoqués davantage ce matin. L'agriculture est la première politique de l'Union européenne et jamais nous n'accepterons ici, au PPE, qu'elle serve de variable d'ajustement.

Nous ne voulons plus subir les déséquilibres qui provoquent la crise écologique et c'est pour faire face à ce défi que l'Europe, merci de l'avoir dit ce matin, doit enfin imposer une contribution carbone à tous les pays qui exportent vers l'Union européenne.

Nous ne voulons plus subir la même impuissance face à la crise migratoire. Oui, chaque mort en mer Méditerranée est une tragédie. Mais oui, chacune de ces tragédies est le résultat d'une seule cause qui est notre impuissance. Trop de personnes prennent tous les risques pour venir en Europe, parce qu'ils savent que la seule condition pour s'y établir, c'est d'y arriver illégalement. Il faut donc enfin maîtriser les frontières extérieures de l'Europe et c'est le devoir d'humanité qui le commande. Accueillir, ce n'est pas subir, c'est aussi la condition pour retrouver l'équilibre de nos sociétés et pour transmettre aux générations qui viennent cette civilisation magnifique dont nous avons hérité.

Madame von der Leyen, nous avons un avenir à sauver et cet avenir se joue pour une très grande part dans les cinq années qui viennent. Les peuples européens comptent sur nous pour garder les yeux ouverts.

**Kati Piri (S&D).** – Voorzitter, mevrouw von der Leyen, de opkomst bij de Europese verkiezingen was in Nederland de hoogste ooit. Er werd driftig campagne gevoerd om de kiezers te overtuigen. Er werden tv-debatten georganiseerd tussen de Europese lijsttrekkers. Men stemde uiteindelijk voor optimisme, maar ook voor invloed op wie de nieuwe Commissievoorzitter zou worden. Een grote meerderheid in het Europees Parlement was immers duidelijk: wij zouden alleen in zee gaan met een van de Spitzenkandidaten als voorzitter van de nieuwe Commissie, net als vijf jaar eerder.

De verkiezingen waren voorbij en de tombola begon. Uiteindelijk kwam uw naam uit de hoge hoed van de Europese regeringsleiders. Een veelgehoord geluid in Nederland is dan ook: waarom heb ik dan gestemd? Mensen voelen zich bedrogen en ik snap dat gevoel heel goed. In de Raad werd het Spitzenkandidatenproces onder aanvoering van een semiautocraat als Viktor Orbán de nek omgedraaid. De Poolse en Hongaarse regering vieren uw voordracht als hún politieke overwinning. Dat valt u persoonlijk niet te verwijten, maar daarom is het hier wel extra belangrijk dat u in dit debat duidelijk stelling neemt over de rechtsstaat.

Vandaar mijn simpele vraag: schaaft u zich achter de artikel 7-procedures die de afgelopen jaren door de Commissie en het Parlement zijn opgestart tegen de Poolse en Hongaarse regering? Want daar mag geen enkele twijfel over bestaan.

Het gedoe rond uw voordracht laat zien dat we nog een lange weg te gaan hebben om Europa democratischer te maken, en dat betekent nog meer inzet van u, maar ook van ons. Mevrouw von der Leyen, in uw speech zitten een aantal punten die progressieve kiezers zullen aanspreken. Als u vandaag gekozen wordt, dan kunt u de komende jaren rekenen op de steun van de Partij van de Arbeid als het gaat om een groen, rechtvaardig en sociaal Europa.

**Frédérique Ries (Renew).** – Merci, Madame la Présidente. Bienvenue au Parlement européen, Madame von der Leyen.

Beaucoup de choses viennent d'être dites, déjà: migration, climat, état de droit. Je vais donc pouvoir abréger un peu. Certes, nos politiques sont nos fondations mais je dirais que ce qui est cardinal pour nous, ce matin, pour vous, ce matin, c'est de retricoter le lien et la confiance, d'abord avec nous, Parlement européen, et puis avec les Européens, tout simplement.

Vous n'êtes pas responsable, Madame von der Leyen, il faut quand même le rappeler de temps en temps, du péché originel commis par le Conseil, de ces trois jours de mercato imbuvable aux yeux de tous. Et j'applaudis, nous applaudissons vos engagements formels à faire atterrir les propositions de réforme à cet égard, lors des travaux de la future convention.

En style télégraphique, maintenant, car le temps m'est compté, je reste en manque sur trois questions essentielles.

Tout d'abord, la politique agricole commune: vous avez été remarquablement discrète sur cette question, pour user d'un euphémisme.

Notre retard technologique, le numérique, l'intelligence artificielle, la robotique et la politique industrielle: que faisons-nous, que proposez-vous pour faire enfin émerger des champions européens? Il est des fusions avortées qui font mal, encore.

Et puis, et cela n'a pas été dit jusqu'ici, c'est une double première en ce qui vous concerne: vous êtes femme mais vous êtes médecin, et je m'en réjouis. Madame von der Leyen, vous ne le savez peut-être pas, mais la santé a été le parent pauvre de la dernière Commission et les défis sont pourtant innombrables et transfrontaliers: épidémies, maladies rares, Lyme, pénurie de médicaments – on en parle dans la presse tous les jours – vaccins, anti-vaccins... Que comptez-vous faire? Allez-vous faire mieux?

Quoiqu'il en soit, vous avez notre support et notre soutien.

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, I would like to say to Ms von der Leyen that I am happy that, in her political guidelines, she says that 'trade is not an end in itself, it should deliver prosperity at home and export our values across the world'.

But, we all know that, by importing products, we export breaches of human rights, of victims of modern slavery of indigenous peoples, we cause deforestation by consuming chocolate, textiles and other products. Would you support a mandatory European law on human rights due diligence to European companies so that we can shed light on the unethical aspects of the supply chains?

A second question: I come from the northernmost part of Europe and I would like to remind you that climate crisis has some of the most dramatic consequences in the Arctic Circle and Europe. Your agenda for Europe does not even mention the Arctic. So my question is, will you take Arctic policy as one of your political priorities for the new Commission?

**Lars Patrick Berg (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen, werte Frau Ministerin! Als neu gewählter Abgeordneter wurde ich vom Verfahren zur Wahl des Kommissionspräsidenten überrascht. Es ist offen gesagt bedauerlich, dass dabei ein bedeutender Teil der Wähler in Europa absichtlich ignoriert wird und der Eindruck dabei entsteht, dass hier wichtige Entscheidungen hinter verschlossenen Türen getroffen werden. Dies schafft kein Vertrauen, sondern Verdruss. Ich möchte in meinen Bemerkungen jedoch konstruktiv bleiben.

Meine Bedenken beziehen sich auf die Bereiche innere Sicherheit und Grenzkontrolle und hier insbesondere auf die Bedrohung durch den internationalen islamistischen Terrorismus. Wir haben die sicherheitspolitischen Herausforderungen gesehen, die sich aus der Politik der sogenannten offenen Tür in Deutschland und auch in anderen europäischen Ländern ergeben haben, und die erheblichen Belastungen für die oft personell überlastete und kaputtgesparte Polizei und unsere Sicherheitsdienste. Angesichts der weiterhin anhaltenden unkontrollierten Zuwanderung und der Anfälligkeit für Anschläge wie dem von Anis Amri und anderen befürchte ich, dass die realen Sicherheitsprobleme, mit denen wir konfrontiert sind, leider nicht geringer, sondern größer werden. Deshalb hoffe ich, Frau von der Leyen, Sie können uns versichern, dass es sich bei Ihren Ausführungen zur inneren Sicherheit nicht um leere Worte gehandelt hat.

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Madam President, Mrs von der Leyen, my name is Assita Kanko and I am one of the seven children of a woman who had to run and hide when she decided to divorce – chased away by religious and traditional prohibitions.

When my last sibling was born she was 37. I turned 39 last Sunday and I have only one kid, by choice. But also because, for millions of female genitally-mutilated women, giving birth is more complicated – I am one of them. And I am grateful for this freedom to stand here and talk to you.

I'm asking you this question as a Fleming and a woman, as a little girl who did not escape FGM and as a concerned mother. In Europe we close our eyes when the Islamic State kidnapped and raped women and girls like Nobel Prize winner, Nadia Murad. We look away when girls are cut on European soil – 500 000 is the number of those who live today with the consequences of FGM inside the EU. We look away when there are honour crimes, Sharia courts, segregation and Islamic radicalisation, which is bad news for women and our European values.

How are you going to use your position to protect all women regardless of their religion and tradition? Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has yet to apply to them. You can do this inside a strong Europe, not a superstate for top jobs but one about the people and which adds value and respects subsidiarity.

**Manon Aubry (GUE/NGL).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame von der Leyen, qu'allez-vous dire aux plus de 500 millions de citoyens européens qui ne vous ont pas élue? Quelle sera votre légitimité pour faire face à la crise climatique et à la crise des inégalités? Allez-vous continuer à nous dire que les caisses sont vides, comme l'ont fait vos prédécesseurs?

Pourtant, de l'argent pour nos services publics, comme pour la transition écologique, il y en a. Et il se trouve dans les paradis fiscaux. Plus de 800 milliards d'euros, c'est le chèque, ce chèque que vous faites chaque année, que l'Union européenne fait chaque année aux évadés fiscaux, aux Google, aux Amazon, à Bernard Arnault. Un chèque dont tous les citoyens européens payent le prix.

Comme le disait Victor Hugo: c'est de l'enfer des pauvres qu'est fait le paradis des riches. Et ce paradis s'est trouvé une nouvelle présidente: vous, Madame von der Leyen. Pas un engagement, pas un mot, pas une once d'action à l'encontre des paradis fiscaux européens, comme le Luxembourg ou comme Malte. Vous êtes leur candidate, Madame von der Leyen, pas la nôtre, pas celle des peuples européens. Aucun riche ne vous craint, aucun pauvre ne vous croit. Vous incarnez les raisons de la colère des peuples, pas la réponse à cette colère.

Alors, Madame von der Leyen, regardez-le bien, ce chèque aux évadés fiscaux, nous préférons le déchirer plutôt que de voter pour vous.

**Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (ΝΙ).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η ανάδειξη του Προέδρου στην Κομισιόν είναι αποτέλεσμα ενός σκληρού παζαριού στο πλαίσιο των ανταγωνισμών που οξύνονται στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση λόγω της χαμηλής απόδοσης που καταγράφει η ευρωπαϊκή οικονομία. Ανεξάρτητα από αντιπαραθέσεις, όποιος κι αν εκλεγεί Πρόεδρος, η νέα Κομισιόν θα συνεχίσει τη βασική στρατηγική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης: ενίσχυση της κερδοφορίας των μονοπωλίων, περιορισμός λαϊκών ελευθεριών, φακέλωμα, αντικομμουνισμός, τσάκισμα των δικαιωμάτων των εργαζομένων σε όλα τα κράτη μέλη, στρατιωτικοποίηση, ιμπεριαλιστική επιθετικότητα που ενισχύει επικίνδυνους σχεδιασμούς και αμφισβήτηση κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων από την αστική τάξη της Τουρκίας στο Αιγαίο, στην κυπριακή Αποκλειστική Οικονομική Ζώνη.

Ακριβώς μετά την ανάδειξη της Νέας Δημοκρατίας στην κυβέρνηση της χώρας μας, το Eurogroup συζήτησε την πορεία της ελληνικής οικονομίας στα πλαίσια των συμφωνηθέντων με την κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ με φόντο την τέταρτη αξιολόγηση και το μεσοπρόθεσμο πρόγραμμα 2020-2023. Η Κομισιόν και το Eurogroup εντοπίζουν σειρά δημοσιονομικών κενών, απαιτούν απαρέγκλιτη τήρηση του 3,5% των πρωτογενών πλεονασμάτων, των δεσμεύσεων στο πλαίσιο της μεταμνημονιακής ενισχυμένης εποπτείας, δηλαδή νέα βαριά μέτρα στις πλάτες του ελληνικού λαού, κόστους 4,5 έως 6 δισεκατομμυρίων ευρώ. Οι αποφάσεις αυτές αποτελούν βάση για την πολιτική της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας, προβλέπουν γενίκευση πλειστηριασμού λαϊκής κατοικίας, αύξηση φοροεισπρακτικών μέτρων για τα μη εξυπηρετούμενα δάνεια, νέες περικοπές στις συντάξεις, σε επιδόματα, ιδιωτικοποιήσεις, μεγαλύτερη εμπορευματοποίηση υγείας, πρόνοιας και εκπαίδευσης. Οι εργαζόμενοι σε Ελλάδα και Ευρώπη πρέπει να βγάλουν σημαντικά συμπεράσματα, να οργανωθούν να διεκδικήσουν τα σύγχρονα δικαιώματά τους στη δουλειά, στη ζωή, στη μόρφωση των παιδιών τους.

**Antonio Tajani (PPE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Lei ha designato una politica per il futuro dell'Europa che è in gran parte condivisibile. Se vogliamo sconfinare la disoccupazione dobbiamo avere una politica economica che però punti soprattutto sull'economia reale. Abbiamo bisogno di una politica industriale europea che abbia un obiettivo, come c'è per la politica ambientale, il 20% del prodotto interno lordo deve provenire dal manifatturiero, industria e agricoltura.

Io Le chiedo di rinforzare, quando sarà Presidente della Commissione, alla direzione generale GROW, Le chiedo di implementare lo *Small Business Act* per sostenere le piccole e medie imprese, Le chiedo di difendere dall'assalto cinese le nostre industrie. Ha fatto delle proposte interessanti, ma dobbiamo anche avere norme *antidumping* molto serie. Dobbiamo difenderci dai giganti del web che devono pagare le tasse come tutte le altre imprese, ma serve anche rinforzare la politica agricola. I tagli alla PAC rappresentano un errore, noi non possiamo dimenticare che l'industria e l'agricoltura sono due fondamentali strumenti per creare occupazione nella nostra Unione europea. Poi, naturalmente, come ha detto Lei, l'accesso al credito: bisogna andare avanti con l'Unione bancaria, occorre sviluppare un mercato dei capitali.

Per quanto riguarda invece l'immigrazione, Le chiedo di riflettere su ciò che ha anche votato il Parlamento europeo, più soldi per un vero piano per l'Africa, servono 50-60 miliardi. Nel 2050 avremo due miliardi e mezzo di africani, se non interverremo oggi non bastano le guardie di Frontex, serve una vera e propria strategia per investire in Africa, combattere il cambiamento climatico, la povertà, le malattie, difendere l'agricoltura e combattere il terrorismo. Se l'Europa non agisce avremo un'invasione di milioni di persone, non di migliaia. Quindi la prossima Commissione europea deve fare molto.

Concludo sulla vicenda dello Stato di diritto, Lei ha detto parole molto giuste, ma oggi ricorrono esattamente 21 mesi dall'omicidio di Daphne Caruana Galizia, una giornalista assassinata a Malta. Ancora non sappiamo chi sono i mandanti di quell'omicidio. Noi dobbiamo difendere lo Stato di diritto ovunque. Dobbiamo difendere la libertà di espressione e anche in paesi fuori dall'Unione europea, penso al Venezuela, dove ci sono milioni di cittadini di origine europea, italiani, spagnoli, portoghesi, anche tedeschi che continuano a soffrire a causa di una dittatura.

Io credo che anche da questo punto di vista, la Commissione europea, come ha fatto il Parlamento, debba far ascoltare forte la sua voce, perché noi siamo soprattutto una comunità di valori. Lei lo ha ribadito, e credo che nei prossimi cinque anni si dovrà continuare ad andare avanti in questa direzione.

**Jens Geier (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin! Sehr geehrte Frau von der Leyen, ich komme nicht umhin anzuerkennen, dass Sie in Ihrem Schreiben an unsere Fraktion viele unserer Forderungen aufgenommen haben. Viele Punkte, für die wir im Wahlkampf als Sozialdemokratinnen und Sozialdemokraten gestritten haben, haben Sie sich zu eigen gemacht, darunter solche wie etwa die Arbeitslosenrückversicherung, gegen die Ihre Partei mit Leidenschaft gekämpft hat. Das könnte mich freuen, bliebe da nicht der nagende Verdacht, dass die Mitgliedstaaten diese Ihre Zusage im Rahmen der Verhandlungen so klein machen, bis sie nicht mehr wiederzuerkennen sein wird, und das mit den christdemokratischen Regierungen vorneweg. Von daher muss ich Ihre Ankündigungen mit einer gewissen Skepsis zur Kenntnis nehmen.

Nun könnte ich Ihnen durchaus einen Vertrauensvorschuss gewähren, aber dagegen sprechen für mich institutionelle und sehr grundsätzliche Argumente. Im Wahlkampf habe ich für den sozialdemokratischen Spitzenkandidaten geworben – einen Niederländer namens Frans Timmermans –, und auch da habe ich mich nach politischen gemeinsamen Zielen und nach Werten entschieden und eben nicht nach Staatsangehörigkeit. Und ich habe meinen Wählerinnen und Wählern versprochen – das haben alle sozialdemokratischen Kandidatinnen und Kandidaten von der SPD getan –, dass wir nur einen Spitzenkandidaten wählen werden. Und ich habe vor, und wir 16 haben vor, dieses Versprechen zu halten.

Viele, nicht nur in diesem Haus, haben den Spitzenkandidatenprozess als Gewinn für die europäische Demokratie gelobt. Meine Sorge ist, dass wir heute den Abgang auf den europäischen Spitzenkandidaten erleben. Deswegen meine Frage an Sie: Wie möchten Sie Garantien vom Europäischen Rat erhalten, dass dies nicht der Fall ist?

(Beifall)

**Katalin Cseh (Renew).** – Madam President, it is a great honour and a great responsibility for me to stand here in the heart of European democracy and deliver not only my first comments, but the first comments made by my party in any parliament. I am a new MEP from Hungary, a wonderful country that many of you only hear about when there is a new attack on the rule of law or on civil society. I know that many of you are fed up with this. As a Hungarian, I'm also fed up, because until now the European elite has turned a blind eye and appeased populists like Viktor Orbán. This has to change now.

We must fight back against those who seek to destroy our Union and ensure it remains a community of values. We must keep Europe united, prosperous and secure. For that we need a leadership that is not afraid to defend European democracy. We expect actions, not words. The next Commission must provide specific safeguards for protecting the rule of law, and leaders with the political will and ability to implement them. Because today, standing for Europe is often seen as standing for the status quo – but the status quo is not good enough: we need real change.

(Applause)

**Monika Vana (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Ministerin von der Leyen, Sie haben heute sehr viel vom Frieden in Europa gesprochen. Ich selbst komme aus einem militärisch neutralen Land, Österreich, und als Grüne und Kämpferin für eine Friedensunion stehe ich der Militärunion Pesco und dem Europäischen Verteidigungsfonds und auch der Debatte über eine EU-Armee oder Armee für Europäer, wie Sie sie gerne nennen, sehr kritisch gegenüber. Auch eine Mehrheit der EU-Bürgerinnen und EU-Bürger sieht Verteidigung nicht als Priorität der EU, sondern vielmehr Klimaschutz, soziale Fragen, Gesundheit oder Bildung, und auch eine Mehrheit der EU-Bürgerinnen setzt darauf, dass die EU zur Krisen- und Konfliktbewältigung in der Welt mehr auf diplomatische und humanitäre Maßnahmen als auf militärische Maßnahmen setzen sollte.

Wir halten es daher für den falschen Weg, laufend die Verteidigungsausgaben der EU mit dem Rüstungsfonds substanziell zu erhöhen, wo uns das Geld für Sozial- und Klimamaßnahmen fehlt. Wir brauchen keine Rüstungsmilliarden, Frau Ministerin, wir brauchen Klima- und Sozialmilliarden.

Ich frage Sie daher, ob Sie sich als Kommissionspräsidentin glaubhaft für eine Abrüstungsinitiative einsetzen werden, für die Begrenzung der Verteidigungsausgaben zugunsten von Sozial- und Klimaschutzmaßnahmen und für eine verbindliche Rüstungsexportkontrolle.

**Nicolaus Fest (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Ministerin, vielen Dank auch für Ihre Rede. Ich glaube, sie sollte auch dem letzten Abgeordneten die Augen geöffnet haben, dass Sie ganz sicherlich die falsche Person für dieses Amt sind. Wir haben außerdem gesehen, dass die EVP nun von einer angeblich mal konservativen zu einer links-grünen Fraktion mutiert ist. Was wir gehört haben, war ein Dokument des lachhaftesten Opportunismus. Sie – eine Wundertüte. Alles war drin: Mindestlohn, *gender equality*, *climate bank*, *sustainable Europe*, natürlich *empowerment of children*, *MeToo*, Mittelstand stärken, *fair taxes*. Ihr Politikverständnis scheint es zu sein, die Politik der zeitgemäßen links-grünen Trivialität anzupassen. Und vor allem: Hinter all dem steckt nur eines – Sie selbst, Ihre Funktion, Ihre Position – das ist der Eindruck Ihres Vortrags. Es geht Ihnen inhaltlich um gar nichts.

Uns geht es bei Europa um Heimat, um Identität, um all das, was uns ausmacht. Ihnen scheint es nur um einen neuen Posten zu gehen, eine neue politische Trophäe, ja, eine neue Dienstwagenberechtigung. Ganz ehrlich, was wollen Sie eigentlich hier? So, mit diesem Vortrag, den Sie gehalten haben, kann man nur alle warnen: Diese Frau sollten Sie nicht zur neuen EU-Kommissionspräsidentin wählen.

**Hermann Tertsch (ECR).** – Señora presidenta, señora von der Leyen, nosotros estamos realmente preocupados por ver que, al final, no hay prácticamente diferencia entre un candidato Timmermans y una candidata von der Leyen.

Hemos visto cómo ha hablado hoy, buscando siempre la satisfacción de la parte izquierda, de los liberales, de los socialistas, a los cuales ha escrito usted explicando el proyecto que tiene. Pero no lo ha explicado hacia el otro lado. Y ahí es donde está lo realmente grave que está sucediendo en este momento: que usted ha practicado ya, de momento, este cinturón sanitario hacia parte de los europeos.

Estamos viendo cómo se está imponiendo un rodillo que castiga a los pueblos que eligen Gobiernos que no les gustan a algunos. Y eso es muy, muy peligroso. Y vemos también cómo aquí se castiga a aquellos partidos elegidos por parte de pueblos, con una política y con una opinión que no gusta a algunos, que no gusta a esa mayoría que se ha creado aquí, en ese consenso donde Timmermans y usted son lo mismo, son prácticamente lo mismo, y solo intentan marginar a una parte.

Y dice usted que siempre estará enfrente de aquellos que están en contra de la unidad. Pero yo creo que, realmente, no hay peor atentado contra la unidad de la Unión Europea y del Parlamento que estos cordones sanitarios que dinamitan todo el espíritu democrático, dinamitan las reglas y, finalmente, dinamitan toda ilusión por hacer un proyecto común.

**Márton Gyöngyösi (NI).** – Madam President, many of us thought that Brexit is a lesson and an opportunity for the European political elite, a signal that a change of course is necessary. EU citizens are rightly discontent with the undemocratic and intransparent decision-making in this House and in other EU institutions.

Ms von der Leyen, your reference to a strengthening of the Spitzenkandidaten system was somewhat ironic, if not cynical; this is the system that was ditched in order to nominate you here. The Spitzenkandidaten system is far from being perfect, but it was a step in the right direction to select a nominee to head the European Commission. Your nomination just shows that the leaders of the EU ignored the voice of the European electorate and don't learn from their earlier mistakes. Such decisions and ignorance fuel euroscepticism and criticism, so beware and don't be surprised: this is a disappointment for those who wish to see a stronger, more credible, more democratic and more transparent EU. Ms von der Leyen, it is not your fault, but you have greatly contributed to this disappointment, and this is why many people in this Chamber find your nomination unacceptable.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, em primeiro lugar queria cumprimentar a Senhora von der Leyen pelo discurso inspirado e inspirador, pela visão, pela convicção e pela ambição europeia que aqui demonstrou. Terá, com certeza, o nosso apoio, mas queria também fazer duas observações: a primeira é que tenho pena que, sendo médica, e tendo uma especial sensibilidade para a saúde, não se tenha referido ainda nunca ao *Master Plan* que o PPE propôs na sua campanha na luta contra o cancro. É uma ambição muito grande que nós temos no nosso grupo e que esperamos que a próxima Comissão possa preencher.

Dito isto, ia fazer uma pergunta, e esta é a pergunta central para mim, dado que ela ainda não foi tocada por ninguém e teve uma simples frase no seu discurso a respeito do MFF, das perspetivas financeiras para 2021-2027. Na verdade, o que nós verificamos nas políticas de coesão é que a proposta que a Comissão apresentou é injusta. Só para dar um exemplo: um país como a Itália, que está na média europeia, sobe 6 % na coesão, um país como a Croácia desce 6 %, um país como a Finlândia, que está muito acima da média europeia, sobe 5 %, um país como a Lituânia desce 23 %. Estou a falar de países vizinhos que podemos comparar para perceber como é injusta a estratégia de coesão que sai da proposta da Comissão e porquê? Porque a Comissão cortou 45 % do Fundo de Coesão sem explicação e o Fundo de Coesão equilibrava o FEDER e o Fundo Social Europeu.

Isto prejudica os países mais pobres. Há muitas prioridades na União Europeia, mas, Senhora von der Leyen, a questão da coesão e da convergência entre os Estados-Membros é central. Apelou aqui à unidade. Se não se vier a rever o MFF no sentido da solução e da posição que o Parlamento Europeu aprovou posso dizer que vai haver problemas de coesão, que vai haver problemas de unidade entre os vários Estados-Membros.

**Sylvie Guillaume (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame von der Leyen, vous avez délivré une prestation habile, vous avez coché beaucoup de cases, mais pas toutes, puisque le flou demeure sur de nombreux sujets, notamment le CFP ou l'agriculture, sans compter que vous avez évité tous les chiffres.

Vous êtes aussi devant nous parce que vous avez subi un processus de nomination particulièrement contestable, suite à une série de petits arrangements entre les représentants des États membres, qui d'ailleurs sont peu présents pour vous soutenir aujourd'hui sur leurs fauteuils.

Le Conseil n'a pas tenu compte du tout de la voix des citoyens qui avaient adhéré au principe des *Spitzenkandidaten* comme représentants de leur volonté politique. Le jeu de bonneteau du Conseil aboutit aussi à marginaliser le rôle du Parlement européen, en en faisant un *junior partner* européen.

Un seul exemple pour illustrer le flou de votre intervention: sur les questions migratoires et d'asile, il n'est pas du tout suffisant de vous entendre dire que vous voulez réformer pour la Xième fois le paquet asile qui a été réformé et sur-réformé, jusqu'à le rendre illisible et jusqu'à le bloquer.

Personnellement, j'aurais voulu vous entendre parler d'une grande opération de sauvetage en mer, qui aurait permis justement aussi de défendre la dignité de l'Union européenne face aux divisions du Conseil. Car, finalement, c'est cela qui manque à votre discours: le témoignage que vous serez au combat et que vous allez faire changer l'orientation de l'Europe.

## PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. DAVID MARIA SASSOLI

*Presidente*

**Fredrick Federley (Renew).** – Mr President, I must say a few sincere words to Madam von der Leyen. I was rather critical of your nomination. I was rather critical of you becoming the President of the Commission. But then, the process we had, actually made me feel respected as a Member of the European Parliament, as a representative of my Swedish voters. For that I condone you.



But also for the respect that you showed our group, the Renew Europe Group, the group that grew most in the European Parliament and that defeated the populists throughout Europe – thank you for that respect, which is also why you will have my vote today. Because you showed a sincere interest in what Parliament does think. Also, I remember what the procedure was like five years ago, when I don't think many colleagues felt that they had a proper intervention with Commission President Juncker. We had proper interventions with you and you did listen. For that I respect you.

But we will also hold you responsible on your mechanism on initiatives. For example, an animal welfare framework law has been asked for by this Parliament by a majority of about 80% of the Members for five years. Nothing has happened so far. We will come back to it as soon as you have your college in place. We will recall that request and we will hold you accountable to it.

**Molly Scott Cato (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, those wanting to stop the UK's disastrous crash out of the EU should feel greatly encouraged by Dr von der Leyen's comments about Brexit. Dr von der Leyen, I was delighted to hear you call yourself a Remainer to our group, and to say that you would be willing to give us the extra time we may need to resolve this deeply damaging episode in our country's history.

But on a range of issues, from tax and trade to climate and protecting life in our countryside, there is a gulf between your views and the green agenda for change. Most importantly, I cannot vote for you because the appointments process that led us here is a step away from closer engagement with citizens and from democracy. The backroom deal done in the Council explicitly reassured the far right in the countries of central Europe, where the rule of law is under threat and democratic standards are at risk. It's so disappointing that the election of the Commission President will depend on the votes of the far right, rather than those of a strong pro-European majority that could have been achieved by offering the radical change that Green voters demand.

*(Applause)*

**Christine Anderson (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Frau Bundesministerin, ich mache es kurz: Sie sind eine Fehlbesetzung in jedweder Hinsicht, gleich für welches Amt. Ihre als Familienministerin gänzlich unbrauchbaren Initiativen haben Sie von einer mit Steuergeldern finanzierten Werbeagentur vermarkten lassen müssen, um sie dem deutschen Volk dennoch aufdrücken zu können. Als Verteidigungsministerin hinterlassen Sie demoralisierte Soldaten, eine im Hinblick auf die Verteidigungsfähigkeit kastrierte Bundeswehr, in der Sie aber stattdessen für umfangreiche Kinderbetreuungsmöglichkeiten gesorgt und die Bundeswehr damit in eine lächerliche Kindertagesstätte transformiert haben.

Der Anstand gebietet es natürlich, Ihnen Glück für Ihre Wahl zu wünschen. Ich tue dies in der Zuversicht, dass Sie Ihr destruktives Wirken auch in der EU-Kommission fortzusetzen wissen. Auf meine Unterstützung wollen Sie nach eigenem Bekunden verzichten. Sie wollen bitte Nachstehendes zur Kenntnis nehmen: Ich als langjährige, überzeugte – inzwischen ehemalige – CDU-Wählerin sage Ihnen: Eher soll mir die Hand abfaulen, als dass ich Sie oder Ihre Partei jemals in meinem Leben wieder wählen werde.

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR).** – Mr President, I would like to say to Dr von der Leyen

that I am greatly disturbed by her attachment to the political project of a European army and European strategic autonomy. This will inevitably lead to a transatlantic divide and undermine NATO, and can only encourage our enemies.

But let me focus on our most critical issue, as far as the UK is concerned. Dr von der Leyen, we welcome your statement of respect for the decision of the British people to leave the European Union and of the need to work closely with Britain in the future. Goodwill on the part of Brussels has so far been rather missing. But we are disappointed that all you seem to offer is an extension of our withdrawal date: this is hardly ambitious. Instead, may we suggest you use your influence before you take office to urge amendment or reinterpretation of those aspects of the Withdrawal Agreement that are clearly unacceptable to the UK. This wouldn't take a lot; solutions are there. In Europe, as they say, nothing is possible and everything is possible. Britain will leave the European Union on 31 October. Let's ensure this is on good terms, without acrimony, to provide the basis for a strong positive relationship in the future, fully respectful of the expressed desire of the British people for control of their own borders and their own laws.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedniče, temelj razvoja i napretka, ali i opstanka Europske unije je jednakost i vladavina prava. Jednakost i vladavina prava prvenstveno se očituju u načinu izbora predstavnika. Od sto trideset predstavnika u Europskom parlamentu, dvadeset predsjedničkih i potpredsjedničkih mjesta pripalo je Njemačkoj. Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji nula, dakle nula posto.

Nadalje, Poslovnik Europskog parlamenta zahtijeva da ta mjesta budu raspoređena temeljem geografske pripadnosti. Dakle, povrijeđena je i vladavina prava. Tako nešto je nedopustivo.

Dakle, imamo Njemačku koja ima dvadeset predstavnika, što je u suprotnosti s jednakošću i predstavlja supremaciju. I sada, još bismo trebali izabrati predsjednika Europske komisije iz Njemačke. To je apsolutno neprihvatljivo jer to nije Europa jednakosti i takva Europa dovodi Europsku uniju u pitanje.

**Esther de Lange (PPE).** – Voorzitter, na de verkiezingen in Nederland was het snel duidelijk dat het constructieve midden verantwoordelijkheid zal moeten nemen, willen we ervoor zorgen dat dit Europa blijft functioneren. Want de flanken – mevrouw de kandidaat, u heeft het al voldoende gehoord – vinden uw plannen óf te veel, óf te weinig. Misschien is dat wel het beste teken dat u een goede balans gevonden heeft.

Er is in dit Parlement heel veel gesproken over uw voordracht en de manier waarop die tot stand gekomen is. Maar, beste collega's, dan mag dat Parlement ook weleens heel erg kritisch naar zichzelf kijken. De kandidaat heeft gesproken over het belang van eenheid, en juist die eenheid heeft dit Parlement na de verkiezingen niet getoond. Denken dat je de Spitzenkandidaat van de grootste politieke partij tot het bot toe kan afbranden, omdat je dan vervolgens hoopt de tweede Spitzenkandidaat te krijgen, dat was ongelooflijk naïef. Die mensen die sowieso niks ophebben met transparantie, met democratie, met een sterk Europees Parlement, springen natuurlijk op dat paard en gaan ervandoor, Macron en Orbán – wat een bijzondere combinatie – voorop. Ik ben dus blij met de toezeggingen van deze kandidaat om ervoor te zorgen dat de schade die is aangericht door de Raad beperkt moet worden richting 2024.

But I am also happy that this candidate started her speech by mentioning Simone Veil, who was not only President of this House but who was also one of the first female members – one of the few, unfortunately female members – of the Académie Française, and when she became a member of the Académie Française she received a sword. On this sword she made sure that there were three engravings – 78561, her number in Auschwitz, reminding us every day why we have this Europe and why we should fight for it every day; the motto of the French Republic; and the motto of Europe, “unity in diversity” – and the choice we have ahead of us tonight – those who are responsible, those who are constructive – is: are we are going to be guided in our vote by frustration and anger about the Council's backroom deal or, in the spirit of Simone Veil, will we build, together with this candidate, the Europe that our citizens need?

**Simona Bonafè (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, vorrei fare un passo indietro alle elezioni europee dello scorso maggio, quando i partiti nazionalisti che si sono presentati scommettendo sul fallimento e sul collasso dell'Europa non hanno raggiunto il loro scopo, per ora.

I cittadini europei vogliono ancora credere nell'Europa. Ecco perché, signora von der Leyen, Le chiediamo di essere all'altezza di questo obiettivo, di dare un segnale forte di rilancio del sogno europeo, di innovazione, al pari di quello di avere una donna per la prima volta a presiedere un'istituzione così importante.

Gliela dico così, con due parole: vogliamo un'Europa solida e solidale, che non si giri più dall'altra parte di fronte a chi rimane indietro, ma che abbia il coraggio di utilizzare tutta la flessibilità prevista nel patto di stabilità per la crescita e l'occupazione, che punti finalmente ad un nuovo modello di sviluppo, che ponga senza ambiguità la questione ambientale non come limite – come troppe volte abbiamo visto anche qua dentro – ma come opportunità che non frena, ma alimenta la crescita perché la rende sostenibile, e in questo modo Lei leverebbe il pretesto di chi ha detto, anche qui, anche oggi, che su questo punto Lei è sfuggente.

Vogliamo un'Europa che non strizzi l'occhio ai nazionalisti per un pugno di voti in più in quest'Aula, ma tenga ben salda la barra dell'europesmo, fatto non di muri ma di condivisione delle responsabilità, come quando si parla di *governance* economica ma anche di immigrazione. L'abbiamo fatto qui dentro, quando abbiamo modificato il sistema di Dublino. Se questa è la visione, ma solo se questa è la visione e l'azione della prossima Commissione, noi ci saremo.

**Dita Charanzová (Renew).** – Mr President, I would say to the President-designate that 15 years ago Central Europeans gave their trust to the European project and now that trust is eroding. Many proposals in the past created an east-west divide on many issues – from Single Market issues to the dual quality of products, posting of workers and issues such as how to make Europe more secure.

It is extremely important that the new Commission adopt a new and different approach. The EU must work to rebuild trust, the trust the people have lost; to ensure that we listen to each other before any proposal is made; to continue to abolish the existing barriers in the internal market, and not to create new ones; to treat all EU citizens equally, with equal access to work and study anywhere in Europe.

Madam President-designate, I hope you can pledge today to be the voice of all EU citizens.

**Ernest Urtegas (Verts/ALE).** – Señor presidente, señora ministra, muy buenos días. Su candidatura representa una triple renuncia, tengo que decirle. La renuncia a la parlamentarización de la vida política comunitaria. La renuncia a una defensa fuerte del Estado de Derecho, porque no podemos olvidar que usted está aquí porque el señor Timmermans fue vetado por algunos países por ser valiente en esta materia. Y una renuncia a un programa político de cambio, puesto que el que usted nos ha presentado tiene muchas limitaciones, como han dicho ya mis colegas.

Además, su Comisión puede iniciarse con un pecado original que arrastrará durante todo el mandato, si sale elegida con algunos votos de la extrema derecha hoy —por cierto, colegas, algo que pondrá en jaque la credibilidad del ejercicio del cordón sanitario que estamos tratando de hacer en esta cámara—. Por todo ello, señora ministra, yo no voy a poder votar su candidatura.

Creo que el Parlamento haría bien en rechazarla. Y a aquellos que nos están diciendo que en pro del europeísmo tenemos que apoyar su candidatura, quiero decirles que someter siempre y constantemente al Parlamento Europeo a las maniobras y a las malas decisiones del Consejo es el peor favor que le podemos hacer a Europa.

Por tanto, por dignidad democrática, institucional y europeísta, su candidatura —creo— debe ser rechazada y debemos pedirle al Consejo que haga una nueva cumbre.

**Maximilian Krah (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Frau designierte Präsidentin, meine Damen und Herren! Was wir hier erleben ist ein Lehrstück, wie man es nicht tun soll. Wir alle haben uns sehr viel anhören müssen wegen unserer Skepsis gegenüber den Versprechungen von Demokratie und Spitzenkandidaturen hier in Brüssel, aber Sie werden mit der Wahl von Frau von der Leyen diese Skepsis bei weitem übertreffen. Es war ein eigenartiges Schauspiel, dass Sie, Herr Weber, der Sie die Kampagne für Spitzenkandidaten geführt haben, heute als Erster gratuliert und zur Wahl von Frau von der Leyen aufgerufen haben, und die Frage, die ich mir stelle, ist: Haben Sie eigentlich Selbstachtung?

Alle, die sich ein wenig mit Frau von der Leyen beschäftigt haben, können wissen, dass sie als Verteidigungsministerin in Deutschland vollkommen gescheitert ist. Sie hat aus der deutschen Armee eine Armee gemacht, in der die Flugzeuge nicht fliegen, die Panzer nicht fahren und die Gewehre nicht schießen. Und auch wenn wir aus Verantwortung gegen sie stimmen werden, kann ich all jenen, die meinen, für sie stimmen zu müssen, nur eins sagen: einen größeren Spaltpilz und einen größeren Sprengsatz können Sie in die Kommission gar nicht hereinsetzen, als jemanden, der in allen Ministerposten in Deutschland gescheitert ist.

**Ruža Tomašić (ECR).** – Poštovani predsjedniče, gospođo Von der Leyen, iznijeli ste vrlo ambiciozan plan, ali malo smo čuli o tome kako ga mislite provesti. Na trenutke ste me vratili u djetinjstvo. Odrastajući u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji imala sam prilike čuti neke grandiozne ideje slične Vašima. Bratstvo i jedinstvo, politička integracija, zajednička vojska, veća radnička i ženska prava, a znamo kako je to završilo.

Isto će završiti i Vaša vizija zato što građani to ne žele. Da oni žele, Vi danas ne biste strepili hoćete li imati većinu u ovome domu.

Govorite o zajedništvu i jednakosti u Europi, a zaboravljate da su sve čelne funkcije EU institucija zaposjele stare članice i još predlažete preglasavanje u području vanjske i sigurnosne politike. Toliko o jednakosti. U govoru ste spomenuli temelje Europe u grčkoj filozofiji i rimskom pravu, ali kao demokršćanka propustili ste spomenuti kršćanstvo. Vaša Europa bježi od svojih korijena i zato je sada toliko i razjedinjena.

**Dino Giarrusso (NI).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora von der Leyen, noi teniamo a rimarcare che voteremo a Lei la fiducia, ma che la nostra fiducia non sarà mai al buio, non sarà mai scontata nemmeno per un minuto. Al contrario, il nostro supporto sarà un'arma per noi, per fare da pungolo alla Sua azione politica.

L'abbiamo sentita parlare di un'Europa giusta ed equa, di tutela dell'ambiente e delle donne e dei lavoratori. L'abbiamo sentita parlare di salario minimo orario e dell'obbligo di salvare le vite umane. Bene, l'Unione europea deve prendersi su questo ed altri temi le proprie responsabilità e ad esempio non può più scaricare su un solo Stato l'epocale fenomeno dell'immigrazione.

L'Unione europea deve tornare ad essere ciò che era nei progetti dei fondatori, volano di pace, sviluppo e crescita per tutti i paesi europei. Non è stato per tutti così. In Italia la disoccupazione giovanile è alta ed è difficile per un giovane creare una famiglia. E allora, candidata von der Leyen, noi vogliamo che finalmente l'Unione europea assicuri a tutti, agli agricoltori, ai pescatori, agli imprenditori, ai lavoratori, ai giovani e ai cittadini europei tutti le stesse opportunità di sviluppo, ed è per questo che chiederemo un impegno serio e concreto anche per mettere fine allo scandalo dei paradisi fiscali, per un'armonizzazione delle politiche fiscali sul lavoro e per una legislazione antimafia comune molto severa.

Se i tanti buoni propositi del Suo discorso diverranno realtà, Lei potrà contare sul nostro appoggio leale, ma se questi si riveleranno invece solo parole, se l'Europa rimarrà quella che ha penalizzato alcune zone come il Sud Italia, Lei troverà nella delegazione del Movimento 5 Stelle la più decisa e feroce opposizione che si possa immaginare.

**Tomas Tobé (PPE).** – Herr talman! Ursula von der Leyen, jag hoppas att alla som tror på det europeiska samarbetet i dag kommer att ge er sitt stöd. Det ser ut som att den extrema vänstern och den extrema högern kommer att rösta emot er i dag. Det tycker jag att ni ska se som ett hedersbetyg. Att den gröna gruppen dessutom verkar välja detta sällskap i dag förvånar mig. Jag måste också säga att jag tror att man skäms lite grann när man ska rösta emot den första kvinnan att kunna bli kommissionsordförande och dessutom en person som kan lyckas samla en majoritet för en progressiv klimatpolitik i Europa.

Vi har nämligen väldigt mycket att samarbeta om i Europa nu. Det gäller inte bara klimatet utan det är också viktigt att bekämpa den gränsöverskridande brottsligheten. Den fria rörligheten i Europa är självklar för oss, men den ska inte gälla för kriminella och terrorister. På det området behöver vi också förstärka det polisiära samarbetet.

Invandringspolitiken är också helt central – att vi kan nå ökat samarbete och en tillräcklig majoritet för att uppnå en invandringspolitik som inte bara är mer rättssäker utan också mycket mer kontrollerad. Jag är helt övertygad om att det i detta Europaparlament går att samla en majoritet för en invandringspolitik som kan ledas av både hjärta och hjärna.

Avslutningsvis: Europa handlar för mig om frihet, det handlar om företagsamhet, det handlar om att öka tryggheten för alla våra invånare. Ni har vårt stöd i dag. Ni har också väldigt höga förväntningar på er, men förvänta er också ett Europaparlament som kommer att vara redo att samarbeta för att ta tag i de centrala problemen i Europa, för det måste vi göra.

**Marina Kaljurand (S&D).** – Mr President, first of all, I would like to thank Ms von der Leyen for today's remarks and for the letter she addressed to the S&D Group. It was well received and it added a lot to the discussion we had last week in Brussels. I would also like to recognise her commitment to democracy, rule of law, human rights, a fair and equal Europe, a Europe without dividing lines. Now, I am looking forward to concrete actions and to concrete answers to the questions that were raised by my colleagues.

Also, I would like to draw her attention to another dividing line that she did not address today.

— See on lõhe ida ja lääne vahel, mille ilmekaks näiteks on Euroopa Liidu Nõukogu viimane otsus, kus kõik kõrged Euroopa Liidu ametikohad läksid Lääne-Euroopasse. Ma ei taha Euroopat, mis jaguneb idaks ja lääneks, uuteks ja vanadeks, nendeks, kellel on rohkem häält, nendeks, kellel on vähem häält. Teistmoodi ühtset Euroopat ei ehita. Sellepärast küsin Teilt: kuidas hindate seda otsust ja mida teete selleks, et need lõhed ei süveneks?

**Cristian Ghinea (Renew).** – Domnule Președinte, doamnă von der Leyen, vreau să insist pe două lucruri importante pentru delegația română din grupul Renew.

În primul rând, integrarea economică și fiscală trebuie să acopere nu doar statele membre ale zonei euro, ci și toate statele europene care vor să adere la zona euro, cum este și România. Avem nevoie de sprijin în acest sens. Vă îndemn să faceți funcțional mecanismul de sprijin tehnic pentru aderarea la zona euro, pe care domnul Juncker l-a menționat în mai multe rânduri.

În al doilea rând, salut intenția dumneavoastră de a demara un mecanism paneuropean pentru monitorizarea statului de drept. A fost o condiție a grupului Renew. Vă mulțumim că ați acceptat-o. În acest sens, vă reamintesc că acest Parlament European a adoptat principiile unui asemenea mecanism acum doi ani și vă propunem să demarăm legislația necesară plecând de la această rezoluție a Parlamentului European.

**Alyn Smith (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, we've reached the point in the debate where everything has been said but it has not yet been said by everybody. But I would like to congratulate Ms von der Leyen on what I thought was an impressive speech this morning. Ms von der Leyen, you've come a long way in your presentation with the House and your interaction with the Groups here. I was particularly struck by your commitment to a gender-balanced College of Commissioners. That will shake things up in itself. The Scottish Government has been gender-balanced for five years now. I commend our experience to you. Congratulations.

And on Brexit: you are aware that Scotland has a particular perspective on this matter, but you should also be aware that there are colleagues from across the House – in England and Wales and Northern Ireland and elsewhere – working hard to bring some sense to Brexit. We are united in the fact that the best Brexit is No Brexit. There are Members of this House who will make noise. Some of us are here to find solutions and I am very glad that you will be an ally in keeping the door open for us.

You're also very welcome to this House but to add another thing to your in-tray, this House is not complete. We are missing three Members from Catalonia, not least our Group colleague Oriol Junqueras. The only solution to this intractable problem will be dialogue, and you, personally, are in a position to be an honest broker in that discussion. I hope you will play that role.

**Joachim Kuhs (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrte Frau Ministerin, als Sie vor 14 Jahren Familienministerin geworden sind, da haben meine Frau und ich uns sehr gefreut, denn wir kannten Sie. Wir wussten, Sie haben sieben Kinder, Sie kommen aus einem großen Elternhaus, und wir erwarteten damals unser zehntes Kind. Da hatten wir damit gerechnet, dass Sie für die Familien eine gute Politik machen. Leider wurden wir sehr enttäuscht. Und wenn ich heute sehe, was Sie für eine Rede gehalten haben! Sie möchten ein Europa bauen, aufgebaut auf dem Fundament der griechischen Philosophie und des römischen Rechts. Da fehlt doch etwas: Ich vermisse das christliche Fundament, die christlichen Wurzeln Europas. Ohne das kann es nicht funktionieren, es wird einstürzen. Bei diesem Bau befürchte ich, dass es ein neuer Turmbau zu Babel sein wird, oder dass es ein Haus sein wird, das jetzt einstürzt, weil es eben auf Sand gebaut ist. Das wünschte ich mir eigentlich, dass Sie das vermeiden könnten.

**Patryk Jaki (ECR).** – Mr President, I would say to Minister von der Leyen that the European Union has launched a humiliating procedure under Article 7 towards Poland. Someone has decided that it is lawful when, for instance, judges accept the robbery of properties from people who are 115 years old while, on the other hand, it is unlawful when we restore people's influence on the justice system. We are told, for example, that we are implementing a random assignment of matters in court. Every time I ask to be shown at least one example – one, not eight, not ten – of a solution that we implement in Poland which does not exist in another EU country, there is always the same answer. Silence. Madam Minister, that's why I'm asking: are you going to end this ridiculous political action under Article 7?

**Dubravka Šuica (PPE).** – Poštovani predsjedniče, gospođo Von der Leyen, zahvaljujem na Vašem uvodnom govoru. Međutim, želim još jedanput ipak podsjetiti da je ovdje bio proces *spitzenkandidata*, da smo mi imali našeg *spitzenkandidata* gospodina Webera. Nažalost, zbog nekih koji su se pravili veliki demokrati, taj proces nije uspio i imamo danas Vas kao kandidatkinju.

Meni je drago da je ipak, kad već nije uspio proces *spitzenkandidata*, uspio proces da se relativna većina poštuje u ovom Parlamentu. Europska pučka stranka je relativni pobjednik ovih izbora i drago mi je da ste Vi, kao predstavnica naše stranke, danas ovdje.

Drugi razlog zašto mi je drago je to što ste žena. Posebno me veseli Vaš odnos prema ravnopravnosti spolova, kojeg ste naglasili. Naglasili ste kako će izgledati Vaša Komisija i kako ćete se odnositi prema polovici stanovništva svijeta i Europske unije.

Ono što nisam čula puno u Vašem govoru, a vjerujem da ćete to kasnije elaborirati, budući da dolazim iz najmlađe članice Europske unije, Hrvatske, i znam da imate dobre relacije s našom Vladom, s našim ministrom obrane, međutim, nisam čula puno o razlikama između istoka i zapada, između sjevera i juga, eurozone, ne-eurozone, schengena, non-schengena. Mislim da je vrlo važno da se ipak dogodi proširenje u schengensku zonu i Hrvatska je jedan od velikih kandidata i nadam se da ćete na tome raditi. Također bih voljela čuti nekoliko riječi o Vašem stavu prema proširenju na jugoistok Europe ili tzv. Zapadni Balkan.

Ono što mi je bilo drago u Vašem govoru čuti to je Vaš odnos prema gospodarstvu. Rekli ste da neće ljudi služiti gospodarstvo nego će gospodarstvo odnosno ekonomija služiti ljudima i ne možemo potrošiti više nego što smo zaradili, prije trebamo zaraditi pa onda dijeliti. Drago mi je da se tako odnosite prema tome.

Također, Vaš zeleni *green deal* je za pozdraviti, neovisno o tome hoće li Zeleni za Vas glasovati, Vaš *green deal* je važan zbog budućnosti, zbog naše djece, zbog održivosti. Drago mi je da o tome vodite računa i da će to biti dio Vašeg portfelja.

Kada je riječ o migracijama, bilo bi mi drago da nastavite onaj plan za Afriku, također, sjećam se da je gospodin Weber u svom programu imao čak povjerenika za Afriku i bilo bi mi drago da nastavite na tome raditi. Treba riješiti afrički kontinent, a Europu, na neki način, ipak zaštititi.

U tom smislu Vam želim čestitati i svakako ću Vas podržati i još jedanput želim podsjetiti cijeli ovaj Parlament da se stvarno svi sjetimo zbog čega smo se nekoć udružili u ovaj savez, a to je mir, prosperitet i demokracija.

**Javier Moreno Sánchez (S&D).** – Señor presidente, señora von der Leyen, bienvenida a la casa de los ciudadanos y ciudadanas europeos. Usted no ha sido *Spitzenkandidat* ni es socialista, de momento —después, al final de la legislatura, ya veremos—. Por ello, sabe que su acceso a la presidencia de la Comisión pasa por el camino socialista.

Y usted parece que está dispuesta a caminar con nosotros, con los compromisos que ayer remitió a nuestro Grupo y que ha vuelto a asumir esta mañana, aquí, en el pleno. Su mandato tendrá una impronta socialista, con una mayor justicia social, con un salario mínimo europeo, con un seguro de desempleo europeo, con una Garantía Infantil y Juvenil europea.

Apreciamos también su estrategia para la igualdad de género, con la eliminación de la brecha salarial, la protección de las mujeres contra la violencia machista y su afán por conseguir la paridad en su futuro Ejecutivo.

Señora von der Leyen, si es elegida, trabajaremos juntos para concretar sus compromisos, con directivas, con reglamentos, con instrumentos y recursos financieros adecuados.

Señora von der Leyen, si usted es elegida, trabajaremos con mucho gusto con la primera mujer presidenta de la Comisión.

Ich wünsche Ihnen viel Glück.

**Elsi Katainen (Renew).** – Arvoisa puhemies, Ursula von der Leyen, olette ohjelmassanne priorisoineet hyvin pitkälle ilmastokysymykset ja Teiltä on vaadittu tässäkin keskustelussa myös konkreettisia toimenpiteitä, keinoja ja ratkaisuja. Siksi itsekin haluaisin nostaa esille ilmasto- ja nimenomaan metsäasiat, jotka tietysti liittyvät saumattomasti toisiinsa. On todella tärkeää, että pyritte kohti hiiletöntä Eurooppaa ja aiotte viedä energia- ja ilmastostrategiaa maaliin.

Komission vuoden 2050 visiossa biotaloudella ja puusta valmistetuilla tuotteilla on iso rooli, silloin kun puhutaan fossiilitaloudesta luopumisesta. On erittäin tärkeää, että metsien hiilensidonnasta pidetään huolta, ja se toteutuu parhaiten aktiivisen metsänhoidon ja metsätalouden kautta, ei niinkään puun käyttöä rajoittamalla. Haluaisinkin kuulla, miten huolehtisitte siitä, että kasvavien metsävarojen Euroopassa puunkäyttö nähdään ratkaisuna eikä ongelmana ilmastonmuutoksen torjunnassa. Minkälaisia näkemyksiä Teillä on tähän tärkeään käytännön asiaan?

**Marcel Kolaja (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, I say to Ms von der Leyen: at the last public consultation, the majority of stakeholders and citizens rejected the re-opening of the liability regime of the Directive on Electronic Commerce. As you are well aware, imposing liability on online content service providers and mandatory filtering of content were among the controversial issues during the last copyright reform.

Over 250 000 people in Germany alone protested against the devastating Article 13 – now number 17 – of the Copyright Directive and against the introduction of upload filters. More than 5 million signed a petition – the biggest in European history. In contrast with all that, in your agenda for Europe, you seem to support the reopening of the E-commerce Directive and ‘upgrading the liability and safety rules’.

Ms von der Leyen, could you please elaborate on what that upgrade means and confirm that the principle of safe harbour for hosting service providers stays intact and that no mandatory filters will be proposed?

**Gunnar Beck (ID).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau Ministerin! Die Eurozone hat mit Japan zusammen das niedrigste Wachstum und die höchsten Steuern der entwickelten Welt. Eine EU-CO<sub>2</sub>-Steuer verlangt Einstimmigkeit. Da stellen Sie, Frau Ministerin, das Einstimmigkeitsprinzip in Steuersachen auf EU-Ebene nunmehr in Frage. Ihr Ministerium hat Milliarden für externe Berater vergeudet, vor allem an die Beratungsfirma McKinsey. Dennoch ist nur zirka ein Drittel des Geräts der Bundeswehr einsatzbereit. Ein Journalist schrieb dazu: „McKinsey benutzt das Verteidigungsministerium wie einen Geldautomaten, und es gilt die Maxime ‚Die Armee versagt, der Berater kassiert, und der Steuerzahler zahlt‘“.

Werte Kollegen! Wollen wir wirklich alsbald eine EU-weite Beratersteuer dafür, wie man die deutsche Klima- und Asylpolitik am besten überall in der EU umsetzt? Unsere Bürger jedoch wollen das gewiss nicht.

**Alexandr Vondra (ECR).** – Mr President, I would like to say to the Minister that just listening to her last week in our Group there was a sign of promise and hope for me but, Minister, reading your letters yesterday and your speech today I have to admit that I am more and more disappointed. You gave in totally to the progressive and green agenda and it's particularly clear in the climate change policy where you gave in to 95% of the Green Party demands and they want the remaining 5% and maybe you will even be inclined to do it.

I guess that instead of adapting ourselves to the climate change, you agreed with these unrealistic goals for 2030 and a vision of a non-carbon society. For me, coming from Czechoslovakia, this reminds me of the promise of a non-class society that goes against nature. And 30 years ago I remember that in China everybody was riding a bicycle while every family in Europe had a car. Do you believe that in 2030 the vision of Europe is that a couple of billionaires will be driving battery-charged Maybach cars and the rest will ride their bicycles and in China everybody will have a car? Is this your vision of Europe being competitive with China in the future?

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A Uachtaráin, a Ursula, ar dtús báire, fáilte Uí Cheallaigh romhat go Parlaimint na hEorpa agus tá súil agam go n-éireoidh go geal leat.

For a woman who was plucked from relative obscurity a little over two weeks ago, your performance since, and especially here today, has been truly remarkable. You've shown that you're a woman of great talent, confidence, perspective and calmness, and are well equipped to do the job of Commission President, which I hope you will get this evening by at least 400 plus votes.

You mentioned many areas of great importance. The one that mattered most in the European elections was climate change and I welcome your practical approach to that. The one thing I would ask you is to ensure that, as we move to a low-carbon economy, nobody is left behind. We have to have a just transition for all – the turf cutter from Ireland, the steelworker from Germany, the dairy farmer from Italy and the coal miner from Poland.

*Spitzenkandidaten* have also been mentioned. You are, in some respects, the victim or the beneficiary of it, whichever way you look at it. Would you agree with me that you might set up a working group of nominees from the Council, the Parliament and the Commission to come forward with proposals as to how this can work in the future? In that way, you could rescue the process.

I was also very pleased with what you said about Brexit and your consistency in the answers you gave to me at the EPP Group reiterated here today in relation to the backstop, the Withdrawal Agreement and flexibility in regard to an extension if necessary. I would ask you to further underline your support for Ireland in the future, as we had unwavering support from Jean-Claude Juncker, Michel Barnier, etc.

Finally, I just want to say to you that gender equality is something that you are in the ideal position to lead and we look forward to that.

**Bogusław Liberadzki (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani von der Leyen! W imieniu polskich socjaldemokratów chciałbym powiedzieć, że nasza sympatia dla Pani rośnie z każdym spotkaniem i z każdą rozmową. Tu chcemy zdecydowanie powiedzieć „tak” dla tego, co Pani powiedziała, bez kompromisu w sprawie praworządności i bez wyjątków. Po drugie – ochrona klimatu. Tak, chcemy oddychać zdrowym powietrzem. Tak, chcemy jeść zdrową żywność i cieszymy się, że Pani powiedziała, że koszty ochrony klimatu powinny być rozłożone sprawiedliwie. Akceptujemy Pani stanowisko, deklarację w sprawie wzmocnienia polityki spójności, w tym fundusz sprawiedliwej transformacji – jesteśmy za. Płaca minimalna zapewniająca godne życie w każdym państwie członkowskim, adekwatnie do sytuacji – tak, jesteśmy za. W polityce zagranicznej i obronnej zabrakło nam wymiaru wschodniego: Rosja, Ukraina, Partnerstwo Wschodnie – tutaj mamy deficyt.

Na zakończenie: zarysowuje się wielka nierównowaga geograficzna w podziale sił w instytucjach europejskich: Niemcy, Włochy, Francja – to pierwszy, najwyższy poziom; Holandia, Hiszpania – druga warstwa; państwa nowe – zero. Myślę, że Pani, jako przewodnicząca Komisji, musi coś z tym zrobić. Liczymy na jakąś rekompensatę.

**Илхан Ключюк (Renew).** – Г-н Председател, г-жо Фон дер Лайен, определено Европейският съюз има нужда от промяна. Това беше и посланието на европейските граждани на последните избори. Повече от ясно е, че те харесват Европейския съюз, но не го одобряват в този му вид. Искат да го видят реформиран, ефективен и работещ за тях.

Задълбочаването на вътрешната интеграция е от съществено значение, но тя не трябва да става за сметка на разширяването на Съюза. Интеграцията на държавите от Балканите е ключов въпрос за бъдещето на Европейския съюз. Напоследък се вижда, че за тях, за Балканите, се говори като зона на сигурност, но не и като част от Европейския съюз.



Отсъствието на бъдещ Комисар по разширяването ще бъде недвусмислен знак, че регионът е изоставен. Второ, днес имаме не просто Съюз на различни скорости, а Съюз на различни стандарти – при храните, при техниката, при международния транспорт. Едни са в Шенген, а за други се прилага неефективен механизъм за сътрудничество и проверка.

Въпросът ми е какво конкретно ще направите в тази посока? От отиващата си Комисия чухме много обещания, но без конкретни резултати, за съжаление. И приключвайки, много е важно да се приключат преговорите по Многогодишната финансова рамка до края на тази година, за да започне изпълнението в началото 2021 година.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Mr President, I say to Ms von der Leyen: coming from little Lithuania I am very happy to support your candidacy, first of all because thanks personally to you and to the decisions of the German Government and NATO, we have troops stationed in Lithuania as part of NATO forces. Because of that, we are feeling much more secure.

I am absolutely sure that you will be a highly prudent and a very effective Commission President. The EU needs real leadership. For us, the EU is not only the common market, not only the source of our economic growth and our social welfare, not only our common united instrument to fight climate change. Those benefits which the EU brings to all of us, are becoming even more important when on a national level we are starting to face the stronger challenge of the middle-income trap and long-term economic stagnation.

But besides those benefits, the EU is also for us a basis for our geo-political security and stability. The EU has a very powerful and unique instrument on how to expand the area of security, stability, rule of law and economic growth on our European continent, and this instrument is the new EU enlargement policy. We in Lithuania with the success of our achievements, are the best example of how powerful this instrument is. We are grateful for the European solidarity we received, which was phased back from the beginning of the 1990s.

I would like to use this opportunity to urge you, as the new President of the Commission, to lead an ambitious policy of further EU enlargement, first of all towards the countries of the Western Balkans, and later on also towards the countries of the Eastern Partnership: Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova. The people of those countries deserve our solidarity, and we deserve a peaceful and stable neighbourhood on the European continent.

The success of Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova can be a very effective example towards the Russian people and the most effective assistance instruments for positive information in Russia, and I am absolutely sure that the EU under your leadership, Ms von der Leyen, can deliver such an ambitious agenda. I wish you the best of success.

**Dan Nica (S&D).** – Domnule Președinte, doamnă von der Leyen, vreau să vă spun că mi-a plăcut abordarea progresistă și pro-europeană pe care ați prezentat-o astăzi în discursul dumneavoastră și în scrisoarea pe care ați adresat-o grupului meu.

Aș vrea să vă spun că veți avea votul meu ca șef al delegației române în Grupul Social Democrat, dar veți avea votul meu și pentru un motiv pe care aș vrea să vi-l spun și anume o speranță, speranța că veți lupta împotriva discriminării dintre cei care suntem din Europa Centrală și de Est și cei din restul Uniunii Europene, că veți lupta pentru eliminarea dublului standard. Avem dublu standard în spațiul Schengen. Milioane de români sunt umiliți în fiecare zi în aeroporturile din Uniunea Europeană, cetățenii Uniunii Europene la stânga, românii la dreapta, lucruri absolut nejustificate și pe care domnul Președinte Juncker s-a jurat de vreo zece ori că le va elimina în timpul mandatului domniei sale. Probabil că a vrut să vă lase dumneavoastră această plăcere.

Veți lupta împotriva dublului standard în privința politicii agricole? Un fermier român, doamnă von der Leyen, primește jumătate din cât primește un fermier din Uniunea Europeană. Cum poate să fie competiție reală și corectă în Uniunea Europeană în aceste condiții? Mai cred ceva, doamnă von der Leyen, pentru că ați spus că aveți și simțiți că trebuie să fie un spirit de dreptate în Uniunea Europeană.

Sper că veți lupta și veți acorda fondurile necesare pentru regiunile de tranziție energetică și industrială, pentru că sunt sute de mii de familii, sute de mii de copii, sute de mii de mame care vor fi afectate, dacă regiunile aflate în tranziție industrială și energetică nu vor avea sprijinul necesar și ca acest lucru să se întâmple acum.

Vă doresc succes, doamnă von der Leyen.

**Urmas Paet (Renew).** – Mr President, Europe needs a stronger and more united foreign security and defence policy. Lack of a common foreign and security policy renders many other nice decisions meaningless. This is an area where also the Commission needs to show dedication and it is my hope that the Commission will be led by a President who is experienced in the area of security and defence and who has a good understanding of the shortcomings that need to be improved, also in cooperation with NATO.

Ursula von der Leyen has contributed to strengthening European defence capabilities and also in the eastern part of the European Union. It is also important that she would become the first woman to hold the office of the President of the European Commission. I will support Ms von der Leyen today because of her experience in security and defence and because she has an understanding and a vision of what is needed to make Europe stronger.

**Roberta Metsola (PPE).** – Mr President, the Berlin Wall has been down longer than it was ever up. If ever there was a representation of the enduring success of Europe, this is it. More than personalities, Europe is hope; more than bureaucracy, it is justice.

Our EU project has inspired people across generations, continents and peoples, but we have to keep working. We are not flawless; our social economy, our free and open approach to trade has raised people out of poverty, but it's still too hard for too many. We are still too far away. I want my children's generation to see Europe as the answer as much as it was for my parents and that is why we cannot be silent when our fundamental freedoms are under threat. We can never accept that journalists like Daphne Caruana Galizia are intimidated and killed, as she was 21 months ago today. We must protect the media. We should never let EU citizenship be sold as a commodity. We cannot allow the next generation to have more plastic than fish in their seas. If we cannot find a bold fix for our environment and for our climate now, we never will.

Equally, we cannot allow issues like migration to become existential questions that are argued only on short-term lines. We need better border management while remaining fair with those who are in need, firm with those who are not and strong with those who seek to exploit the vulnerable.

Our Europe is built on the certainty of our values, on the rule of law and of our freedoms. Without them, there can be nothing else and, Dr von der Leyen, I welcome your assurances and know that you will find us constructive partners in standing up for our European way.

**Pierre Larrourou (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame von der Leyen, vous fixez un cap très ambitieux pour l'Europe: diviser par deux nos émissions de CO<sub>2</sub> d'ici 2030, et vous avez parfaitement raison, c'est une question de vie ou de mort. Mais pour gagner la bataille du climat, le nerf de la guerre, c'est l'argent. Oui, il faut une banque du climat. Oui, il faut un fonds d'investissement, vous avez raison. Mais il faut aller plus loin: il faut dégager un budget climat de 100 milliards chaque année pour financer un vrai plan Marshall pour l'Afrique, pour financer un vrai programme de recherche et pour aider toutes les familles, toutes les petites entreprises d'Europe à financer la transition.

Comment trouver 100 milliards d'euros, chaque année, sans taxer monsieur et madame tout le monde? Je pense qu'il est urgent de lutter contre le dumping fiscal européen. Quand j'étais petit, l'impôt sur les bénéfiques était en moyenne de 40 % en Europe, 40! Il est tombé aujourd'hui à 20 %, alors que les bénéfiques et les dividendes explosent. 20 % seulement en Europe, tandis qu'aux États-Unis il est stable, depuis Roosevelt, à 38 %. Parce qu'à son arrivée, Roosevelt avait créé un impôt fédéral en quatre mois seulement.

Alors, si on veut effectivement gagner la bataille du climat, et je crois que vous le voulez, ma question est simple: est-ce que le prochain cadre pluriannuel peut dégager un budget supplémentaire de 100 milliards par an? Peut-on demander un effort aux actionnaires, avec un impôt de 5 % seulement, et sans toucher les petites entreprises, sans toucher les artisans? Avec 5 % seulement, on peut dégager 100 milliards par année. 5 %, est-ce trop pour sauver le climat?

**Hilde Vautmans (Renew).** – Voorzitter, mevrouw von der Leyen, proficiat, in alle eerlijkheid. U heeft dat hier vandaag uitstekend gedaan. Heel velen van ons waren heel kritisch, ik ook wel in het begin. Maar wat ik hoorde was een gepassioneerde vrouw met een visie op Europa, die Europa wil vernieuwen, die wil samenwerken met het Parlement, die ons initiatiefrecht wil geven.

Natuurlijk, mevrouw von der Leyen, speelt het een rol dat u een vrouw bent, dat u gendergelijkheid naar voren schuift voor de nieuwe Commissie, dat u de strijd tegen seksueel geweld echt wilt voeren en dat het gedaan moet zijn dat we hier altijd maar drie mannen in maatpakken zouden zien. Maar u heeft me vooral overtuigd met uw visie op een echte aanpak van een Europees asiel- en migratiebeleid, met het sneller werk maken van de grens- en kustwacht, met een Europese defensie-unie. Ik had nog liever de omschrijving *Europees leger* gehoord, geef ik eerlijk toe, maar die stap zal misschien later komen.

Mevrouw von der Leyen, u bent een amazone. Ik wens u toe dat u de teugels strak in handen houdt, dat u Europa over de hindernissen leidt en dat u ons groot en sterk maakt. Veel succes, op onze stem kunt u rekenen.

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Mr President, much was said. I will focus on three things. Firstly, Ms von der Leyen, I would like to congratulate you for striking the right balance on climate change, on energy policy and on protecting the environment. We have to do more in this area. We have to improve our energy efficiency. We have to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, and we have to do it in a responsible way: by measuring the economic, the social, the environmental impact of the measures that we take; by standing by the side of the people and of the regions that are affected and by strengthening the economy, by strengthening the competitiveness of our economy. You are proposing an ambitious and a realistic approach. I think it is the correct one and I support it.

Secondly, you are proposing a convergence instrument for the euro area. This is needed, but my kind request to you would be to open this instrument also to countries which are not yet in the euro area but which are preparing to join, to allow countries that are preparing to join the euro area to contribute to this instrument, to benefit from it and to be part of the decision making. This would enable their accession to the euro area. It would strengthen the European economy, and it would also improve unity throughout the European Union.

Thirdly, as a Romanian Member of the European Parliament, I would like to say one word, and this is 'Schengen'. Bulgaria and Romania have been fulfilling the conditions for joining the Schengen area since 2011 and we, the European Parliament, have demanded this several times. I would kindly request that you stand by the side of Parliament and that, together with us, you use the tools that you have at your disposal to enable Bulgaria and Romania's accession to the Schengen area. This is the one topic that the citizens of Bulgaria and Romania are expecting most from the European Union. It will improve the security of the Schengen area, it will not dilute it.

To conclude, I would just like to say: we are a diverse Parliament. We are different. We are not the same. But from what I saw today from the President-designate in her guidelines and in her speech, I think she took all of our positions into account, and this is why I say she deserves the support of Parliament today.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora von der Leyen, o Parlamento Europeu representa os cidadãos, diretamente. Como socialista português represento eleitores que querem uma agenda progressista para o futuro da União. Na conversa que tivemos no meu grupo tive algumas dúvidas sobre o seu nível de compromisso com aquilo que eu e a delegação portuguesa nos comprometemos com os nossos eleitores.

Contudo, as suas respostas por escrito e a sua intervenção, hoje, foram bastante mais convincentes. Estamos, por isso, em condições de passar a uma nova etapa, de passar à concretização e sobre a concretização queria colocar-lhe três questões: que apoio podemos esperar da sua parte para defender um quadro financeiro plurianual ambicioso que promova a convergência e a coesão, com respostas para o desenvolvimento integrado do território? Como vai incentivar o aprofundamento da zona euro e a criação de um orçamento europeu robusto capaz de proteger a União de crises sistémicas? Como traduzirá os compromissos positivos que assumiu em políticas concretas capazes de voltar a reconectar os cidadãos europeus com este maravilhoso projeto?

Senhora von der Leyen, é tempo de passarmos à ação.

**Sophia in 't Veld (Renew).** – Mr President, I am fully convinced of Madam von der Leyen's qualities, but the question is, Madam von der Leyen, not just are you the right person, but are you the right person for this job? There I am not yet fully convinced.

Firstly, your proposal for a rule of law mechanism in my view is insufficient. It is weak and too narrow in scope and I also happen to know that it's actually a proposal from Mr Timmermans that's supposed to be proposed this week as I had a 'sneak peek' at the leaked version.

Secondly, I would like to hear you say something about how you are going to fight racism and xenophobia, which is a big problem in the European Union of today.

Thirdly, I'm not so concerned about the right policies – because I endorse the proposals that you've made – but the enforcement of those policies, because in the European Union we're very good at making rules but extremely bad at enforcing them. I'm talking about dieselgate, data protection scandals at Facebook, money laundering – I mean do I need to spell it out? – rule of law and fundamental rights violations in Hungary and Poland and elsewhere.

Now previous Commissions have been very timid. For me the key question is: you are very much the candidate of the Member States, simply because of the procedure that was followed. Now, are you going to be – like previous Commissions – the lapdog of those Member States or are you going to be the pitbull that I would like you to be? That's what I need to hear.

**Karoline Edtstadler (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, geschätzte Frau designierte Kommissionspräsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir erleben heute einen historischen Moment, denn es gilt, die Weichen für die nächsten fünf Jahre in personeller Hinsicht zu stellen. Es sind bewegte Zeiten, und allein die Wahlbeteiligung hat uns gezeigt, dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger wieder mehr Interesse an der Europäischen Union zeigen. Sie erwarten aber von uns auch Lösungsansätze. Sie erwarten von uns Garantien für den Wohlstand, die Freiheit und die Sicherheit – letztlich ein Europa, das schützt, wie es auch die österreichische Ratspräsidentschaft zum Motto gehabt hat.

Die Europäische Volkspartei ist die stärkste Kraft, und wir stellen den Anspruch, gestalten zu wollen. Der Prozess der Nominierung kann zu Recht kritisiert werden, und er ist bereits einhergegangen mit einem Verlust des Vertrauens der Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Aber zu trennen davon ist die Person der Nominierten. Jetzt geht es darum, dieses Vertrauen der Bürgerinnen und Bürger rasch wiederherzustellen. Wir müssen nach vorne blicken. Wir brauchen eine handlungsfähige Europäische Union, und es gilt auch, Defizite zu beseitigen. Ich nehme Sie hier beim Wort, wenn Sie dafür eintreten, das Spitzenkandidatensystem in Zukunft auch rechtlich verankern zu wollen. Denn die Bürgerinnen und Bürger müssen wir mitnehmen. Wir müssen ihnen vor allem zeigen, dass die Entscheidungen hier auf europäischer Ebene transparent gefällt werden.

Wir brauchen Visionen für Europa. Wir brauchen aber vor allem auch Persönlichkeiten, die bereit sind, diese Verantwortung zu übernehmen, die bereit sind, aktiv zu gestalten und das auch umzusetzen. Wir haben mit Ihnen eine Person an der Spitze der Kommission, die durchsetzungskräftig ist. Mich haben Sie nicht erst heute davon überzeugt. Aber ich glaube, es sind auch sehr viele andere Kolleginnen und Kollegen heute davon überzeugt worden. Daher haben Sie unsere volle Unterstützung. Und ich kann Ihnen auch sagen, dass ich glaube, dass Sie auf die richtigen Themen setzen, dass auch Themen in den Fokus gelangen, die bisher noch nicht im Fokus waren, etwa Gewalt gegen Frauen. Wir werden Sie bei den thematisch herausfordernden Themen der Zukunft jedenfalls voll unterstützen.

**Andreas Schieder (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau von der Leyen! Auch wenn ich Ihrer Nominierung sehr sehr kritisch gegenübergestanden bin, muss ich anerkennen, dass Sie heute eine sehr gute Rede gehalten haben, die viele wichtige Inhalte auch beinhaltet hat. Aber Hand aufs Herz. Europa hat schon sehr viele gute Reden gehört, und es geht vielmehr um die konkreten Projekte.

Es geht darum, dass wir endlich Steuergerechtigkeit in Europa brauchen, dass diese Steuerhinterziehung, egal ob illegal oder legal, unterbunden wird. Es geht um echte Maßnahmen zum Klimaschutz. Es geht darum, dass endlich die soziale Säule in Europa auch Realität wird und umgesetzt wird. Und genau da liegt das Problem, bei der Umsetzung in Europa. Die scheitert sehr oft – fast immer – an den Mitgliedsstaaten, und viele davon sind konservativ regierte Mitgliedsstaaten unter Mitgliedsparteien der Europäischen Volkspartei. Daher geht es mir auch darum. Genau diese Umsetzung ist aber das entscheidende, was Europa braucht und *last but not least* bei den Grundrechten und bei der Rechtsstaatlichkeit ist es mir besonders wichtig, dass wir nicht nur davon reden, sondern auch sicherstellen, dass auch Sie, wenn Sie Kommissionspräsidentin sind, sicherstellen, dass Europa vor Orbán und vor Salvini in Zukunft auch nicht in die Knie gehen wird.

**Charles Goerens (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame von der Leyen, quand je vois les défis qui sont devant nous, je me désole. Quand je vois les potentialités dont dispose l'Union européenne, je me console.

Depuis que Barack Obama n'est plus en fonction, le monde libre est sans direction, le multilatéralisme est mis à mal. Il y a là une place à prendre. Qui pourra occuper la place vacante? L'Europe, bien entendu. Il va falloir fédérer toutes les forces responsables dans l'Union européenne, d'abord par souci de surmonter les clivages Nord-Sud et Est-Ouest. En outre, face aux menaces existentielles et planétaires, à commencer par le climat, on va devoir fédérer les grands acteurs comme la Chine, l'Inde, le Moyen-Orient, sinon l'économie bas carbone reste illusoire à l'échelle planétaire. Il faut donc oser.

Si vous êtes élue et si vous réussissez, ce que je vous souhaite, personne, au terme de votre mandat, ne vous dira merci. Si cependant, par malheur, vous deviez échouer, ce que je ne vous souhaite pas, on vous enverra, mais pas seulement vous, on nous enverra au diable. Notre responsabilité est écrasante, assumons-la.

**Eva Maydell (PPE).** – Mr President, I would like to say to the Commission President-designate that we need to make sure that Europe reaches each and every European. Europe is not simply or just Brussels or Strasbourg. Europe is each and every one of us. Europe must not be more for some and less for others. We need to make sure that Europe reaches every village, town, boy, girl, student, professional, every citizen through a well thought out multiannual financial framework (MFF) and initiatives. No European should leave their region for an economic reason.

Rules should apply to all. When countries such as Bulgaria fulfil the Schengen criteria, they should indeed be part of it. So, Madam President-designate, will you engage with Member States in the Council that find it difficult to recognise that these criteria have been fulfilled? On the euro area, in order not to be seen as a club for some, if countries fulfil the criteria do you foresee the enlargement of the euro area in the next five years?

Also every business, every entrepreneur and every SME has problems employing prepared and skilled professionals. Shouldn't we be a little bit more ambitious and take decisive action in upskilling our people? After today, it will be very important that we implement the talk, and I'm ready to walk alongside you in delivering a stable energy market and a forward-looking and modernising industry, one that embraces technology and innovation in order to make sure that our continent is even more competitive.

**Christel Schaldemose (S&D).** – Hr. formand! Tak for talen, fru von der Leyen. Tak for at lytte til de socialdemokratiske krav om højere ambitioner i klimapolitikken.

55 procents reduktion af CO<sub>2</sub> i 2030. Det er fint. Men hvis vi skal nå det i EU, er der også nogle lande, der skal have mulighed for at gå foran. De nordiske lande, med tre socialdemokratiske regeringer, er klar til at gå foran. I Danmark har den nye regering sat sit mål om en 70 procents reduktion af CO<sub>2</sub> i 2030.

Vil du som formand for EU-Kommissionen sikre, at de lande, der gerne vil gå foran, får mulighed for det? For eksempel ved at forbyde dieslbiler og benzinbiler, hvis der skulle være behov for det? Det har vi brug for. Vi har brug for en effektiv og ambitiøs grøn omstilling, hvis vi skal redde vores klode.

EU startede som en kul- og stålunion. Jeg håber, at du vil være med til at sætte dig i spidsen for, at EU kan blive til en klimaunion. Og hvis du gør det, så har du min støtte.

**Claudia Gamon (Renew).** – Mr President, I really hope that Ms von der Leyen will succeed. I'm not convinced today, but I wish to be convinced by the end of her mandate. If we want to tackle climate change, if we want to define the digital age by European standards, we need to stop disappointing people by always just enforcing the lowest common denominator. We need to surprise them with our ambition and we need to surprise them by supporting the biggest common goal, the biggest common vision that we all have.

I agree with many of the points that you raised today, Ms von der Leyen, but we all know that the main hurdle to tackle them does not lie here or in the Commission, but most likely in the Council, and the Council does seem to be the one institution that comes out of this entire ordeal strengthened and I do worry about that. I do worry that we are not willing to talk about the topics and to go there, to really reform the European Union and to go where it hurts. I do think that we need to change this, and this was the vote that the people cast in May — to really reform and renew the European Union so that it works better – and I do think that it needs to work better for its citizens. We need to reform and renew the European Union because otherwise all the important visions that you laid out today will not come about and I do not think that we have the time for that.

**Richard Corbett (S&D).** – Mr President, let me say that the comments about democracy made from the now empty benches at the back over there lead me to point out that you, Ms von der Leyen, will only take office if approved by a majority in this Parliament, whereas next week, in Britain, a new Prime Minister will take office without the need for any affirmative votes in parliament. It's a shocking contrast.

But will you get a majority? You are asking this Parliament, after all, to back down from one of its principles – the *spitzenkandidat* – to which it was strongly attached, so you have had to make serious concessions, movements to what we in this Parliament demand, and you have made a number. What you said on policy is significant. What you said on a right of legislative initiative is important. And, may I add, that what you said on Brexit is important – that you would accept the need for a deadline extension for good reasons. Well, let me tell you, there is a good reason, and that reason is that the British public is changing its mind on Brexit. A majority of people elected to this Parliament recently are against Brexit. Opinion polls are moving. Every opposition party in the House of Commons now, every single one of them, wants a new referendum. Keep that door open.

**Pedro Marques (S&D).** – Mr President, I would like to say that the commitment, oral and written, by Ms von der Leyen, to more competitiveness, to a sustainable Europe with more solidarity shows that she saw correctly our programme, but, Ms von der Leyen, you also saw the expectations of Europeans. Europe is in need of urgent action. So it was good to see that you didn't hesitate in assuming commitments that go towards what citizens expect, which is clear commitment, clear achievements.

We now expect due capacity to compromise and to overcome the blockages from the Council on several issues: on carbonisation, on migration, on euro area reform, on the pillar of social rights. There's no room for hesitation. Huge challenges lie immediately on our hands, such as the approval of an adequate budget for Europe.

We take your words today, in your written words, with great expectation. Parliament will deliver on its part. The citizens of the EU expect nothing less from us. That means that your pledge on this day is a solemn one. Europeans demand nothing less than five years of redemption of the European project after 10 years of crisis and hesitation. Let us rebuild from now on the Europe of our dreams.

**Ursula von der Leyen, Candidate Commission President.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you very much for this lively discussion. It was constructive, it was controversial, and if there's any proof needed that democracy in Europe is alive and kicking, you brought that proof in this Parliament today and I thank you for that.

Indeed, it has been mentioned many, many times that we had only two weeks to get to know each other. I'm here. It is a great honour for me to have had the opportunity to present the programme. Of course, we know that a speech is just a speech. It's limited. But I think you have received today in your offices the guidelines that I laid out to all of us; so written down are details on the topics: a climate-neutral Europe in 2050, a more social and competitive Europe, a Europe that makes use of its full potential, a Europe that has a new push on European democracy and a strong Europe that protects our European way of life.

I am aware, when I listen to you and many, many arguments that there is the feeling of a division between central-eastern Europe and western Europe. We have to overcome that division. I'm full of respect when I think of the effort that the central European and the eastern European countries undertook and undertake to join the European Union, to join Schengen, to join the eurozone, and I think when they meet the criteria, this has to be rewarded.

I'm aware of the fact that there is still a certain division between south and north. I think I've elaborated extensively about how we could overcome that, how we find the right balance between responsibility and flexibility and the investment and growth that is needed, and where we will work together.

I want to involve and be in closer touch with this European Parliament and that's why I support the right of initiative. That's why I believe we need to find sound ways to anchor the *Spitzenkandidat* system. I'm convinced we're able to do that.

I want to build new trust. I want to build a partnership between the European Commission and the European Parliament. I am your natural ally, if I may put it that way, and at the very end, before we're going to go to the vote tonight, let me end with a saying that comes, once again, from a Greek statesman. He was one of the founders of democracy and I think it's a wonderful motto for our common work. He says, 'the secret to happiness is freedom; the secret to freedom is courage'. Let's have courage together. Let's be courageous on the European Union.

(Applause)

**Presidente.** – La discussione è chiusa.

*Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)*

**Alex Agius Saliba (S&D), in writing.** – This week we saw a new direction and a promise of an ambitious programme with guarantees for a better Europe for the next five years. We saw a candidate truly committed to giving European citizens a leading and active role in building the future of our Union. Ursula Von Der Leyen committed herself to many areas of great importance. The one that mattered most in the European elections was climate change and I welcome her practical approach to that. She pledged to reconcile the social and modern market economy in the interests of our citizens. She committed to an action plan to fully implement the European Pillar of Social Rights and different measures in order to achieve a more social, fair and equal European Union. Last but not least, Ursula Von Der Leyen pledged for a fresh new start in migration with a new pact on migration and asylum and the relaunch of Dublin. These are all steps in the right direction. However, migration should be a priority on the Commission's agenda, where legislative proposals, such as the Dublin Regulation, are enacted and become law. And we, the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, will be pushing for that.

**Andrus Ansip (Renew), kirjalikult.** – On hea, et Euroopa Komisjon saab omale uue presidendi. Toetan Ursula von der Leyenit. Samas on halb, et kaks Euroopa Liidu liikmesriiki – Eesti ja Rumeenia – jäävad kuudeks ilma oma volinikuta Euroopa Parlamendi suutmatuse tõttu valida endale ühe komisjoni esimees, mistõttu pole võimalik korraldada nimetatud volinikukandidaatide kuulamisi. Kahe riigi volinikuta jätmine saadab vale sõnumi, justkui volinikud ei peaks rahvalt mandaati küsima, sest kui rahvas neid tehtud töö eest tunnustab ja nad Euroopa Parlamenti valib, jäetakse riik karistusseks volinikukohast ilma. Kahe riigi volinikuta jätmine on seda enam taunitav, et meil seisavad ees järgmise 7 aasta eelarve arutelud.

**Marek Paweł Balt (S&D), na piśmie.** – Zagłosuję za przyjęciem kandydatury Ursuli von der Leyen, ponieważ przekonały mnie jej zobowiązania złożone w deklaracji politycznej. Zobowiązania te pokrywają się zarówno z moimi oczekiwaniami, jak i postulatami mojej partii SLD oraz frakcji S&D. Za pozytywne oceniam jej zapowiedzi wspierania zrównoważonego geopolitycznie rozwoju gospodarczego oraz podjęcia prac nad płacą minimalną w UE. Pani Przewodnicząca zapewniła, że praworządność pozostanie jednym z fundamentów UE i będzie konsekwentnie egzekwowana. Ponadto zapowiedziała prace KE skierowane na zahamowanie niebezpiecznych skutków zmian klimatu, łącznie z finansowaniem tych działań z uwzględnieniem polityki energetycznej oraz wprowadzeniem cła na towary z krajów, które zanieczyszczają środowisko naturalne. W pracach KE zapowiedziała także działania dot. zwiększenia bezpieczeństwa w UE, w tym przemysłu zbrojeniowego i polityki obronnej. Wreszcie fakt, iż potwierdziła powierzenie funkcji I wiceprzewodniczącego KE przedstawicielowi S&D przekonał mnie, że złożone obietnice będą zrealizowane.

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D), raštu.** – Pirmiausia noriu padėkoti už Jūsų prisistatymą bei už Jūsų iniciatyvą pateikti konkrečius būsimos Komisijos įsipareigojimus mums ir mūsų piliečiams itin svarbiose srityse. ES išskirtinis bruožas visuomet buvo jos ypatingas dėmesys socialinei politikai. Tvari, visapusiška ir teisinga Europos socialinė politika, užtikrinanti lyčių lygybę bei labiausiai pažeidžiamų žmonių apsaugą, yra kertinis pamatas, be kurio piliečių pasitikėjimas Europa ir jos vertybėmis yra sunkiai įsivaizduojamas. Labai džiaugiuosi, matydama Jūsų aiškų įsipareigojimą imtis konkrečių veiksmų apsaugant skurstančius ir socialiai pažeidžiamus vaikus, įsteigiant mūsų, socialistų ir demokratų, iniciuotą Europos vaiko garantiją. Europa privalo imtis konkrečių veiksmų kovojant su jaunimo nedarbu, su smurtu prieš moteris ir vaikus, užtikrinant aukų apsaugą bei smurtautojų atsakomybę, taip pat visapusišką Stambulo konvencijos įgyvendinimą visose valstybės narėse. Labai tikiuosi, gerbiama kandidate, jog Jūsų išsakyti įsipareigojimai jau netrukus taps konkrečiais pasiūlymais, kurie sustiprins Europos socialinės politikos ramstį bei užtikrins teisingesnę, saugesnę ir labiau socialiai atsakingą Europą.

**Josianne Cutajar (S&D), in writing.** – As we speak, a new European Commission is slowly forming. The time is ripe for the creation of a new role: that of a EU Commissioner tasked with being the voice of children from across all Member States. As a Union, work has already begun on measures to eradicate poverty and social exclusion, issues that still plague over 20 million individuals who are not yet 18 years of age. Emphasis on child policies, as well as the implementation of a Child Guarantee, among others, are positive steps, but do not go far enough. The current situation still denies children access to basic needs such as healthcare and education. This should not be the case in our flourishing, thriving societies. Dedicated high-level figures are key in our fight against child poverty and exclusion, and will be important allies in the promotion of effective, child-friendly, legislative measures. To this end, I am proud to have signed Eurochild's petition for the new role of EU Child Commissioner, and I thus urge the future President of the European Commission to take heed of this call for action, and appoint a passionate person with a specific portfolio on children's rights. We must act now.

**Enikő Győri (PPE), írásban.** – Önre igen komoly nyomás nehezedik, mióta az Európai Tanács Önt javasolta e magas tisztségre. Kérem, ne hagyja magát megfélemlíteni. A jelölése a hatályos uniós szerződéseknek megfelelően, az uniós jogállamiság tiszteletben tartása mellett, demokratikusan történt. A szerződésben nem létező csúcsteljesítési rendszert számon kérni Önön méltatlan és jogi szempontból sem áll meg a lábán. Az Ön mai megválasztásával esély van egy új kezdetre, hogy érvényt szerez az alapító szerződés 4.2. cikkének, így annak, hogy minden tagállamot egyforma mércével mérnek, és tiszteletben tartják a tagállamok alkotmányos identitását. Hogy párbeszéd útján, a kölcsönös tisztelet mentén, az intézmények rögzített hatáskörének fel nem borításával rendezzük a közös ügyeinket, a létező, s nem az elképzelt szabályok mentén.

Azt javaslom továbbá, nyisson Közép-Európa irányába. Utazzon el mielőbb Magyarországra is. Kérdezzen és akarja megérteni a mi valóságunkat. Tájékoztadjon első kézből, ne hagyatkozzon mások értékítéletére. Közép-Európa ma az Unió gazdasági motorja. Amikor áttekinti az Unió következő hét éves keret költségvetését, akkor úgy alakítsa át az elődje által jegyzett tervezetet, hogy az járuljon hozzá ezen fejlődési ütem folytatódásához. Ne büntesse a jó teljesítményt, hanem jutalmazza.

Végezetül azt kérem, legyen a szabadságunk óre. Lehessen másképp gondolkodni, hinni konzervatív értékekben. Lehessen büntetlenül szót emelni az európai civilizáció és kultúra megőrzése érdekében.



**Lídia Pereira (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – O discurso de Ursula von der Leyen foi fundamental para a clarificação da visão que a candidata indicada pelo Conselho Europeu tem para os próximos cinco anos. E serão cinco anos estruturantes para a construção do futuro da Europa nas próximas décadas.

O processo de escolha da candidata, que é liderado pelo Conselho Europeu, foi complexo e exigente, em circunstâncias políticas difíceis. Conseguir fazer esta eleição a tempo é fundamental para prosseguir com a formação da Comissão e a preparação para o novo ciclo, a partir de 1 de novembro.

Congratulo-me com a escolha de uma mulher para Presidente da Comissão Europeia e espero que a composição da futura Comissão seja equilibrada. Estou certa de que teremos homens e mulheres com um claro compromisso com a causa europeia.

A competência técnica, a visão política e a adequação ao portefólio serão os critérios que vão presidir às nossas audições. E a Presidente da Comissão indigitada terá a responsabilidade de garantir, *a priori*, estas condições.

Acompanho as prioridades enunciadas relativamente ao combate às alterações climáticas, à conclusão da União Económica e Monetária, à adaptação à sociedade e economia digitais, à erradicação da violência contra as mulheres e à reforma institucional da União.

**Sandra Pereira (GUE/NGL)**, *por escrito*. – A Senhora Ursula Von der Leyen representa o consenso que há décadas determina o rumo da União Europeia, nomeadamente:

- i) O consenso das desigualdades entre países, em que os superávites de uns são construídos em cima dos défices e dos sacrifícios dos outros;
- ii) O consenso do nivelamento por baixo das condições de vida e de trabalho na Europa; da precariedade laboral, da instabilidade na vida de milhões de trabalhadores, do desemprego e do subemprego; das desigualdades entre homens e mulheres;
- iii) O consenso do grande capital e das grandes potências, que sacrifica os sistemas produtivos mais débeis, o ambiente e os direitos sociais em prol do lucro das multinacionais;
- iv) O consenso das privatizações, do ataque aos serviços públicos, das ameaças e das sanções a Estados soberanos;
- v) O consenso do militarismo e da guerra.

Mas estes consensos podem contar com a oposição de todos aqueles que lutam por uma outra Europa: a Europa do progresso, da justiça social, da defesa do ambiente, da democracia, da solidariedade, da paz e da cooperação; uma Europa que se cumprirá por via da luta dos trabalhadores e dos povos.

**Henna Virkkunen (PPE)**, *kirjallinen*. – Kannatan lämpimästi Ursula von der Leyenin valintaa komission puheenjohtajaksi. Hänellä on vahva poliittinen kokemus sekä tahtoa ja kykyä rakentaa Eurooppaa yhteistyössä eteenpäin.

Moni täällä EU-parlamentissa on pettynyt prosessiin ja erityisesti siihen, ettei Spitzenkandidat-menettely onnistunut. Se ei kuitenkaan tarkoita, että ehdokas pitäisi hylätä. Hän on erinomainen valinta. Vaikka kärkiehdokasmenettely ei nyt onnistunut, ei sitäkään pidä hylätä, vaan kehittää. Ennen kaikkea puolueiden on jatkossa tehtävä paljon parempaa yhteistyötä kun nyt nähtiin.

Kenenkään täällä parlamentissa on turha loukkaantua siitä, että Eurooppa-neuvosto näissä olosuhteissa otti ohjat käsiinsä. Se rakensi tasapainoisen kokonaisuuden, jolla on hyvä mennä eteenpäin. Nimityspaketti verraten hyvin huomioi paitsi poliittiset voimasuhteet, myös ensimmäistä kertaa sukupuolten tasa-arvon. Nyt on jo korkea aika saada nainen komission johtoon. Jos EU-parlamentti olisi ollut alusta saakka yhtenäinen, Eurooppa-neuvosto olisi varmasti kuullut sen viestin esityksiä tehdessään.

Ursula von der Leyenin ehdokkuus on saanut jäsenm Maiden vahvan tuen, ja hän on nyt esitellyt poliittisen linjapaperinsa, joka varsin hienosti huomioi täällä monelle poliittiselle ryhmälle tärkeitä tavoitteita: kunnianhimoisen ilmastopoliitiikan, turvallisuuden, kestävä talouskasvun ja sukupuolten tasa-arvon. Ursula von der Leyen ansaitsee parlamentin vahvan tuen.

(La seduta è sospesa alle 13.00)

## PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. DAVID MARIA SASSOLI

*Presidente*

### 4. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(La seduta è ripresa alle 15.03)

### 5. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia: Patrz protokół

### 6. Skład komisji i delegacji: Patrz protokół

### 7. Przegląd rumuńskiej prezydencji Rady (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca le dichiarazioni del Consiglio e della Commissione sul bilancio della Presidenza rumena del Consiglio (2019/2685(RSP)).

Ricordo agli onorevoli deputati che per questa discussione non è prevista la procedura «catch-the-eye» né saranno accettate domande «cartellino blu». Do il benvenuto alla Presidente Dăncilă, che è qui con noi in Aula e ai suoi colleghi del governo rumeno e do la parola alla Presidente.

**Viorica Dăncilă, Președintă în exercițiu a Consiliului.** – Domnule Președinte al Parlamentului European, domnule vicepreședinte al Comisiei Europene, stimați membri ai Parlamentului European, doamnelor și domnilor, îmi face o plăcere deosebită să mă aflu astăzi în fața noului Parlament European ales, pentru a vă prezenta bilanțul președinției României la Consiliul Uniunii Europene, bilanț ce conține și repere pentru drumul european comun pe care îl avem în fața noastră. Ca fost membru al acestui for, cunosc îndeaproape și apreciez rolul deosebit pe care Parlamentul European și dumneavoastră îl aveți în procesul decizional european. Doresc să vă felicit și să vă urez mult succes în exercitarea mandatului.

Doamnelor și domnilor, a fost important să arătăm că instituțiile europene lucrează pentru cetățeni și, mai ales, că produc rezultate care îmbunătățesc viața acestora și oferă perspective pentru viitor. Am satisfacția de a afirma că România a reușit acest lucru. Am preluat și asumat această responsabilitate ca pe o misiune în slujba cetățenilor și a unității europene. Am considerat necesar ca toate acțiunile noastre să fie construite în jurul coeziunii, ca valoare comună europeană. România a demonstrat că poate performa cu succes pe fondul unor provocări și tendințe care pun sub semnul întrebării determinarea Uniunii de a progresa. Am dovedit capacitatea României de a contribui la valoarea adăugată a Uniunii Europene, aspect reflectat în bilanțul consistent pe care îl predăm: 90 de dosare legislative finalizate și aproximativ 2 500 de evenimente și reuniuni organizate. Totodată, am facilitat adoptarea a 84 de concluzii ale Consiliului pe multiple teme de interes comun.

Ne-am dorit ca prin exercitarea acestui mandat, să avem rezultate vizibile, durabile, la care cetățenii să se poată raporta cu ușurință și claritate. Aceste rezultate conferă o identitate veritabilă primei noastre președinții, la care, consider, că ne putem raporta cu toții. De exemplu, mi-ar plăcea să cred, că atunci când un cetățean european va beneficia de un acces mai echitabil și mai transparent pe piața muncii, care să-i permită să echilibreze mai bine activitatea profesională cu viața privată, va ști că aceste decizii au fost luate pe durata președinției României.

La fel, doresc să cred că cetățeanul european se va simți mai în siguranță și mai protejat în interiorul granițelor Uniunii și datorită eforturilor președinției noastre. Am reușit să facem un salt calitativ în această direcție. De aici înainte, vor fi posibile verificări mai eficiente la frontierele externe, vom îmbunătăți securitatea cărților de identitate.

Am obținut rezultate consistente pe toți cei patru piloni prioritari ai președinției: Europa convergenței, Europa siguranței, Europa, actor global, Europa valorilor comune.

În cadrul pilonului Europa convergenței, președinția României a depus eforturi intense pentru avansarea negocierilor referitoare la viitorul cadru financiar multianual 2021-2027, atât pe palierul politic, cât și la nivel sectorial. Am reușit, de asemenea, finalizarea negocierilor pentru un număr considerabil de dosare legislative vizând consolidarea uniunii bancare și uniunii piețelor de capital și am asigurat o viziune pe termen lung privind piața unică. Totodată, rezultatele concrete înregistrate în domenii precum piața internă, în toate dimensiunile acesteia – energie, afaceri sociale sau schimbări climatice – sunt elemente care vor rămâne puncte de reper și sunt deja preluate de partenerii noștri din trio, Finlanda și Croația.

În același timp, provocările erei digitale, din care cea a inteligenței artificiale, au fost abordate prin primul set de concluzii ale Uniunii, dedicate acestei teme. Președinția noastră a adus o contribuție importantă la definitivarea pieței unice digitale prin Directiva privind drepturile de autor în piața unică digitală.

În toate demersurile noastre, am urmărit plasarea intereselor cetățeanului în centrul viziunii noastre. Consolidarea dimensiunii sociale a Uniunii a reprezentat, astfel, o prioritate, iar înființarea Autorității Europene pentru Muncă, un exemplu de reușită. Din perspectiva uniunii energiei, am adoptat propunerea de amendare a Directivei gaze naturale, care va asigura, în premieră, un cadru de reglementare unitar și transparent privind interconectările în domeniul gazelor naturale cu state terțe. Am urmărit, de asemenea, facilitarea reflecției privind dezvoltarea unei viziuni comune pe termen lung în direcția neutralității climatice. Am adoptat primele reglementări în domeniul standardelor de emisii pentru vehiculele grele.

Europa siguranței – cel de-al doilea pilon – a fost cadrul în care am acționat pentru creșterea gradului de securitate la nivelul Uniunii Europene, având în vedere așteptările cetățenilor noștri. Am consolidat mandatul Agenției Europene de Frontieră și Garda de Coastă, iar prin adoptarea legislației privind interoperabilitatea, transmitem un semnal clar că sistemele de informații la nivel european trebuie să se completeze reciproc. Acesta reprezintă un exemplu excelent în ceea ce privește continuarea cooperării între statele membre pentru consolidarea securității interne și a funcționalității spațiului Schengen, obiectiv la care România dorește să participe pe deplin în continuare.

În domeniul migrației, am depus eforturi pentru avansarea negocierilor privind reforma politicii europene de azil și migrație. Chiar și în condițiile menținerii divergențelor pe această tematică, am reușit să avansăm negocierile privind Directiva returnare și discuțiile privind perfectarea unor angajamente temporare. Am finalizat, de asemenea, negocierile pentru funcționarea rețelei europene a ofițerilor de legătură în materie de migrație.

În vederea îmbunătățirii răspunsului la atacurile cibernetice, a fost adoptat un cadru de sancțiuni pentru a răspunde atacurilor cibernetice. Astfel, pentru prima dată, se vor impune sancțiuni persoanelor implicate în atacurile cibernetice care amenință Uniunea sau statele membre. România va continua să acționeze în acest domeniu, urmărind obiectivul de a găzdui o agenție europeană specializată în acest sens.

Privind către dimensiunea externă a activității noastre, reflectată în cadrul pilonului Europa, actor global, am investit eforturi consistente pentru a consolida profilul unei Uniuni active și eficiente, implicată în vecinătatea sa și credibilă prin onorarea angajamentelor sale internaționale. S-au obținut progrese în domenii relevante, precum regiunea Balcanilor de Vest, Parteneriatul Estic, regiunea Mării Negre. Extinderea reprezintă o investiție geostrategică în bunăstarea economică, politică și de securitate a Uniunii Europene. În Balcanii de Vest, am reușit ca pe fondul unui context complex, să păstrăm evoluțiile remarcabile, și chiar istorice, înregistrate anul trecut, și să menținem oportunitățile strategice create pentru partenerii din regiune, mă refer la Albania și Macedonia de Nord.

Relevanța obiectivelor noastre este majoră în pilonul Europa valorilor comune. Fenomenul dezinformării este de o actualitate incontestabilă și, de aceea, am transmis Consiliului European Raportul privind combaterea dezinformării și asigurarea unor alegeri europene corecte.

Un alt obiectiv major al președinției noastre a vizat combaterea antisemitismului, a xenofobiei, a discursului bazat pe ură și a tuturor formelor de intoleranță. Sperăm că aceste eforturi vor fi continuate de către partenerii noștri din trio. Credem că promovarea egalității de șanse și de gen este un obiectiv major, care s-a regăsit, de altfel, în arhitectura noilor instituții europene, a Parlamentului European și a Comisiei Europene.

Ne-am asumat că vom acționa în sensul consolidării proiectului european și, pe parcursul celor șase luni ale mandatului nostru, am demonstrat că proeuropenismul trebuie alimentat prin acțiune constantă. M-am implicat personal și cu toată dăruirea în buna desfășurare a acestei președinții și dintr-o motivație personală, determinată de atașamentul profund față de idealul proiectului european. Fac parte din generația care s-a maturizat cu această aspirație la deplinătatea integrării europene și la recunoașterea acesteia pentru România. Cred că acest sentiment de recunoaștere a însemnătății pe care o are Uniunea Europeană pentru cetățeni are nevoie să fie cultivat în permanență prin rezultate concrete. Proiectul nostru nu trebuie să promoveze o Europă cu mai multe viteze și nici a cercurilor concentrice. România va continua să promoveze obiectivul comun de consolidare a proiectului european și va urmări, în același timp, definitivarea integrării sale. Mă refer aici, desigur, la integrarea deplină a țării noastre în spațiul Schengen, în cadrul căruia acționăm deja ca membru *de facto*. Vom acționa în continuare de o manieră pragmatică pentru promovarea principiilor din Declarația de la Sibiu și rămânem profund atașați respectării valorilor democratice și a statului de drept. Este important însă să nu existe diferențe între statele membre, falii care să creeze standarde diferite pentru cetățenii europeni.

Prin exercitarea președinției Consiliului Uniunii Europene, România a confirmat statutul de membru cu drepturi depline, ceea ce ne arată legitimitatea aspirațiilor noastre de încheiere a Mecanismului de Cooperare și Verificare. Cred în continuare cu tărie că viitorul nostru, al tuturor, nu poate fi imaginat altfel, decât în cadrul unei Europe mai puternice și mai coezive, în beneficiul căreia am lucrat cu entuziasm, încredere și profesionalism în ultimele șase luni. Am convingerea că eforturile președinției României la Consiliul Uniunii Europene reprezintă o bază consistentă pentru continuarea avansării agendei europene în perioada următoare și urez succes președinției finlandeze a Consiliului Uniunii Europene.

Vă mulțumesc și mulțumesc pentru sprijinul dumneavoastră în aceste șase luni, pentru buna cooperare și sunt convinsă că președinția rotativă deținută de către România în aceste șase luni va rămâne atât în memoria României, dar și în memoria Uniunii Europene ca o președinție de succes.

**Maroš Šefčovič**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, it's always a pleasure to be in this Chamber and especially today because this morning you have been debating the vision and the expectations for our common Europe for the next five years. Soon you will be voting on that vision so we can fully embark onto the next legislative period, a period that comes in decisive times because of the challenges as well as the opportunities for all of us.

Cooperation with Parliament, with its strong mandate thanks to the highest participation rate in the EU elections in the last 20 years, will no doubt be crucial because together we share responsibility for Europe. Because for Europe to succeed, we must play as a team, guided by the European art of compromise and in defence of the common European interest.

I believe that this was the case not only during the Romanian Presidency that we are summing up here this afternoon, but also it was the spirit of our work during the last five years.

Let me thank Prime Minister Dăncilă for the efforts that Romania took to advance our Europe further. As I said, to achieve results Parliament, the Council and the Commission must work together in the constant pursuit of the general European interest. This is best encapsulated by the fact that to date 354 proposals put forward by this Commission have been adopted, 90% of them by unanimity.

This was not a given. It required hard work and compromise and I am confident that our new Parliament will take an equally constructive approach.

In this regard, I would like to congratulate the Romanian Presidency, President Klaus Iohannis, Prime Minister Viorica Dăncilă, the ministers and the brilliant Romanian Ambassador to the European Union, Luminița Odobescu, for the excellent work and the many achievements. You invested significant efforts in closing as many legislative files as possible before the last plenary session of the previous European Parliament in April. It was really a political sprint because you managed to close 90 files in the first 100 days of your term, and that's a testament to your tenacity and dedication.

I am thinking in particular of the strengthening of the European Border and Coast Guard, the Copyright Directive, or the European Gas Directive, which was particularly difficult to conclude and therefore my colleague Energy and Climate Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete also decided to join me today to express also his appreciation for the hard work on this very important piece of legislation.

But I also think about the progress we have made on our Social Agenda, which was a top priority of this Commission from the very beginning. Thanks to the work of the Romanian Presidency we have now higher minimum standards for working parents and carers. We have increased the possibility for men to take up caring responsibilities and we are giving more support to women's participation in the labour market.

We have made contracts and working conditions more transparent and predictable for all types of work, particularly atypical forms of work such as on-demand or part-time work, and less than a year after we made a proposal to establish the European Labour Authority, the Romanian Presidency made this a reality.

Regarding the next multiannual financial framework, the Romanian Presidency also did excellent work on the negotiating box and on advancing discussions on the sectoral proposals. Very good progress has been made, including on one of the most critical points, the euro area budgetary instrument. Let us take this forward with determination with the next Presidencies.

We all know how complex the budget negotiation can be, but ultimately it is a matter of political will and we now need to take the decision that will create certainty and stability for the future of our citizens and for our businesses.

Romania has proven that in this challenging year of institutional change in Europe, our Union is breathing with both lungs, east and west. We could certainly feel this at the Sibiu summit on 9 May. This was an important moment for both the European Union and Romania. We could see how brightly the European colours could shine.

The resulting Sibiu Declaration of the 27 EU leaders is a strong message of commitment to each other to build a European future together.

To conclude, let me add, as the Commission has already said in the past, that we believe Romania should be a full member of the Schengen area and I can only call again for the Member States to put Romania in its deserved place in our borderless Europe.

I also would like to say, as the Commission has outlined in the past, that efforts regarding the rule of law and fight against corruption are crucial and must be upheld, because people deserve this.

And my last sentence would be again aimed at, I would say, my personal experience with your country. I visited it many times before and after the big changes in our part of the world, so I can testify to and be a witness of how big the progress is that your country has made over the last few years and therefore your first Presidency should be something the whole nation should be proud of because you did a great job for which I really would like to thank you and I will try to say it in Romanian as well, *mulțumesc*.

**Andrey Kovatchev**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, first of all, on behalf of the PPE Group, allow me to congratulate President Iohannis and you, Prime Minister, and your government, the people of Romania and everybody involved for making your country's first Presidency a success. You have assumed responsibility at a challenging time for Europe, a period marked by the impending departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union, the ongoing discussions about the future shape of the EU project and institutional renewal, starting with the European elections.

Against this background, you have faced high expectations to deliver on legislation, but also to provide guidance on set priorities for the future. During the Romanian Presidency, the EU made good progress on several important issues such as the digital single market, the Gas Directive and the Banking Union. The Commissioner has already talked about some of them.

Together we have also achieved a strong commitment at EU level for the European enlargement perspective for the Western Balkans. We welcome the decision of the Romanian Presidency to keep this important topic on the agenda of the European Union. After a ten-year break, the Sofia summit during the Bulgarian Presidency provided a much-needed tangible roadmap for the European future of this region. We highly value the efforts of both the Austrian and the Romanian Presidency in sustaining and furthering this impetus. It is time to face reality. A weakening of enlargement momentum could easily cause setbacks for the reform agenda in the region and create openings for other third countries to gain greater influence – a situation which, to put it mildly, won't be in the interests of the European Union. The Romanian Presidency started with the motto 'cohesion, a common European value'. Indeed, a more cohesive Europe is a stronger Europe.

Many important files have been successfully closed. I would like especially to highlight the agreement on the regulation on the European Border and Coast Guard. Strengthening our border control capacity has been a longstanding priority for the PPE Group. The most important freedom that our citizens enjoy is free travel within the European Union. We can only guarantee this freedom if we secure our external borders to monitor who is crossing them at all times. In regard to my country, Bulgaria, we set a good example on this securing of the external border. We have ensured a high level of protection of our external border also with the help of EU solidarity, which guarantees the security of the whole of Europe. The PPE Group is in favour of a stronger European Border and Coast Guard with increased resources and capacities ready to deploy immediately whenever a country faces disproportionate migratory pressure. We support the reinforcement of Frontex with 10 000 new border guards to help national border enforcement officers.

Another key topic was the debate on the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) for the next programming period. The PPE Group wants an ambitious Europe and we need the means to match our ambitions. We cannot expect the EU to deliver on expectations to European citizens if we do not give them the tools to be effective and adapt to the changing world. Although we would have liked the negotiations to be finalised before the European elections, we commend the Romanian Presidency for the good progress achieved in the first half of this year. It is important that we do not reduce the share of the total EU budget allocated to cohesion policy measures post-2020. The European structural and investment funds contribute to improving our infrastructure and closing socioeconomic gaps between regions, but also fight poverty and here Romania – but also all of us – need to do much more by fighting poverty in our Union.

Nevertheless, we would have also appreciated the Romanian Presidency getting better results on the external neighbourhood discussion and improvement on the Schengen enlargement talks. Unfortunately, the Council is still not willing to grant access for Romania and Bulgaria to the Schengen area. The U-turn at the helm of the Council coincided with the negotiations for the appointment of the European Public Prosecutor. The PPE Group strongly supports the efforts to combat fraud affecting the financial interest of the European Union. But of course our Union is not only financial; it is also based on values. Let us not forget that the EU is founded on the shared values of democracy, the rule of law and respect for fundamental rights. The rule of law is a fundamental value that we, the members of the PPE Group, care about.

Finally, the role of the Presidency is not only to ensure the day-to-day management of the European agenda, but also to set strategic priorities for the future. Here an important success was the EU summit organised in Sibiu by President Iohannis. EU leaders signed the Sibiu Declaration and agreed upon the main steps towards a more united, stronger and democratic Union.

We have received a strong mandate from our citizens. More than 50% of citizens voted in the European elections. Now it's time for the Finnish Presidency to continue the work and work together with us and the President of the European Commission, who we hope will be elected this afternoon, to realise the ambitious programme presented by Ms von der Leyen in the plenary this morning. Thank you very much again for all your efforts. I am looking forward to the Finnish Presidency.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, primera ministra, Rumanía ha ejercido la Presidencia del Consejo en un momento clave para el futuro de nuestra Unión. No era una tarea fácil, no solo por la envergadura de los retos, con la incertidumbre que supone el *Brexit*, sino también por el breve periodo de tiempo para trabajar. Ha sido una Presidencia corta, por las elecciones europeas, pero, sin duda alguna, una de las más fructíferas. Y por eso tengo que felicitar al Gobierno rumano y me alegra poder dar hoy la bienvenida a esta cámara a su primera ministra, Viorica Dăncilă.

El buen hacer de su Gobierno ha facilitado numerosos acuerdos, y el buen hacer también ha realizado un importante trabajo para preparar el terreno de una potencial salida del Reino Unido de la Unión Europea de manera que el impacto sea lo más suave posible tanto para los ciudadanos británicos como para el resto de ciudadanos de la Unión. Porque ese ha sido el eje de su Presidencia: dar respuesta a las necesidades de la ciudadanía.

La Presidencia ha tenido como tema central la cohesión, que es una de las expresiones de la solidaridad entre la ciudadanía y, también, la solidaridad entre los territorios. Sabemos que son muchas las regiones de Europa que se quedan despobladas porque los jóvenes no ven un futuro. Por eso, poner como prioridad la Europa de la convergencia ha sido un acierto. Queremos que la Unión Europea aproveche las nuevas tecnologías y la transformación ecológica para crear nuevas oportunidades en todos los territorios de la Unión.

En apenas cuatro meses, la Presidencia rumana ha logrado cerrar ochenta expedientes legislativos y diez importantes acuerdos institucionales. Entre los éxitos más importantes de esta Presidencia permítanme que destaque todo el trabajo preparatorio y los acuerdos sobre propuestas sectoriales para el marco financiero plurianual para los próximos siete años. Ese presupuesto comunitario que debemos cerrar en cuanto se ponga en marcha la Comisión Europea es fundamental para la legislatura que ahora comienza. Solo con un presupuesto sólido podremos llevar adelante las políticas que la ciudadanía está esperando de nosotras y de nosotros.

La Presidencia rumana ha logrado promover medidas para fortalecer el pilar social, con una mayor protección de los trabajadores y las trabajadoras a través de una Directiva relativa a unas condiciones laborales justas y el establecimiento de la Autoridad Laboral Europea, cuestiones que para nosotros eran fundamentales. Y otra cuestión que me van a permitir que traslade aquí como uno de los grandes logros de la pasada legislatura ha sido la adopción de una Directiva para avanzar en la conciliación de la vida personal y profesional, que incluye por primera vez un permiso de paternidad remunerado.

Durante estos meses el Gobierno rumano ha promovido la Europa de la solidaridad, de la justicia, de la igualdad de oportunidades y la igualdad de género, pero también los valores de diversidad, que son tan necesarios frente a quienes quieren aprovecharse del miedo al diferente. Por eso les felicito por sus iniciativas para combatir el racismo y la xenofobia, así como todas las formas de intolerancia.

Primera ministra, Viorica Dăncilă, ahora pasan el relevo a otra Presidencia, la de Finlandia, que continuará el buen trabajo de estos meses para construir una Europa diversa, progresista y justa, que es lo que la ciudadanía europea quiere.

**Dragoș Tudorache**, *în numele grupului Renew*. – Domnule Președinte, doamnă prim-ministru Dăncilă, domnule vicepreședinte Šefčovič, prima Președinție română a Consiliului Uniunii Europene a fost una a contrastelor. La nivel tehnic, funcționarii și diplomații români au reușit să finalizeze 90 de dosare legislative și non-legislative. De aceea, vreau să-i felicit pe profesioniștii din spatele scenei, cei care primesc mult prea rar cuvântul „mulțumesc” pentru munca depusă în aceste (*cuvânt care nu se înțelege*).

Nu același lucru poate fi spus și despre eșalonul politic al acestei președinții. Cu regret trebuie să spun că actualul guvern de la București a fost mult prea preocupat de problemele cu justiția ale liderilor săi, ca să asigure președinția ambițioasă. Această lipsă de ambiție politică a fost dublată și de o retorică antieuropeană și populistă din partea partidelor de guvernământ. Din fericire, această retorică a fost drastic sancționată de cetățenii români la votul din 26 mai.

România a dovedit că este mult mai mult decât politicienii care o reprezintă. România înseamnă, în primul rând, cetățenii care au stat la cozi pentru a vota pentru o Românie europeană. Cu siguranță ei meritau mai mult de la această oportunitate care vine o dată la 14 ani. După această președinție, Consiliul rămâne dator în planul politic pe mai multe dosare sensibile și foarte importante pe care nu a reușit să avanseze în ultimele luni. Aș menționa aici doar trei dintre acestea.

În primul rând, este nevoie de deblocarea discuțiilor privind cadrul financiar multianual. Nu este acceptabil să repetăm greșeala de la cadrul financiar precedent când adoptarea întârziată a dus la amânarea contractelor naționale de parteneriat și au fost afectați beneficiarii finali. Avem nevoie să asigurăm resurse suficiente pentru politica agricolă și pentru o politică de coeziune care să asigure convergența reală între estul și vestul continentului. Avem nevoie de mai multă Europă în sănătate și educație, atât în ceea ce privește alocarea de fonduri, cât și pentru adoptarea de standarde minime de calitate la nivel european.

În al doilea rând, este nevoie de deblocarea cât mai rapidă a numirii procurorului șef al Parchetului European. Blocajul numirii a fost unul politic, iar deblocarea trebuie să fie tot un act de voință politică. Aștept de la Președinția finlandeză a Consiliului să vină cât mai repede la masa negocierilor cu Parlamentul pentru a ajunge la un acord.

În al treilea rând, avem nevoie să avansăm pe dosare legate de migrație și gestiunea frontierelor. Consiliul, împreună cu noul Parlament și noua Comisie, trebuie să deschidă un dialog franc și direct despre viitorul spațiului Schengen, un viitor care să nu lase niciun stat membru în spate și care să nu mai pună sub semnul întrebării practica tot mai răspândită a controalelor la frontierele interne.

**Philippe Lamberts**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, bienvenue Madame la Première ministre, c'est toujours un plaisir de recevoir un chef d'État ou de gouvernement ici. J'insiste parce que je sais que certains, en cette enceinte, voudraient décrédibiliser le Conseil en disant que le Conseil n'est pas légitime. Vous avez une légitimité, comme chacun et chacune des chefs d'État et de gouvernement, mais vous avez évidemment une responsabilité particulière lorsqu'arrive votre tour d'exercer la présidence.

C'était la première fois pour la Roumanie et c'est vrai que, sur le plan du travail organisationnel, du travail administratif, on peut tirer notre chapeau: clairement, la Roumanie a réussi son premier passage à la tête du Conseil. C'est vrai qu'en année électorale, quand on sait que la pression pour achever un certain nombre de dossiers est énorme, c'est plutôt une performance réussie, je tiens à le dire.

Maintenant, parmi ces dossiers, il y en a qui ne font pas partie des 90 dossiers qui ont été achevés sous votre présidence et qui sont des dossiers emblématiques.

Le Conseil lui-même, à chacune de ses réunions, agite le dossier asile et migrations comme le dossier des dossiers, le dossier le plus important, celui qui ne souffrirait aucun délai, aucune autre priorité avant lui. Que dois-je constater? Cela va faire quatre ans que le Conseil affirme cela, à chacune des conclusions des chefs d'État et de gouvernement: migration, migration, migration, encore migration, frontière, frontière et que sais-je encore.

On attend encore une position du Conseil sur la réforme de l'asile et des migrations, ce paquet proposé, voici des années, par la Commission, et sur lequel ce Parlement s'est prononcé à une immense majorité – je le disais ce matin – de cinq groupes politiques, voici déjà deux ans. Qu'avez-vous fait pour faire avancer les choses? Un des rôles, peut-être moins visible, des présidents, c'est de débloquent, c'est de mettre de l'huile dans les engrenages. Mais non! Vous avez simplement acté le fait que vous avez décidé que le Conseil déciderait à l'unanimité, alors que cela ne se justifie pas, et l'unanimité fait évidemment que n'importe quel État membre peut tout bloquer. Et figurez-vous qu'il y a plus qu'un État membre qui est prêt à tout bloquer sur ce sujet-là. Cela veut dire que sur ce sujet, dont vous dites vous-même qu'il est extrêmement important, vous ne faites rien! Rien! Vous, comme tous les autres États membres: de ce point de vue-là, aucun des 28 ne vaut mieux mieux que les autres.

Puis il y a cet autre aspect, il a été évoqué par mon prédécesseur, celui de la réputation. Lorsqu'un État préside l'Union européenne, il est absolument crucial que cet État, quelque part, incarne, représente les valeurs de l'Union. Or, quel spectacle nous donne votre gouvernement? Je dis bien votre gouvernement, je ne parle pas de la Roumanie. La Roumanie, comme la Hongrie, comme la Pologne, dont on parle souvent, comme tous les pays de l'Union européenne, a toute sa place dans l'Union européenne. Néanmoins, le gouvernement qui, aujourd'hui, dirige ce pays est un gouvernement qui s'est distingué en réprimant de manière brutale, des manifestations pacifiques, l'été dernier – ce n'était certes pas pendant la présidence mais néanmoins dans votre pays, c'était votre gouvernement. C'est un gouvernement qui



s'emploie de manière quasiment obsessionnelle à mettre la justice sous contrôle pour, évidemment, éviter que des politiciens ne soient condamnés pour corruption et déclarés inéligibles. On dirait que cela absorbe l'essentiel de l'énergie politique des partis qui aujourd'hui sont au pouvoir dans votre pays. Et de ce point de vue-là, je constate que les multiples rapports faits par le Conseil de l'Europe, par la commission de Venise mais aussi par l'organe anticorruption du Conseil de l'Europe, restent lettre morte.

Pour couronner le tout, mon prédécesseur l'a dit, vous vous permettez de bloquer l'éventuelle désignation au poste, très important dans l'Union européenne, de chef du Parquet européen de Laura Codruța Kövesi, que nous n'avons toujours pas eu la possibilité d'auditionner.

Alors non, franchement, le spectacle qu'offre votre gouvernement n'honore pas l'Europe et, je dirais, n'honore pas la Roumanie. La Roumanie mérite mieux que cela.

**Nicolas Bay**, au nom du groupe ID. – Madame le Premier ministre, Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, au cours de cette Présidence roumaine, je me suis rendu plusieurs fois à Bucarest. Pour la Conférence des présidents avec le Conseil des ministres, bien sûr, en novembre, mais également en avril dernier pour un débat sur l'avenir de l'Europe.

À chaque fois, nous avons évoqué les grands défis que les Européens et leur civilisation commune devront affronter ensemble, à l'échelle continentale: l'identité et les frontières, la relocalisation de l'économie, mais aussi la protection des données, l'intelligence artificielle, la réindustrialisation nécessaire ou encore le maintien de notre tissu agricole.

Jusqu'à présent, sur aucun de ces sujets, l'Union européenne n'a su se montrer ni efficace, ni même présente. Pire, sur le libre-échange, elle ne fait qu'accélérer, récemment encore avec les pays d'Amérique latine ou le Vietnam. C'est pourtant le système le moins écologique et le plus destructeur de nos économies. Je dis cela sans, bien sûr, jeter la pierre au gouvernement roumain. Il faut bien le dire, il a été sous le feu nourri de la Commission européenne, qui instrumentalise l'état de droit pour imposer le gouvernement conjoint des technocrates et des juges face à la volonté des peuples.

La réalité est que le pouvoir est aujourd'hui phagocyté par la Commission de Bruxelles, qui cumule à la fois l'initiative législative, le contrôle de l'application des directives, mais se pose également en garante des traités.

Or, les présidences du Conseil passent mais la Commission, ses bureaucrates et ses orientations restent. Le meilleur exemple n'est-il pas M. Timmermans, qui gardera sans doute son rôle de zélé «porte-flingue» contre les pays qui sont récalcitrants à Bruxelles. Lui qui, contre la Hongrie, contre la Pologne, contre la Roumanie, demain peut-être contre l'Italie de Matteo Salvini, en somme contre les nations et contre les peuples, sera toujours en pointe pour attaquer et déstabiliser des gouvernements qui ont pourtant la légitimité démocratique.

Dans les récents petits arrangements pour répartir les postes à la tête des institutions européennes, l'Europe de l'Est a été totalement oubliée. L'Allemagne de Merkel est, comme toujours, surreprésentée, en personne, ou par ses affidés ou par ses hommes de paille. Ceux-là même qui ont précipité l'élargissement de l'Union européenne à l'Est se rendent compte aujourd'hui que leur idéologie immigrationniste libérale-libertaire n'y est que fort peu partagée.

Ayant subi le joug du communisme totalitaire, les pays d'Europe centrale et de l'Est savent encore se doter de dirigeants courageux qui refusent de céder aux exigences de la Commission, s'agissant notamment de la répartition obligatoire de migrants.

C'est sur cette question, et surtout celle de la réforme du droit d'asile, devenue une filière dévoyée de l'immigration clandestine, que la Commission Juncker a dérapé. La réforme Dublin IV a heureusement été bloquée au Conseil, notamment par la Hongrie et la Pologne.

Si la Présidence roumaine, se juxtaposant avec les élections européennes, n'a pas été l'occasion d'avancées spectaculaires, reconnaissons-lui au moins de n'avoir pas amplifié ou aggravé les échecs et les dérives actuelles de l'Union européenne.

Compte tenu des gages qu'elle a donnés ce matin encore aux socialistes et aux libéraux macronistes, la désignation de M<sup>me</sup> von der Leyen à la tête de la Commission risquerait en revanche de constituer une nouvelle accélération, avec la Présidence finlandaise, vers plus de fédéralisme, plus d'immigration et moins de protections économiques.

Les défenseurs des peuples et des nations seront donc plus vigilants que jamais pour refuser que l'Union européenne ne devienne une machine à détruire l'Europe.

**Ruža Tomašić**, u ime kluba ECR. – Poštovani predsjedniče, prvo rumunjsko predsjedanje Vijećem došlo je u izazovnom trenutku kada se Europska unija pripremala za izlazak Ujedinjene Kraljevine i dočekivala izbore za Europski parlament. Rumunjska je pokazala da se i u takvim, pomalo kaotičnim okolnostima može odraditi dobar posao kad postoje jasni ciljevi i strategija kako ih ostvariti.

Rumunjsko predsjedanje pamtit ćemo po velikom broju važnih inicijativa i nekim ključnim dogovorima s Europskim parlamentom, poput Direktive o plinu, Programa za digitalnu Europu, prvog svemirskog programa Europske unije, prvih normi o emisiji ugljičnog dioksida za teretna vozila ili inicijative za Europsku obalnu i graničnu stražu.

Iako se u nekim područjima, primjerice migrantskoj politici i politici azila, moglo više napraviti, rumunjsko predsjedanje ipak nam treba poslužiti kao primjer da i novije članice igraju važnu i konstruktivnu ulogu u ovoj zajednici.

Nažalost, oni koji su trebali nisu u rumunjskom primjeru vidjeli priliku za obnovu povjerenja između istoka i zapada, starih i novih članica, nego su pri izboru novih čelnih ljudi EU institucija dodatno marginalizirali europski istok i nove članice. Loša je to poruka uglavnom mladim demokracijama koje teže dostići demokratske i ekonomske standarde razvijenog Zapada, poštujući pritom i vlastite i tuđe tradicije.

Nove članice ovakvim su izborom čelnika EU institucija ponovno označene drugorazrednima, iako je nedavno jedna od njih, Rumunjska, dokazala da u novijoj Europi ima i ambicije i znanja za aktivan doprinos razvoju europskih politika i ove zajednice.

Bojim se da to nerazumijevanje mladih demokracija srednje i istočne Europe, koje su imale drukčiji razvojni put, iz godine u godinu raste. Stare članice, sad je to sasvim jasno, žele potvrditi svoju dominaciju kod donošenja strateških odluka za Europu. Mi od njih još uvijek možemo puno toga naučiti, ali kao od partnera, a ne gospodara.

Nova Europa ne smije pristati na vazalni odnos. Tražimo da se poštuje naš identitet, našu kulturu, našu povijest i našu tradiciju. Želimo da Europska unija konačno postane dostojna svog slogana „ujedinjeni u raznolikosti” i prestane težiti centralizaciji i uniformiranosti jer taj put vodi u netrpljivost i politički sukob, što bi za Uniju moglo biti pogubno.

**Δημήτριος Παπαδημούλης**, εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL. –Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Dăncilă αλλά και κύριε Șefçonič, συζητάμε τον απολογισμό της ρουμανικής Προεδρίας περίπου δύο ώρες πριν το Ευρωκοινοβούλιο ψηφίσει για τη νέα προτεινόμενη πρόεδρο της Κομισιόν. Η προεδρία σας διεξήχθη σε ένα δύσκολο εξάμηνο, με ευρωεκλογές, με το Brexit να κινείται από τη μία αβεβαιότητα στην άλλη και με οξυμένα τα κοινωνικά και οικονομικά προβλήματα. Έχετε στο ενεργητικό σας ότι καταφέρατε να κλείσετε αρκετούς φακέλους που εκκρεμούσαν, και αυτό καταγράφεται στα θετικά της ρουμανικής Προεδρίας, αλλά τα μεγάλα θέματα που μας απασχολούν ως Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, ως Ευρωκοινοβούλιο, και απασχολούν και τους πολίτες των κρατών μελών έμειναν σε εκκρεμότητα. Δεν προχώρησαν.

Δεν προχώρησε προς τα μπρος η απαίτηση των πολιτών για ένα πιο ισχυρό κοινοτικό προϋπολογισμό, που να στηρίζει και να μην αποδυναμώνει τις πολιτικές συνοχής, γιατί οι περιφερειακές και κοινωνικές ανισότητες ενισχύονται. Δεν προχώρησε ο κοινωνικός πυλώνας, ο οποίος παραμένει μια ετικέτα, κύριε Șefçonič, μετά το Γκέτεμποργκ, χωρίς δεσμευτικές πολιτικές που να τον κάνουν πράξη. Δεν έγιναν βήματα για να αρχίσει να συζητείται και επιτέλους να αρχίσει να εφαρμόζεται ένας κατώτατος υποχρεωτικός ευρωπαϊκός μισθός παντού μέσα στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Πριν λίγες ώρες τον υποσχέθηκε και πάλι η κυρία Ursula von der Leyen αλλά και πριν πέντε χρόνια τον είχα ακούσει απ' τον κύριο Juncker, και ακόμη είμαστε στο σημείο μηδέν.

Επειδή δεν θέλω να είμαι άδικος, θέλω να πω ότι έγιναν και θετικά βήματα, όπως η προετοιμασία από το Συμβούλιο, επί ρουμανικής προεδρίας, των κυρώσεων εναντίον της επιθετικότητας της τουρκικής ηγεσίας, που παραβιάζει το διεθνές δίκαιο. Και είμαι βέβαιος ότι και η φιλανδική Προεδρία θα συνεχίσει σε αυτό το δρόμο, γιατί οφείλουμε να στηρίζουμε τις ευρωπαϊκές αξίες όταν απειλούνται από επιθετικές συμπεριφορές γειτόνων της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Θεωρώ επίσης θετικό ότι, στον χώρο της νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης, προσπαθήσατε να συνεχίσετε το θετικό παράδειγμα που άνοιξε η συμφωνία των Πρεσπών μεταξύ της πατρίδας μου –της Ελλάδας– και της Βόρειας Μακεδονίας και εκτιμώ ότι και η νέα κυβέρνηση της Ελλάδας, σε αντίθεση με όσα έλεγε προεκλογικά, θα συνεχίσει να σέβεται και να εφαρμόζει αυτή τη συμφωνία.

Τελειώνω, κυρία Dăncilă, με μία έκκληση στο πρόσωπό σας, εξ ονόματος όχι μόνο τις πολιτικής μου ομάδας αλλά και πολλών μη κυβερνητικών οργανώσεων –και ξέρω ότι και η Κομισιόν συμμερίζεται αυτή την έκκληση: Σας ζητώ να σταματήσετε τώρα τη βάρβαρη μεταφορά, με άθλιες συνθήκες, 70.000 προβάτων από τη Ρουμανία στον Περσικό Κόλπο, διότι αυτό παραβιάζει κάθε έννοια πολιτισμού, που πρέπει να σέβεται και τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα αλλά και τα δικαιώματα των ζώων.

**Jake Pugh (NI).** – Mr President, we in the Brexit party like to expect that we're going to be making the most unpopular speeches in this place, but I think the contributions from the gentlemen from Renew and the Greens have set a pretty high bar: trying to tell you, Madam Prime Minister, how you should be running your own country. Pretty remarkable.

But in the context of the outgoing Romanian Presidency, I would like to congratulate in particular Simona Halep on her stunning performance at Wimbledon on Saturday. It was a performance of poise, power and precision and, most importantly, she will have inspired millions of young girls at home and abroad to participate in sport.

Collective Romanian pride in her performance stems in part because it is a strong expression of identity and nationhood. Note I said 'nationhood', not 'nationalism'. I was going to make the point to the Lib Dems but I note they're not here. Romanian flags flew proudly over the weekend from Bucharest to Baia Mare, but I didn't hear one rendition of the EU anthem. Sport can do more than almost anything else to bring people together. Tragically, in contrast, whatever the intentions of the European project, it divides more than it unites.

But at the conclusion of the Romanian Presidency, and coming back to the four pillars, you mentioned, Prime Minister, let's judge it against its own priorities. Just two. You talked about convergence through economic growth and employment. Economic growth in the EU is now at the lowest it is been for the last three years. Youth unemployment in Romania is 16%; it is 20% in France; 30% in Italy and Spain; 40% in Greece. Entire generations of young people, their lives laid waste at the altar of the European ideal.

Secondly, developing the EU defence capability. So, having refused to pay for its share of European defence, the EU now wants its own army. That can only encourage those who wish to harm us and will undermine the security of Europe through NATO.

For those of you who will remain in this place when the UK leaves very shortly, you may look for more from the Finnish Presidency, but I suspect that will be a triumph of hope over expectation. So rather than celebrating the efforts of the Romanian Presidency, let's celebrate the success of Simona Halep, a real symbol of Romanian pride, a far better use of our time and less damaging to the economy and security of Europe.

**Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Mr President, I would like to thank the honourable Members of this Parliament for highlighting the challenges which we have to confront when we are going to build and strengthen our common and undivided European Union. I very much agree with the need to make more progress on our social pillar and I'm sure that the next Commission will take very seriously all questions related to the minimum wage or to the improvement of our social standards across the European Union, as it was suggested by Ms García Pérez. I would also like to thank the Members for highlighting the successes of the Romanian Presidency, as Mr Kovatchev did, especially in the listing all the important files which have been concluded thanks to the professionalism of Romanian negotiators and Romanian diplomats and ministers.

I would also like to recognise the good cooperation we had with the Romanian Presidency in completing and concluding all very important files on better tackling climate change.

A lot has been done, in record time. The Romanian Presidency was starting at the beginning of the very crucial transitional year, where the time for real legislative work was very, very short, but it was well spent, it was done very professionally. For that, I really would like to thank you and highlight the fact that you managed this very demanding work despite the fact that it was your first presidency. I know how much each new Member State gains in the form of experience, in the form of establishing good working contacts with other partners in the EU and with European institutions, and therefore I believe that it was not only investment into the future of the European Union but it will also translate into even more professional work by the Romanian civil service and I'm sure that all that experience and all that work, which was invested in Europe, will also be felt back in Romania.

Mr Prime Minister, thank you very much and congratulations on your excellent first presidency.

**Viorica Dăncilă**, *președintă în exercițiu a Consiliului*. – Vreau să mulțumesc tuturor pentru aprecieri. Într-adevăr, România a deținut președinția rotativă într-o perioadă plină de provocări, pe care Uniunea Europeană nu le-a avut până acum. Mă refer la procesul Brexit, mă refer la faptul că au fost alegerile europarlamentare, ceea ce a făcut ca toată activitatea președinției rotative să se desfășoare în prima parte, în cele 100 de zile. E adevărat, ne-am fi dorit ca în 100 de zile să închidem 100 de dosare. Am închis doar nouăzeci, dar eu cred că România a făcut pași înainte și, într-adevăr, domnule vicepreședinte, pentru România este un motiv de sărbătoare. Este un motiv de sărbătoare pentru întregul popor, pentru toți cei care cred în România și cei care vor să reprezinte România cu demnitate.

Este adevărat că puteam să facem mai multe lucruri, că ne-am fi dorit să facem mai multe lucruri, dar nu este ușor să crezi consens între 28 de state membre în care prioritățile sunt diferite. Știm că pe timpul președinției rotative trebuie să fim un mediator foarte bun și un facilitator de consens și cred că acest lucru l-a făcut România și a reușit să obțină aceste rezultate.

Legat de cadrul financiar multianual, este adevărat, sunt convinsă că noul Parlament, că instituțiile europene vor obține rezultate în ceea ce privește proiecția financiară. Dar și în acest în capitol România a făcut pași importanți, și în ceea ce privește politica de coeziune, și în ceea ce privește politica agricolă comună. Proiectele pot continua, dar, bineînțeles, pentru ca un proiect să aibă eficiența pe care ne-o dorim cu toții, trebuie să fie dublat de o proiecție financiară corespunzătoare.

Am ales tema principală – coeziunea – pentru că noi credem că este nevoie de coeziune. Avem nevoie de unitate la nivelul Uniunii Europene, pentru că numai dacă vom da dovadă de coeziune vom putea face pași importanți și poate facem mai mari pași de unii singuri, dar sunt convinsă că vom face pași temeinici împreună. De aceea, cred că coeziunea este foarte importantă, nu numai pe timpul președinției rotative, dar coeziunea cred că trebuie să ghideze acțiunile instituțiilor europene și pe viitor.

Domnule Tudorache, o să vă răspund în mod special. Nu funcționarii și diplomații României au făcut, au realizat președinția. Președinția a fost condusă de guvernul României. La fiecare reuniune, ministrul a prezidat lucrările, a fost o foarte bună cooperare, pentru care i-am felicitat pe experții noștri, pe toți cei care s-au implicat, pe toți cei care au acționat cu adevărat pentru România și nu împotriva României.

Cu câteva minute înainte mă întreba cineva: „Credeti că eurodeputații români vor fi uniți în a aduce un plus de imagine României?” Și atunci am spus: „Da.” Acum plec dezamăgită, cu oameni ca dumneavoastră, nu vom aduce un plus României. Lăsați să rezolvați problemele acasă, nu veniți cu ele în Parlamentul European, pentru că aceste lucruri nu aduc un plus de imagine țării noastre. Mai mult, toată lumea a felicitat președinția României. Au fost și lucruri pe care unii dintre eurodeputați au crezut că le putem face mai bine, dar nu au criticat și n-o să vedeți aici, în Parlament, foarte mulți eurodeputați care își critică țara. Dar dumneavoastră ați făcut-o atunci când vicepreședintele Comisiei Europene a spus că România are un motiv de sărbătoare.

Mai mult decât atât, vreau să vă spun că Uniunea Europeană, documentați-vă un pic înainte, nu are atribuții pe sănătate, educație și cultură. Vine cu proiecte. Deci, ați vorbit și de trei elemente pe care nu le cunoașteți. Și cred că nu știți nimic despre realizările Președinției române. Nu cunoașteți faptul că pe timpul președinției o țară nu poate interveni. Trebuie să fie un facilitator de consens. Asta a făcut România și m-aș fi bucurat dacă la acest proiect deosebit de important pentru țara mea, acest proiect destul de important și foarte important pentru toți cetățenii europeni, s-ar fi găsit consens, pentru că am găsit consensul la Comisia Europeană, am găsit consensul la Consiliul European, am găsit consens în rândul multor europarlamentari, am găsit consens la Președintele Parlamentului European, și toți am înțeles că Uniunea Europeană este într-un moment de cotitură și, dacă nu vom acționa uniți, nu vom da un sens bun construcției europene.

Am ascultat toate sfaturile și, împreună, am realizat aceste lucruri. Eu cred că acestea trebuie să ne ghideze și pe următoarea perioadă, să aducem plusvaloare. Cetățenii nu au nevoie de scandal. Cetățenii au nevoie de lucruri care să-i ajute în viața de zi cu zi, de politici mai apropiate de ei, nu de lucruri pe care să le aducem în spațiul public, crezând că avem mai multă însemnătate din punct de vedere politic.

Domnul Lamberts, îmi pare rău că a plecat, pe partea logistică, mi-a plăcut acest „Jos pălăria”, eu cred că România merită acest lucru. Pentru noi toate dosarele au fost importante, iar legat de GRECO, analizăm fiecare punct de la GRECO, dar cred că trebuie să se uite și la Belgia, țara din care face parte. Sunt 15 recomandări, din care a implementat doar una. Trebuie să lăsăm ca pe GRECO să nu intervenim noi și să intervină magistrații. Dacă, într-adevăr, vrem o independență a justiției, trebuie ca magistrații să găsească consensul, și nu să-l implementăm noi.

În final, vreau să mulțumesc tuturor. Vreau să mulțumesc tuturor celor care au avut încredere în noi, pentru că încrederea dumneavoastră nu a fost numai încrederea în guvernul României, nu a fost numai încrederea în experții noștri, în diplomații noștri, a fost încrederea într-o țară care a deținut pentru prima dată președinția Consiliului Uniunii Europene, o țară care și-a dat primul examen în această funcție și pe care eu consider, și am văzut că mulți dintre dumneavoastră considerați la fel, că l-a trecut cu brio.

Vă mulțumesc încă o dată pentru implicarea dumneavoastră, pentru sprijin, pentru modul în care am cooperat. Doresc, din nou, succes noului Parlament și sper să aveți aici, în acest for european foarte important, în care am activat nouă ani de zile, să aveți succes, pentru că succesul dumneavoastră este succesul întregii construcții europene.

**Presidente.** – Grazie, la discussione è chiusa. Ringrazio tutti i colleghi che sono intervenuti, il vicepresidente Šefčovič, la Presidente Dăncilă, tutti i ministri che sono presenti e i loro collaboratori, complimenti per il vostro lavoro, per il vostro impegno, e domani apriremo un nuovo semestre. Grazie, la discussione è chiusa, la seduta è sospesa fino alle ore 18.00.

#### *Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)*

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR), na piśmie.** – Pragnę wyrazić swoje uznanie dla prezydencji rumuńskiej za jej cenne przewodnictwo w ostatnich miesiącach w posiedzeniach Rady Unii Europejskiej. Bardzo istotnym w moim odczuciu jest fakt, iż Prezydencja rumuńska podejmowała szereg działań ukierunkowanych na dalsze wzmocnienie unijnej architektury bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego, w tym wdrażanie odnowionej Strategii Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego UE. Polska była aktywnym uczestnikiem tego procesu, biorąc udział w dyskusjach na temat kierunków rozwoju poszczególnych inicjatyw, służących między innymi zwiększeniu zdolności państw członkowskich do zapobiegania i zwalczania poważnej przestępczości oraz terroryzmu. Działania prezydencji rumuńskiej w odniesieniu do problematyki ochrony granic, w świetle wciąż trwającego kryzysu migracyjnego były ukierunkowane na rzecz osiągnięcia porozumienia w sprawie projektu nowelizacji rozporządzenia o Europejskiej Straży Granicznej i Przybrzeżnej (ESGiP) oraz dyrektywy powrotowej. W ramach wymiaru wewnętrznego prezydencja rumuńska kontynuowała prace celem osiągnięcia postępu w zakresie reformy Wspólnego Europejskiego Systemu Azylowego (WESA). Polska postulowała, aby wszystkie proponowane rozwiązania systemowe jak i tymczasowe były podejmowane w oparciu o konsensus i gwarantowały suwerenność oraz poszanowanie kompetencji państw członkowskich.

**Livia Járóka (PPE), írásban.** – A jelenlegi európai romastratégia sajnos nem hozta meg a hozzá fűzött reményeket. Ennek a legfőbb oka az, hogy a Bizottság nem volt mindenben elkötelezett, hogy a Tanácsnak tovább vigye azokat a nagyon fontos pontokat, amelyek nélkül nem lehet ez a stratégia sikeres: a célszámokat, a jogi alapot, szankcionálási lehetőségeket.

A legfontosabb probléma viszont az, hogy igazándiból a romák nem tudnak részt venni ezekben a programokban, sem a tervezésükben, sem a kivitelezésükben. A csoportok között a legnagyobb kockázatnak a nők, gyermekek, fiatalok és kevésbé képzetek vannak kitéve. A szegénységben élők helyzete Európa-szerte romlik, a szegregáció fokozódik. A romák elleni atrocitások száma növekszik, erre „jó példa” Ukrajna és Románia esete.

A szegénység és kirekesztettség komplex problémáinak kezelése kizárólag megfelelő szakpolitikai eszközzel és az uniós források jobb felhasználásával lehetséges. Bár a tagállamok rendelkezésére állnak a források, a szaktudás, az infrastruktúra, de szükség van a politikai elköteleződésre is. Közös felelősségünk, hogy a legszegényebbek bevonásával azonnal elkezdődjön a szegények tiszta ivóvízhez, megfelelő munkalehetőséghez, lakhatáshoz és egészségügyi ellátáshoz juttatása.

**Loránt Vincze (PPE), írásban.** – Románia soros uniós elnökségének vegyes a mérlege. Bár technikailag végigvitte azt a munkát, amelyet ilyenkor a soros országtól elvár az Unió, az elnökséget nem sikerült kihasználni számára fontos témák sikerre vitelére. Ilyen mulasztás a Schengen-övezethez való csatlakozás ügyének előmozdítása. Az elmúlt fél év kiváló lehetőség lett volna Románia számára, hogy pozitív döntést eszközöljön ki a Tanácsban. Az Európai Bizottság nem ellenezte a csatlakozást, és az Európai Parlamentben is meglett volna ennek a támogatottsága.

Jelenleg egy kettős mérce érvényesül: annak ellenére, hogy Románia már évek óta teljesíti a schengeni térséghez való csatlakozás technikai kritériumait, illetve hogy az EU-s határvédelmi feladatait is ellátja, az EU belügyminiszterei még mindig nem hagyták jóvá az övezet rá vonatkozó bővítését. Ezt a félévet fel kellett volna használni a még kételkedő országok meggyőzésére, hisz a jelenlegi helyzetben a román polgárok továbbra sem élvezhetik maradéktalanul az őket is megillető, határellenőrzések által nem akadályozott EU-n belüli szabad mozgáshoz való jogot.

*(La seduta è sospesa alle 16.06)*

## 8. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è ripresa alle 18.06)*

## 9. Wybór przewodniczącego Komisji

**Presidente.** – Come sapete, il Consiglio europeo ha proposto la candidatura della sig.ra Ursula von der Leyen alla Presidenza della Commissione europea.

Vi ricordo che, a norma dell'articolo 124, paragrafo 2, del regolamento del Parlamento europeo, in conformità dell'articolo 17, paragrafo 7, del trattato sull'Unione europea, il Parlamento elegge il Presidente della Commissione a maggioranza dei membri che lo compongono. La votazione si svolge a scrutinio segreto.

Le istruzioni per l'elezione del Presidente della Commissione sono state distribuite a tutti i deputati. Abbiamo bisogno di otto scrutatori per adempiere alle nostre funzioni di voto, e allora dobbiamo procedere all'estrazione.

Onorevole David Ivan, accetta? Benissimo, grazie. Onorevole Schaldemose. Grazie. Onorevole Stegrud Jessica. Benissimo, grazie. Onorevole Paolo Borchia. Grazie. Onorevole Kateřina Konečná. Grazie. Onorevole Stéphane Séjourné. Onorevole Irena Joveva. Bene, grazie anche a Lei.

*(La seduta è sospesa alle 18.42 per lo spoglio delle schede.)*

## 10. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è ripresa alle 19.32)*

## 11. Wybór przewodniczącego Komisji (ogłoszenie wyników)

**Presidente.** – Cari colleghi la seduta è ripresa.

Annuncio l'esito dello scrutinio: numero di votanti: 733. Maggioranza dei membri che compongono il Parlamento: 374. Voti favorevoli: 383.

(Applausi)

Voti contrari: 327. Astensioni: 22, schede nulle: 1.

In base a tali risultati, la candidata alla Presidenza della Commissione europea, proposta dal Consiglio europeo è quindi stata eletta dal Parlamento europeo. Mi congratulo con la signora Ursula von der Leyen per la sua elezione e le porgo i miei migliori auguri per l'esercizio del suo mandato.

In conformità dell'articolo 124, paragrafo 3, del regolamento, ne informerò il Consiglio, invitando quest'ultimo nonché la Presidente neoeletta della Commissione a proporre di comune accordo i candidati ai vari posti di commissario. Firmerò adesso la lettera di notifica della decisione del Parlamento. E la consegno, visto che è presente, alla Presidente.

(Applausi)

Signora von der Leyen, mi complimento, a nome del Parlamento, per la Sua elezione a Presidente della Commissione europea, a nome dei colleghi, naturalmente le felicitazioni di questa Assemblea.

Adesso inizia una fase molto importante per le Istituzioni europee: dovremo prepararci alle audizioni dei commissari designati, che, come saprà, saranno molto scrupolose da parte dei componenti di questo Parlamento. Ci aspettiamo che i temi di cui oggi ha parlato davanti all'Aula saranno approfonditi e seguiti anche dai componenti del Suo collegio durante le audizioni presso le commissioni competenti.

I prossimi anni saranno molto importanti per il futuro dell'Unione, possiamo affrontarli con successo solo se ci sarà una stretta cooperazione tra le Istituzioni europee.

Le lascio la parola per un Suo messaggio alla nostra Assemblea, prego.

**Ursula von der Leyen, President-elect of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members of this Parliament, I feel so honoured and I'm overwhelmed. I thank you for the trust you placed in me. The trust you placed in me is confidence you placed in Europe, your confidence in a united and a strong Europe, from east to west, from south to north, your confidence in a Europe that is ready to fight for the future rather than fighting against each other, your confidence in a Europe that will take the big challenges of our times together.

The task ahead of us humbles me. It's a big responsibility and my work starts now. I thank President Sassoli, I thank all the group leaders, I thank all the Members of Parliament who decided to vote for me today, but my message to all of you is: let us work together constructively because the endeavour is a united and a strong Europe. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

(La seduta è sospesa alle 19.38)

**PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. FABIO MASSIMO CASTALDO**

*Vicepresidente*

## **12. Wznowienie posiedzenia**

(La seduta è ripresa alle 19.46)

### 13. Wdrożenie globalnej strategii UE (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione del Vicepresidente della Commissione/Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza sull'attuazione della strategia globale dell'UE (2019/2729(RSP)).

Do senz'altro quindi la parola alla Vicepresidente/Alto rappresentante Federica Mogherini e, visto che è la prima volta che ho il piacere di presiedere durante un suo intervento, le faccio ancora i complimenti e la ringrazio per l'ottimo lavoro svolto in questo mandato, e le faccio i migliori auguri anche per gli ultimi mesi nella carica e per ogni impegno futuro. Prego, Alto rappresentante.

**Federica Mogherini,** *vicepresidente della Commissione/alto rappresentante.* – Grazie Presidente, è per me un piacere e un onore tenere in quest'Aula, se ho capito bene, il primo dei dibattiti di questa legislatura, dopo che avevo avuto il piacere e l'onore di tenere gli ultimi dibattiti dell'ultima legislatura.

Let me start by congratulating you all either for your election or re-election, but also let me start by congratulating the new President-elect of the Commission. Ursula and I have been working together very well in these last few years, in particular on our common work for the European Union's defence. I am sure that the Commission will be in good hands.

Among the things on which we have worked together – Ursula and I and also defence and foreign ministers of the Member States, some of them I see them are sitting in this Hemicycle now as Members of the European Parliament – is the global strategy that we drafted and then put in place three years ago.

The global strategy has been the compass of our work in these five years, in these last three years and the preparation and the drafting of it in the previous ones. I want to thank the previous European Parliament for its support in drafting the strategy, but most of all in turning this into action.

The global strategy was the outcome of a truly collective work with all the 28 Member States of the European Union and with many Members of Parliament playing a key role, Members of the European Parliament, but also members of national parliaments and civil society, think-tanks.

It was really a collective work, and it was the opportunity to focus on values and interests, both of them, that we all shared as Europeans beyond political families and beyond ideological debates. We agreed that we needed to strengthen and consolidate our role as a global security provider. We agreed that the great challenges of our times require multilateral solutions, and we agreed that Europe can only matter – and it does matter, it does make a difference – in the world if we act as one Union.

Of course there is much more than this in the global strategy and you have probably seen, I hope, the global strategy itself, but also the report that I presented last month to the Foreign Affairs Council after discussing the content of this report with the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) and the Committee on Development (DEVE) in the previous mandates in April.

We have put together 50 very dense pages of achievements, and also possible options for the future, and this is the work that I delivered to you for future consideration on how to use the instruments that we've put in place, how to shape the future foreign and security policy of the European Union. So there's much more than these three concepts in the global strategy, but let me focus for the moment on these three points: security and defence, multilateralism, and the idea of a more joined-up and more effective European Union.

First of all on defence. We have shown that this European Union knows how to deliver if there is political will. In some cases we have achieved even more than we hoped and expected in this field. When we started talking about setting up the Permanent Structural Cooperation on Defence, many were sceptical, and I remember very well, I discussed this for the very first time during my own hearing five years ago in the joint AFET and DEVE committees.



Yet, even with all the scepticism and resistance that was there, we did it, and we went even further with the European Defence Fund and the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence. And these are not just names or acronyms. This is real change for our common security. We are helping Member States to make their defence spending more efficient and developing all the military capabilities that we need, from the skies to the sea, to cyberspace.

Our international missions now have better command structures, and we have committed to investing more in our civilian action. That remains the pride of the European Union. In short, the European Union of Security and Defence has finally taken its first concrete steps after so many decades, when it was only on paper or not even on paper.

At the same time as we strengthened ourselves, we have also strengthened our security and defence cooperation with partners all around the world, starting with NATO, but well beyond it. I've just come back from the Central African Republic, for example, where we are working with the European Union, men and women under our flag, alongside the UN Peacekeepers, and before that, just a few days ago, I was in the Sahel, where we were helping the G5 Sahel countries to set up their own multinational military force.

The second point I would like to stress is multilateralism. Europe is a cooperative and multilateral power by definition. It is the very same DNA of our European Union projects. In years where multilateralism, and also the UN system, have come under increasing pressure, we have invested in multilateralism like never before. We have stepped up our financial support to the United Nations. For instance, one example among many, saving the UN Agency for Palestinian Refugees from its funding crisis. We supported the UN Secretary-General's reform agenda.

But let me say, most importantly: we've always worked to find a multilateral solution to the many and difficult problems of our time. So not only are we defending the nuclear deal with Iran, promoting the Sustainable Development Goals, implementing the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, creating a new generation of free and fair trade agreements, but we've always tried to build a multilateral framework where there was not one.

After this debate we will talk about Venezuela. In the international contact group the European Union has contributed to efforts to solve the crisis, and I should also mention, as an example, the trilateral cooperation with the UN and the African Union, the Brussels conferences on Syria, and the regional meetings that we set up to support peace in Afghanistan. These are leading examples of our multilateral approach in concrete terms. And we haven't just defended multilateralism. We have done so, but we have also renewed it with innovative new solutions.

The third point I would like to stress is the way we work. This was a very important part of the global strategy three years ago and we have done a lot of work to improve the way in which we work inside the European Union. Here again, I want to thank the European Parliament's previous mandate and I'm sure you will continue in this way for the support and the contribution to our efforts to increase the coherence and the coordination among institutions and within the institutions of the European Union.

Throughout this work we've been the most successful when we've been united. This was the core idea of the global strategy. A more joined-up union is not just a principled choice, one that follows in the steps of our founding fathers and mothers, a joined-up Union is also the best way to make our action more effective. Only united do we really matter in the world of today. I often say there are not big and small Member States – there are Member States that are smaller Member States that have not yet understood they are small in the world of today – we can only be effective if we are united as Europeans, and only united can we advance our interests and our values. And when we do so, united, we do make a difference. Sometimes a vital one not just for us, but also for our partners all around the world.

So in these years we have made a lot of progress, I believe, for instance, linking our policies on security and on development, or the internal and external side of our action through a more coordinated work within the Commission. Thanks to the group we have established with the Commissioners' group on external action that I have convened regularly every month in these five years, and the EU Member States, for instance, have coordinated as never before in the Security Council of the United Nations, something that seemed impossible just three years ago.

Our progress in these years on this point has been possible because of a collective political will to move forward, but I want to share this with you. I am very much aware that these achievements, everything that we have achieved in this field, could prove short-lived if political will fades away. And this is the message I deliver to you. Results need to be consolidated, and the new possibilities that we have opened in these last three or four years can now be explored and expanded, but this requires unity of purpose, determination and, most of all, political will.

The European Parliament has been key to this progress. The Members of the Parliament have been very important actors in our foreign policy with their own diplomatic missions, with electoral observation, with the oversight of our policies, with a constant focus on human rights for which I want to thank your predecessors in this chamber. And again, I am sure that you will keep working in this direction.

So your role is key. You have the final word on key fundamental issues that affect our foreign and security policy. You will have the final word on the new European Union budget. You will contribute to setting the direction of our foreign policy for the years ahead. So the call for a united Europe is stronger today than it was five years ago. I believe it will be even more urgent and pressing in the years ahead. The choice and the responsibility are yours, and I'm sure you will be able to respond to this call in the most effective way, in the most responsible way, continuing to invest in the global role of our European Union.

**Michael Gahler**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Zunächst möchte ich meiner Freude Ausdruck verleihen über die Wahl von Ursula von der Leyen zur Kommissionspräsidentin. Ich bin sicher, sie wird auch und gerade in der Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik gemeinsam mit Josep Borrell und anderen Position beziehen.

Wir wollen alle gemeinsam in einer multilateralen regelbasierten Weltordnung unsere Stellung als Europäer behaupten und unsere Interessen gemeinsam vertreten. Das Europäische Parlament hat die Implementierung der globalen Strategie von Anfang an konstruktiv begleitet. Das werden wir auch in dieser Legislaturperiode tun. Hierzu wollen wir zum Beispiel bei dem neuen Instrument NDICI unseren Input geben, aber auch unseren Einfluss wahren. Ich denke, die Krisen, die rund um uns herum festzustellen sind, ob es jetzt im Osten, im Südosten oder im Süden ist, die rufen gerade dazu auf, dass wir da gemeinsam vorgehen und feststellen, dass wir in der Tat gemeinsame Interessen haben und dass sich aus dieser Gemeinsamkeit auch niemand verabschieden kann.

**Kati Piri**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, three years ago this House welcomed the establishment of the global strategy as a much-needed roadmap towards a strong, resilient and coherent EU. Our external action needed a pragmatic vision, clearly identifying our objectives, our interests, our instruments and of course our partners.

We have come a long way since then. With unprecedented global uncertainty, the global strategy has enhanced EU security, strengthened our multilateral partnerships and reinforced our engagement in global governance.

Remarkable progress was made in a number of areas: security and defence above all. We must build on this momentum with renewed efforts on crucial issues for the EU and for this House: first, a clear EU perspective for enlargement countries; second, a fair and sustainable management of migration; and third, a strong engagement with countries that our borders to an effective European neighbourhood policy.

Yes, the world today is not better off than it was in 2016. Internally, our European values of democracy, solidarity and rule of law are challenged at their very foundations, and externally the unprecedented disengagement of great powers from multilateral platforms adds to outstanding security challenges and the destabilising consequences of climate change. So we need the EU more than ever, and the world needs the EU more than ever before if we are to address existing and new global challenges successfully.

**Hilde Vautmans**, *namens de Renew-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, mevrouw Mogherini, de collega's hebben het al gezegd: drie jaar geleden hebben we hier samen met alle partners de *Global Strategy* uitgetekend. Op dat ogenblik was dat echt cruciaal, we zaten er hier in het Parlement op te wachten. We wilden dat kompas voor ons buitenlands optreden in een wereld waarin Europa vol dreiging was. Het was toch een heel onzekere tijd, en met de *Global Strategy* kwam er als het ware een kompas om meer veiligheid op dit continent in de wereld te brengen.

Vandaag evalueren we dat, en ik moet u zeggen – u heeft het zelf ook heel duidelijk aangehaald – waar een politieke wil is, hebben we resultaten kunnen boeken, resultaten waar we terecht fier op kunnen zijn. Ik denk dan aan alle stappen voorwaarts rond de Europese defensie, PESCO, de missies, ... u heeft ze zelf aangehaald. Bravo, echt een stap vooruit. Maar ook de Vredesfaciliteit moeten we daarbij noemen. Ook het feit dat we ons een betrouwbare partner hebben getoond. De deal met Iran ligt nu wel onder vuur, maar ook daar hebben we resultaten geboekt.

Voor mij is het echter belangrijker dat we naar de toekomst kijken en dat we kijken waar onze werkpunten liggen en waar we op moeten verder bouwen. We hebben vandaag een nieuwe Commissievoorzitter gekozen, Ursula von der Leyen. We hadden een heel boeiend debat met haar. We moeten af van die unanimitéit op buitenlands beleid. Dan gaan we meer stappen voorwaarts kunnen zetten. Wat mij betreft: nog meer een verenigd en sterker Europa zijn, nog meer inzetten op Europese defensie. Voor mij – echt waar – de stap naar een Europees leger.

Tot slot, mevrouw Mogherini, wil ik u danken. We hebben hier heel veel avonden heel goede debatten gevoerd. Ik wil u daarvoor danken. U was het gezicht van de *Global Strategy*.

*(De spreker stemt ermee in te antwoorden op een "blauwe kaart"-vraag (artikel 171, lid 8, van het Reglement))*

**Claire Fox (NI)**, *blue-card question*. – I just wanted to ask whether the individual peoples and demos of the different nation states have ever voted or ever been asked to vote for a European army. This is a huge federalist imposition that goes against national sovereignty and goes against democracy. It is a frightening, militaristic and scary prospect to me that the EU dares to suggest it can have a foreign policy. It is difficult enough if you live in a nation state to control those who run that society from acting irresponsibly, in a foreign policy sense, but the idea that this Chamber would actually have the nerve to argue for a foreign policy with no votes for it is scary and anti-democratic, and we, the Brexit Party, don't support it.

**Hilde Vautmans (Renew)**, *blue-card answer*. – I thought the blue card was to pose a question. I didn't hear a real question. I only heard a statement against the European army, so I would skip this blue card. I think the people of Europe stated really clearly in the Eurobarometer that they were in favour of more collaboration on defence matters. I myself am in favour of a European army.

**Presidente**. – Grazie collega. Ricordo a tutti i colleghi che le domande «cartellino blu» servono, appunto, per porre una domanda all'oratore che è intervenuto precedentemente, il quale poi darà una risposta.

**Reinhard Bütikofer**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, I personally think there is a huge difference between a European army and more cooperation on defence, but that's just a side remark.

It has symbolic value that one of the first debates in this new Parliament is about the EU's global strategy because that's going to be at the centre of a lot of our work over the next couple of years. I look forward to a more proactive and cooperative approach not only between all the political groups in this Parliament but also between the Parliament and Member States.

Ms Mogherini, you have given lavish praise to the EU Global Strategy so you will forgive me for adding a few criticisms. The EU Global Strategy – we read on the website of the European External Action Service – should be 'a compass for our action in difficult times'. Well, I have a few question marks there. It's a global strategy without geography. How can you have a global strategy without geography?

It does not really answer the question of which policies are more promising than others and should take priority. In that regard, the strategy is not strategic. It also emphasises the need for prevention, resolution and stabilisation but, when we look at the proposed Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), it's just the opposite. The MFF proposes to slash most of the spending for these purposes and reduce it to a mere 40% of what we had before. So I think, if we take the strategy seriously, we should put our money where our mouth has been. I also believe that we should put more emphasis on climate urgency, which is completely underrated so far.

So there's a lot that should be improved.

**Thierry Mariani**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, le groupe Identité et démocratie veut, dans le cadre d'une Europe des nations fondée sur la solidarité de peuples souverains, une véritable Europe politique forte et indépendante, à l'égal de celle que souhaitait avec vision le général de Gaulle. Votre Europe, malheureusement, c'est celle aujourd'hui de l'impuissance et de la soumission érigées en vertus cardinales. Impuissance face au péril islamiste, soumission devant les seuls intérêts mondialistes et états-uniens.

Sur toutes les questions stratégiques particulièrement sensibles, quand nous ne sommes pas passifs, nous agissons contre les intérêts vitaux des nations européennes. Sur le dossier du nucléaire iranien, nous ne présentons aucune alternative crédible à l'égard de la politique de Washington alors que, pertinemment, seul un accord global solide effectif peut permettre à chacun de sortir par le haut. Où sont les fameuses promesses depuis des mois de mise en place d'un dispositif alternatif pour reprendre les relations commerciales?

Vous considérez – c'est votre rhétorique favorite – que la Russie est un ennemi stratégique. Tous les six mois, c'est la prolongation automatique des sanctions sans nous interroger sur leur portée effective, sur leur coût et sur leur signification diplomatique.

Vos choix furent catastrophiques sur le problème syrien, un ancien ministre des affaires étrangères allant jusqu'à célébrer le «bon boulot» fait par le Front Al-Nosra, en fait Al-Qaida en Syrie, les mêmes qu'aujourd'hui l'armée française combat souvent seule dans le Sahel. De ce fait, les pays européens sont écartés de toute solution.

En vérité, vous ne pouvez porter aucune ambition pour l'Europe parce que le projet que vous concevez n'est qu'une pâle déclinaison locale du nouvel ordre mondial, votre totem depuis trente ans.

**Charlie Weimers**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, I would like to say to the

High Representative that not one single section in her 2019 assessment of the Global Strategy is dedicated to Islamic extremism or the global persecution of Christians. This is nothing less than shameful. Radical imams and billions of euros are flowing into the EU, promoting segregation. This strategy should aim to secure Europe. Instead, the EU offers deepened partnership with countries that are complacent in the face of Islamism, and these are countries that often tolerate or encourage the persecution of Christians.

Christians are being wiped out across the Middle East. A report commissioned by the United Kingdom describes how Islamic extremism leads to genocidal acts against Christians. EU aid and trade policies should be used to pressure countries to stop the promotion of Islamic extremism. We need to join the USA in supporting vulnerable minorities in their hour of need. For, if not us, who?

**Özlem Demirel**, *im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, meine Damen und Herren, Frau Vizepräsidentin der Kommission! Frau Mogherini, das, was Sie hier unter dem Schlagwort der globalen Strategie dargelegt haben, ist ja eigentlich nichts anderes als eine brandgefährliche militärische und politische Wunschliste, eine Wunschliste insbesondere von Deutschland und Frankreich und der Rüstungslobby. Ich mache keinen Hehl daraus: Wir als Linke lehnen das natürlich ab. Sie wollen die militärische Fähigkeit der EU ausbauen und geostrategische und wirtschaftliche Interessen durchsetzen. Es geht um Handelsrouten, und natürlich geht es auch um Ressourcen. Dafür haben Sie ja in den vergangenen Jahren, wie Sie schon dargestellt haben, viel unternommen: PESCO, *military mobility*, der Europäische Verteidigungsfonds – das sind ja nur einige Beispiele von dem, was Sie gemacht haben. Sie haben wirklich Milliarden in die Rüstungslobby investiert. Auf der anderen Seite verfallen Städte in Europa und 113 Millionen Menschen in der EU sind von Armut bedroht, und Sie geben derzeit im Rahmen des Verteidigungsfonds 13 Milliarden Euro für Militärgüter, für Waffen, für Killerdrohnen und Ähnliches aus.

Wir lehnen es ab. Wir laden Sie dazu ein, wenn Sie wirklich etwas für die Sicherheit der Menschen tun wollen, dass Sie die soziale Infrastruktur ausbauen. Wir laden Sie dazu ein, einen möglichen Krieg mit dem Iran zu verhindern. Wir laden Sie dazu ein, sich mehr und stärker für Abrüstungsverträge einzusetzen. Das wäre nämlich wirklich eine Strategie im Sinne der Bevölkerung in Europa.

**Nathan Gill (NI)**. – Mr President, by a margin of just nine votes, this Parliament today has elected, on a ballot paper with just one candidate on it, Ursula von der Leyen, a Euro-fanatic basically given the job by backroom deals, who is adamant that no matter what the question, the answer is always 'more Europe'. She is open about her desire to build an EU army yet says that we will be committed to NATO. Well, which one is it? Because you cannot serve two masters.

The UK must never surrender its sovereignty, which includes its armed forces. Boris Johnson and the Tories, be warned. If you give up our armed forces to an EU army, the people's army of the British electorate will punish you at the ballot box.

**Dubravka Šuica (PPE)**. – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovana gospođo Mogherini, drago mi je da će ova rasprava o globalnoj strategiji obilježiti početak rada ovog saziva Parlamenta.

Ja podržavam svaki sustav i svaki svjetski poredak koji se temelji na međunarodnom pravu i na poštivanju ljudskih prava i, naravno, održivom razvoju. Stoga, jedino što moramo zaključiti da svijet danas nažalost nije u boljem stanju nego što je bio 2016. godine, ali ukoliko iskoristimo sve multilateralne platforme, kao što ovaj sporazum kaže, i ako ih implementiramo, sigurna sam da možemo osigurati mir i stabilnost.

Dakle, moramo iskoristiti globalnu strategiju, koja je kao što smo već rekli, kompas za vanjsku akciju u svijetu. Sigurno da politička volja je važna i da se s njome mogu ostvariti rezultati, potrebna je veća razina suradnje, potrebna su veća partnerstva, a znate svi da građani od nas ovdje očekuju jaču Europu, ali ne samo građani Europe nego i ostatak svijeta.

Nažalost, europski projekt se često dovodi u pitanje, a mi moramo osigurati mir, demokraciju i blagostanje. Samo kao odgovor gospodinu, demokracija je inače, njezina definicija, jedan glas više.

**Isabel Santos (S&D)**. – Senhor Presidente, ao assinalar os três anos da Estratégia Global da União Europeia felicito a Sra. Mogherini pela sua implementação. A aposta no multilateralismo por parte da União Europeia constitui um ponto forte e quero destacar alguns dos muitos pontos de sucesso desta estratégia: os programas nos campos da segurança e da defesa e da parceria reforçada, a pesca, o acordo de associação e investimento com a Ucrânia, o apoio ao processo de paz na Colômbia, entre outros.

Mas não posso deixar de falar sobre uma área na qual ainda há muito a fazer. O chamado «eixo interno-externo» nas migrações, que produziu alguns resultados com programas como a Operação Sofia, está claramente em falta. Como podemos falar de direitos humanos quando continuamos a permitir que milhares de pessoas morram nas nossas fronteiras porque alguns dos nossos Estados se recusam a cumprir as regras internacionais de asilo? Como podemos continuar a ser cúmplices da tensão de tantos migrantes em centros de detenção na Líbia, onde são sujeitos à tortura e a tratamentos desumanos?

Para terminar, como é que a Estratégia Global pode ajudar a fazer, na União Europeia, o que já consegue realizar em muitos outros lugares?

**Ilhan Kyuchyuk (Renew).** – Mr President, I would like to thank the High Representative for her constant presence and active participation in this Chamber, and indeed, in discussing the EU Global Strategy: what has been achieved in protecting and promoting the multilateral rules-based order.

The EU has invested significant political capital in turning the strategy vision into concrete action, especially in terms of the progress made on European defence and security. Unfortunately, we are still witnessing numerous ongoing conflicts and, in many cases, our efforts to pursue peace and security remain unsuccessful. From Syria to Libya, from Venezuela to Iran, the EU must build the right consensus in order to find sustainable solutions to these ongoing crises.

Furthermore, the EU should not turn a blind eye to those who share our values and want to be part of our family. The strategy recognises the progress made by the Western Balkans – the Prespa Agreement and judicial reform in Albania – but much more has to be done to reconfirm the EU perspective for the region and to foster the integration process.

**Lars Patrick Berg (ID).** – Herr Präsident, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Frau Mogherini! In der „Kunst des Krieges“ schrieb der chinesische General und Philosoph Sun Tsu „Halte deine Pläne undurchdringlich, dunkel wie die tiefste Nacht, und wenn du dich bewegst, falle wie ein Blitz“.

Ich glaube, dass die globale Strategie den ersten Teil dieses Ratschlags umfasst, aber in Bezug auf den zweiten Teil offensichtlich scheitert. Die globale Strategie ist ein wohlklingendes Dokument voller ehrgeiziger Ziele. Es ist nicht der Inhalt, der mich bewegt oder beschäftigt, es ist die Frage der praktischen Umsetzung. Seit Einführung der globalen Strategie ist die Welt unübersichtlicher geworden, aber ich frage mich, ob die Strategie uns dabei hilft, einige der kritischen Herausforderungen überhaupt zu lösen.

Unsere Außenpolitik scheint uns mit Russland und den Vereinigten Staaten in Konflikt zu bringen. Bei den letzten Europawahlen war es offensichtlich, dass ein erheblicher Teil der europäischen Wähler Besorgnis über das hohe Ausmaß der Migration zum Ausdruck brachte, und doch scheint diese Strategie die Probleme nur noch zu verschärfen. Deshalb lassen Sie uns eine reaktionsschnelle Strategie entwickeln, die auf den Interessen der Mitgliedstaaten basiert. Lassen Sie uns darauf hinarbeiten, dass unsere Beziehungen zu wichtigen Akteuren wie Russland und den USA gedeihen. Lassen Sie uns eine Realpolitik des 21. Jahrhunderts entwickeln.

**David McAllister (PPE).** – Mr President, three years later the five priorities the EU Global Strategy outlined in 2016 remain valid: the security of Europe itself; a stable neighbourhood; an integrated approach to conflicts; cooperative regional orders; and an effective global governance.

Like other speakers, in particular, I welcome the increased defence cooperation between the EU Member States and the steps taken to increase our military autonomy. Still, the overall implementation of the strategy leaves room for improvement undoubtedly, but for a stronger and more coherent common foreign and security policy, the EU must among other points firstly better combine policies and tools ranging from diplomacy, security and defence, to finance, trade development and human rights. Secondly, we need to strengthen the coherence, effectiveness and the flexibility of our external financing instruments. And thirdly, we need to move to qualified majority voting in specific areas of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

I'm thankful that the new Commission President Ursula von der Leyen mentioned the latter point in her speech this morning, and I would like to thank Federica Mogherini for the good work she has done on this Global Strategy.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mentre Lei, signora Alto rappresentante, prosegue il Suo importante lavoro in un contesto internazionale di grande incertezza, emergono elementi inquietanti sull'intenzione da parte di persone vicinissime alla Lega di Matteo Salvini, partito al governo di un paese fondatore come l'Italia, di stringere rapporti con incontri e presunti finanziamenti occulti con Mosca.

La strategia globale ha rappresentato la cornice fondamentale di un'azione esterna incisiva basata sulla resilienza, sulla centralità del diritto internazionale, sulla difesa comune europea, sull'autonomia strategica, pur nel solco della NATO. Ora siamo chiamati a una scelta: proseguire verso questa autonomia o soccombere a potenze sempre più assertive e molto meno attente ai nostri valori fondamentali.

Sulla base della gravità degli elementi emersi in Italia, ma non solo, credo sia necessario, nel solco del lavoro da Lei già avviato con la task force StratCom, istituire una vera e propria commissione d'inchiesta sui contatti di partiti europei di estrema destra con Mosca per accertarne eventuali finanziamenti occulti e finalità politiche. Non possiamo più sottovalutare quella che si sta configurando come una vera e propria minaccia all'ordine comunitario e alla sua collocazione internazionale.

**Bernard Guetta (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute représentante, malgré de remarquables efforts qui vous honorent et plusieurs succès dont il faut vous féliciter, la diplomatie européenne peine à prendre le pas sur les différentes diplomaties nationales ou même à les égaler en poids sur la scène internationale. Cela pose un vrai problème à l'heure où l'Union européenne ne semble plus loin de jeter les bases d'une défense commune exigeant une vision commune de nos intérêts, de notre place dans le monde et des menaces et dangers auxquels nous devons faire face.

Vous semble-t-il, dans ces conditions, que l'administration que vous venez de conduire pourrait se fixer comme tâches prioritaires de définir, premièrement, les objectifs à moyen et long terme d'une diplomatie européenne, deuxièmement, les moyens d'une convergence et, troisièmement, les étapes qu'elle demanderait?

Je vous remercie de votre réponse.

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** – Señor presidente, la estrategia de seguridad puso de manifiesto la importancia de una Unión Europea activa en el plano exterior. El aislamiento para Europa no es una opción. El mundo de hoy es globalizado, complejo, interconectado y multipolar. Los europeos por separado seríamos casi irrelevantes. Unidos somos más fuertes, pero nuestra política exterior común necesita —como usted decía, señora alta representante— voluntad política, es decir, profunda convicción de que es mejor actuar conjuntamente.

Y, lamentablemente, en la Europa de hoy aumentan la fragmentación y la división, y la toma de decisiones también se ralentiza por ello, y tenemos que añadir, además, el obstáculo de la unanimidad.

La buena noticia, estos años, es el importante progreso en la política de defensa. Como muchos veníamos reclamando en un mundo tan complejo, con tantos conflictos, crisis, tensiones, la Unión Europea no puede ser solamente un poder blando. Sin perjuicio de nuestros importantes vínculos con la OTAN, los europeos debemos seguir desarrollando, reforzando nuestra dimensión de defensa.

**Marina Kaljurand (S&D).** – Mr President, first of all, I would like to thank the High Representative for her remarks and her commitment. I would like to draw her attention to one of the focus areas of the global strategy: cybersecurity. Cyber is here to stay, and cyber challenges are the new reality. It is of the utmost importance to tackle cyber threats while maintaining an open, free and safe cyberspace.

The EU has taken several important steps, including cybersecurity strategy, cyber diplomacy toolbox, cyber exercises and bilateral dialogues, but a lot has to be done. I would like to emphasise three points. Firstly, the EU should be more active globally, acting as the leading force and voice in cybersecurity discussions and actions. Secondly, the EU should be more vocal in promoting law and rules-based cyberspace, promoting, in particular, the applicability of international law to cyber. And finally, the EU should be vocal on inclusiveness, a multistakeholder model, listening to others and cooperating with other actors.

**Urmas Paet (Renew).** – Mr President, while there are numerous issues on which the European Union must play a greater role in the world – be it the United Nations Security Council reform, climate change, supporting the International Criminal Court, or arms control agreements – there are many challenges within the European Union itself that need to be tackled to enable the EU to be efficient in its role.

The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy has been considerably strengthened since this topic was first addressed in the EU Global Strategy a few years ago, but more needs to be done. Expansion and better functioning of the Permanent Structured Cooperation, the European Defence Fund and so on. This applies also to cyberspace and cybersecurity. Unfortunately, climate change is also affecting regions that have so far remained calm, like the Arctic, but the EU needs to invest more of its focus and develop a strategy to keep a lid on tensions in the Arctic.

**Željana Zovko (PPE).** – Mr President and esteemed High Representative, I welcome the Implementation Report of the EU Global Strategy. It reminds us of the relevance of having a coherent and credible foreign policy, and it outlines our common achievements in the recent years.

Most importantly, it provides us with an overview of these matters we still need to invest in. Given the recent developments in the volatile international environment, the European Union, more than ever before, needs an ambitious implementation of this strategy.

In order to keep up with the changes and challenges that we are facing, this strategy must aim to establish an international order based on justice. It will help us to share our values, together with our interests across the world, in order to create a more balanced approach to multilateralism.

I strongly welcome the action taken to improve the relations with our southern and eastern neighbours. We must focus on the cooperation with these regions, in particular, with the Western Balkans where established peace and security should not be taken for granted. Stronger interaction and a clear path towards accession is vital for the peace and security in this region, as well as for Europe as a whole.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Mr President, Madam High Representative, a lot has been done, but the biggest achievement of the last three years is the building of European defence. We mainly owe it to you, so I would like to start by thanking you for the important work. We have achieved more in a few years than in decades. A proof that when there is a political will and unity, we can do a lot.

We have done a series of steps towards making European defence more efficient. It is about maximising resources and better protecting our citizens, while reasserting the European Union's role in the world. The importance of the Iran nuclear agreement is beyond any statement here, and we must do our utmost to preserve it. I would also like to mention and praise the Prespa agreement – another remarkable achievement where the European Union played a crucial role. I do hope the Council will honour it and start negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania this year.

Finally, when it comes to the role of the European Union in the world, we cannot avoid bringing up the importance of the multilateral order. We have to do more to preserve our past achievements and to step up our efforts for the future. The good trend has to continue, supported with adequate resources that will be allocated for this particular purpose. Europe is – and must stay relevant because it is a strong and credible soft power. As the first humanitarian assistance provider, it has the means to act and protect peace, in cooperation with our allies. It is helping to create and preserve the conditions for peace and human dignity in many places of the world.

**Александър Йорданов (PPE).** – г-н Председател, уважаема г-жо Могерини, Руската федерация продължава да бъде заплаха не само за българската национална сигурност, но и за съюзната сигурност. Окупираният Крим се превръща във военен плащарм за агресия. Руската хибридна война формира антиевропейски настроения и провокира единството на Европейския съюз и НАТО в сферата на сигурността и отбраната.

За Европейската сигурност са особено важни граничните региони. Необходимо е ускоряване на европейската интеграция на Западните Балкани, но искрено се надявам, че в Съюза ще бъдат приети само държави – членове на НАТО, и това е важно послание към Република Сърбия. Политиката на разширяване трябва да има трансформираща сила.

Завършвам с предложението в Глобалната стратегия да бъде подчертана връзката между членството в НАТО на държавите от Западните Балкани и тяхното приемане в нашия съюз.

*Procedura «catch the eye»*

**Neena Gill (S&D).** – Mr President, High Representative, I welcome the broad emphasis of the third progress report. A greater unity in the EU on foreign matters is essential, because that will lead us to be on equal footing with other global powers.

But there are many challenges ahead of us, which you have clearly outlined. Yes, we need more cooperation on security matters, but we also have a real job of work to do in terms of protecting multilateralism. Reforming the international organisation system is key, but for me, above all, sustainable development really has to be part of this strategy – and it is a security issue.



It is also of the utmost importance in terms of global strategy that the EU looks beyond Europe much more in this mandate, especially at China, which is a serious threat to multilateralism and is being more and more aggressive on the global stage in Africa, in the Pacific and elsewhere, as the US is retreating from international organisation.

It really is important that we look at this. At the same time, we need to involve, India, Japan, Canada, Australia, much more in our focus, because they are defenders of multilateralism and they share our values. I will submit my question to you in writing.

**Martin Horwood (Renew).** – Mr President, we British Liberal Democrats and our allies in this Parliament believe the European Union is the most important peace project in European history, but it is not just European peace that we have to promote. We have been, and must be, champions of a rules-based international order of cooperation, of trust, of collaboration worldwide, and that rules-based international order is under threat as never before.

Yes, because of the militaristic posturing of China; yes, because of the actions of Mr Putin's Russia, closer to home; but also increasingly through the dangerously unreliable and inconsistent behaviour of our ally the USA, exemplified by Donald Trump's rejection of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran, signed by the EU, of course, alongside Iran and other global players. Donald Trump is endangering peace, and by undermining this deal is effectively promoting nuclear proliferation. So it has never been more important for the European Union to play a robustly positive role in promoting dialogue and reconciliation in place of conflict in general – and, very specifically, robustly defending this deal.

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

**Robert Rowland (NI), blue-card question.** – Mr President, I would like to ask Mr Horwood this question: is he prepared to compromise the structures of deterrence that NATO has provided for the past 70 years to ensure peace not only in Europe but also around the world, and why on earth would he jeopardise that most important transatlantic relationship?

**Martin Horwood (Renew), blue-card answer.** – Nobody in the European Union, and certainly not High Representative Mogherini, has questioned the efficacy of NATO or the importance of NATO. It is because we want an integrated response to the threats in this increasingly dangerous world that we need both structured European defence cooperation and also collaboration through NATO. The person who has questioned NATO is actually Donald Trump, who is closer to your party's beliefs and ideas of populism and nationalism than anyone in this Parliament, in my view.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Mr President, I would like to say this to High Representative Mogherini: just today, this Parliament voted for Ursula von der Leyen as the new President of the Commission, which means that your term will be coming to an end after the summer, and you are expected to be replaced by Josep Borrell, an experienced foreign minister, as you were when you came to office. I want to salute you for your devotion, for your endeavours, for your delivery, and for your stance on the EU Global Strategy.

In Spanish we have a saying that, when it comes to strategy, we don't explain it, we implement it! And if there is a field in which the European Union needs to implement a global strategy, that is Africa. On environmental, human rights, demographic and migration issues, we need the European Union to go global in relation to Africa. That means that if the European Union did not exist we would have to invent it. And if the European Union is not meaningful in relation to Africa, we need to make that happen and give it a chance to be globally relevant.

**Julie Ward (S&D).** – Mr President, I wish to set the record straight regarding rubbish iterated by right-wing, anti-EU nationalists. Firstly, the shameful Islamophobic rant of Swedish MEP Weimers demonstrates pure ignorance. In 2017, I met with British Embassy officials in Kenya who informed me of crucial EU support that prevents al-Shabaab Islamic extremists from moving across the border with Somalia, effectively preventing them from reaching Europe. I'm glad that, collectively, we train and pay the stipends of local border security. The British officials who told me this were horrified by the prospect of Brexit, as it undermines global and national security.

Secondly, Brexit MEP Nathan Gill pretends to be a patriotic champion for the British armed forces. He is no such thing, as the 'Veterans for the EU' campaign group will confirm. Their experience serving around the world in conflict zones, working alongside EU partners, has provoked them to join the huge patriotic campaign to keep the UK in the EU for the sake of global peace and security, and I commend them for it.

**Mick Wallace (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, over the past 18 years the US regime and its Western supporters have caused untold destruction in many parts of the world, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Palestine and Yemen.

There is no argument for their actions and Europe has been unfortunately too silent and afraid to condemn them. There is no argument whatsoever for these wars. And now we have the build-up of aggression against Iran. We have the sanctions against Iran, which is a form of warfare – one of the worst forms of warfare today.

And what is Europe doing about it? Do you want Saudi Arabia and Israel to push the US into war with Iran? Why don't you end the sanctions? Bring Iran back into the international community. Iran wants peace, not war!

*(Fine della procedura «catch the eye»)*

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** – Mr President, let me first of all thank not only those of you that appreciated the global strategy that was presented, but also Parliament for its contribution of three years ago and the work we've done together with the previous Parliament to start to implement it. I would also like to thank those of you that have underlined the need to, in one sense, sustain and consolidate this work, but also to be consistent on those decisions.

Let me start with probably the most immediate task you will have in front of you, if you want to be consistent on the need to have a solid, reliable, credible, global player in our European Union. That is what some of you have mentioned: put the money where your priorities are.

One of the first responsibilities this Parliament will have is the MFF, and let me say – just to mention a few numbers – that the proposal we've made for the next MFF, from the Commission side, is to increase the funds for the external action of the European Union by more or less 30%. This is needed in times of uncertainty in the world, because our partners look at Europe to find a reliable, credible partner that is predictable, someone you can cooperate with, someone that invests always in peace, democracy, human rights and cooperation. But this sometimes also requires adequate resources to sustain this work around the world.

So I hope that you will work in this direction in these next months. In particular, the proposal we put forward has an increase of 23% for the funds for Africa, and this is very important. We have increased a lot our work with Africa, not only in terms of development or humanitarian aid, but also in terms of partnership, political partnership, and work on peace and security. This work needs to be even more at the centre of our work in the future. 25% of those funds are dedicated to climate change in our proposal, and I really hope that this also can be supported and kept in your discussions on the next MFF.

I won't comment on the situation in Iran, because we will have a dedicated discussion later tonight – for those of you that are willing to spend the night in the Hemicycle – on the security situation around the Gulf. But let me stress, and you know already how important it is for all of us, collectively, to find a way to preserve the nuclear deal with Iran and also to avoid any escalation, and rather to de-escalate or to help actors to de-escalate around the Gulf. It is a vital interest of security concern for the European Union.

As I mentioned climate change and climate action and diplomacy, let me also say that one of the other priorities clearly indicated in our work is the work on cyber-security. Security is not only military, it has also a much broader definition. We know that well, and also in that field there are some actions proposed – in the strategy, in the review of the strategy and the report on the strategy – that can be carried forward successfully in the future.

Let me also mention three other points. Firstly, some of you mentioned the need to have a credible enlargement policy. I personally believe, and this Commission believes, that giving a credible perspective for enlargement in the Western Balkans – to me even the word enlargement is not the appropriate one, because if you look at the geography, the Balkans, the Western Balkan countries, are all neighbouring European Union Member States – is a matter of the reconciliation and unity of our continent. It is also a matter of reconciliation in the region. I believe that, in particular, opening accession negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania is timely now, and I hope that the Council will take that decision in the coming months, and not later than that. It is an investment in our own security, stability, prosperity.

I also see room for improvement on the work on migration. We have debated this here in this Hemicycle in the previous legislature several times. Some of you mentioned the good work that I started to do in Operation Sophia. On the external aspects of our migration policies, we have done a lot of good work. When I arrived five years ago, migration was not part of the external work of the Union at all. It was only an internal aspect of our policies. In these five years, we have established good partnerships with the countries of origin and transit. We have now 26 return agreements in place. We have good cooperation with the UN agencies – IOM and UNHCR in particular – and we have at the same time a sustainable and humane approach with our partners on the external side of migration.

If I have one regret, it is that Operation Sophia, which managed to have a successful beginning in countering traffickers, seizing their vessels, arresting traffickers, saving lives at sea and implementing the arms embargo on Libya. I only regret that our Member States at the Council decided to withdraw the naval assets from the Mediterranean. Having a naval operation without naval assets does not give too much credibility to our actions. So I really hope that there will be some developments in the coming weeks and months that could restore our presence at sea in the moment when this is most needed – both for the security situation in Libya, but also for having an effective fight against the trafficking networks across the Mediterranean.

Last, but not least, some of you mentioned some criticisms, more preoccupations, worries, on the risk of having a militarisation of the European Union security and foreign policy. Let me say this very clearly: the European Union way to security is never, never, never an aggressive one.

The European Union is, as some of you have said, the peace project that has been the most successful in history – at least in recent history. We've managed to overcome our own conflicts and crises and, on the basis of that experience, we are trying to help our partners, we are trying to accompany our partners, in their search for peace and democracy and human rights.

I see on a daily basis what the European Union military men and women, as well as police and civilian security forces, do in our missions and operations. What we do is support the democratic institutions of our partner countries to build institutions that deal with security and defence – be they the armies or the security forces on the civilian side – and accompany UN peacekeeping missions trying to establish peace and functioning institutions in the field of security and defence in very difficult circumstances.

I just last week visited our missions and operations in countries as difficult as Mali, Niger and the Central African Republic. Were it not for the European Union men and women in uniform, these countries would face probably much, much worse conditions on the ground in security terms.

So the work we do is never to kill – that is taken for granted. It is never to play an aggressive part in a conflict. On the contrary, some of you mentioned the strategic autonomy element we are trying to develop, which is intended to be able to autonomously play the role of peace builder that this world really needs.

So I hope that this compass, as we call it, can also be useful to navigate in the difficult times you will most likely face – I hope not – in the five years of your mandate. I really count on you to work together, to work together with the other institutions, and to make the best use of it.

**Presidente.** – La discussione è chiusa.

**Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)**

**Karol Karski (ECR), na piśmie.** –Trzy lata po przyjęciu globalnej strategii UE wysoka przedstawiciel Federica Mogherini wymienia osiągnięte sukcesy oraz postępy w różnych aspektach tego ambitnego programu. Niektóre z nich są niewątpliwe i należy im przyklasnąć, jak choćby zacieśnianie stosunków z częścią krajów Partnerstwa Wschodniego lub zwiększenie ilości obszarów, w których podejmowane są wspólne działania z NATO.

Z drugiej jednak strony są też zapisy, które budzą niepokój. Będąc przy Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckim: zastanawia zbyt częste powoływanie się na konieczność zapewnienia „strategicznego autonomii UE” bez dokładnego zdefiniowania, co się kryje za tą frazą. W sytuacji bowiem, gdy 22 państwa członkowskie należą jednocześnie do NATO, budowa alternatywnych unijnych struktur wojskowych, w tym dowodzenia, może prowadzić do osłabienia, a nie wzmocnienia kompatybilności UE i sojuszu.

Dużo miejsca poświęca się również reformie systemu ONZ. W tym miejscu chciałbym podkreślić, że w tym procesie wiodącą rolę mają państwa członkowskie, a nie Unia Europejska. Oczywiście w ramach UE powinniśmy uzgadniać stanowiska w najważniejszych organach i gremiach ONZ – również dotyczące ich przyszłego kształtu – i wspólnie głosować tam, gdzie jest to możliwe. Jednakże sprzeciwiamy się pomysłom zastępowania rządów poszczególnych państw przez Unię, na przykład poprzez przyznanie jej stałego miejsca w Radzie Bezpieczeństwa.

## 14. Sytuacja w Wenezueli (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione del Vicepresidente della Commissione/Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza sulla situazione in Venezuela (2019/2730(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** – Mr President, the people of Venezuela have faced, and are still facing, a dramatic situation. The humanitarian situation is still dire, it is getting worse by the day. Seven million Venezuelans in the country are in need of assistance and 3.7 million people are malnourished, according to UNHCR and FAO respectively. Four million Venezuelans have already fled the country in the past four years, and future projections point to continued increases.

The regional impact of the crisis is massive, including for the stability of the region. And on the political front, the government has arbitrarily arrested many members of the National Assembly and lifted their parliamentary immunity. The recent death of Captain Acosta Arévalo after he was taken into custody by the Venezuelan security forces is, for me – but I think for all of us – shocking. We have immediately called for a thorough and truly independent investigation that brings those responsible to justice.

We have all seen the report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, that confirms what we already knew very well: that human rights violations in Venezuela are frequent and are serious. We fully support both the findings of the report and, most importantly, the recommendations.

Just today, I issued a statement on behalf of all 28 Member States making clear that we stand ready to assist the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in her efforts to ensure that the fundamental rights of all Venezuelans are fully protected. In light of her report, we are also ready to start work towards applying targeted measures for those members of the security forces involved in torture and other serious violations of human rights.

Addressing the humanitarian and social emergency in Venezuela is urgent and long overdue. In the last weeks, something has started to move on the diplomatic side. The talks that Norway is mediating resumed last week in Barbados, and new meetings are ongoing as we speak. We all know that the path towards a democratic transition is fraught with obstacles, yet for the first time in months, or even years, this can be a preliminary step in the right direction towards a peaceful and democratic transition, both peaceful and democratic, with free and credible presidential elections.

In this, I am proud of the key role that the European Union has played in giving diplomacy a chance, when violence seemed to be the only game in town and a very risky one not only for Venezuela, but also for the region and for the rest of the world. We insisted that there was no military solution to the crisis and that any outcome had to be both peaceful and democratic. This is why we set up the international contact group at the beginning of this year, with the crucial participation of four Latin American countries, and just last week a fifth country from the region asked to join in.

The contact group was never supposed to mediate talks. We knew that from the very beginning, also because mediation, especially a mediation as complex as this one, cannot be mediated by a group, and also because we knew very well that the conditions for starting mediation when we started the international contact group were not there at all. So the group was not created for mediating a process – we've always been very clear on this, including in this chamber – the goal of the contact group has always been to try and contribute to create the conditions for a meaningful mediation to be launched in a credible manner in the right framework.

In a moment – I stress this – when an escalation seemed almost inevitable, today after months of good work, and I would like to thank my colleagues, both the foreign ministers of the Latin American countries, of the European countries that are part of the contact group, but also all our teams that have been working on this literally night and day, with a lot of dedication, after months of work today the space to build a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis has opened up.

In these months, the contact group's role has been recognised by all parties inside the country, in the region, and in the international arena. I engaged personally with all our international interlocutors, from the United States to Russia and China, from the Vatican to Cuba, from the Lima Group, to Caricom. Representatives of the Contact Group met all Venezuelan actors during their visits to Caracas. My Special Adviser for Venezuela, Enrique Iglesias, was in Caracas just days ago, and he met all relevant actors at the highest level, starting with Juan Guaidó, Nicolás Maduro, the United Nations, the main political parties, but also civil society and the Catholic Church.

This work has been essential to open the space for a political solution. It is not to be taken for granted at all that this space is going to be used to reach a political solution, but at least we have stopped the escalation on the military violence side, and we have given the political solution a chance.

This is why we all agreed, at the contact group meeting in Costa Rica a few months ago, first of all to continue our work, but also to intensify our political engagement and our outreach to relevant international actors. So the process that has now started is extremely fragile, but this is exactly why we must now do everything we can to support and accompany the talks in Barbados.

A peaceful and democratic transition has to come from within Venezuela. It can never be imposed from the outside, but we can, and must, facilitate this process with all means available, as we did in these months. And we must be crystal clear, there's no doubt about that. The country needs new presidential elections with a free and fair electoral process, with a level playing field for all candidates. And Venezuela also needs an effective separation of powers, starting with the recognition and respect of the National Assembly's prerogatives and of the immunity of all its members.

Some essential elements for a credible process have emerged very clearly from our talks and our work in these months. First, that crucial state institutions such as the Supreme Court of Justice and 'citizen power' offices work for all citizens of Venezuela in an impartial way. In particular a revised and balanced composition of the National Electoral Council will be needed.

Second, that all candidates are allowed to participate in the elections with the same rights and with no arbitrary restrictions. Third, that the voter register is updated, including young voters and Venezuelans abroad. And fourth, that international election observers monitor the whole electoral process and not just the election days.

The European Union and the entire international contact group are ready to help throughout the electoral process if the parties ask for our support and if we get to that stage.

This is probably the most delicate moment in the path that could lead towards a peaceful and democratic solution. This is the moment to do everything we can to strengthen this fragile process and help it deliver on the Venezuelan people's aspirations. We continue to believe that a certain degree of pressure needs to be maintained. The Venezuelan regime needs to understand that the status quo is simply not an option, it is not sustainable; not for the country, not for its citizens, not for the region, and not for the world.

Today with our statements with all the 28 Member States, we clearly recalled that, and I quote: 'In case there are no concrete results from the ongoing negotiations, the European Union will further expand its targeted measures'. At the same time, we made clear once again, I quote again: 'that these measures can be reversed in case substantial progress is made towards the restoration of democracy, rule of law and human rights in Venezuela.'

In the meantime, we will also continue to work through the contact group and in close cooperation with the UN to guarantee full access to humanitarian assistance without any restrictions, including by local humanitarian NGOs. We welcome the progress that has been made in this direction that we have accompanied and pushed for in these months, including with the appointment of a humanitarian coordinator by the UN.

Since the beginning of the crisis we, the European Union, have been one of the largest humanitarian donors to the Venezuelan people inside the country, but also in the neighbouring countries in the region. We continue to support, at political and financial level, all regional and international initiatives to address the refugee crisis, starting with the Quito Process, and this will not change. As we work on the political path, we also need to be extremely active on humanitarian support. But beyond the humanitarian aid, we have, vice versa, the responsibility to keep accompanying the work towards a peaceful and democratic way out of the crisis.

**Paulo Rangel**, *em nome do Grupo PPE*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Alta Representante, eu considero fundamental que, no primeiro momento desta legislatura, na abertura dos trabalhos do Parlamento Europeu, ele tome uma posição clara e inequívoca sobre a crise humanitária na Venezuela. É fundamental que fique claro, desde o início, que o Parlamento Europeu condena as violações sistemáticas dos direitos humanos, com tortura, com assassinatos, com perseguição política constante aos opositores do regime, que também condena o ataque à Assembleia Nacional, à imunidade dos deputados e, no fundo, à liberdade de expressão política, que ao mesmo tempo reconheça a Assembleia Nacional e também Juan Guaidó como legítimos representantes do povo venezuelano.

Dito isto, é muito importante também instar as autoridades de facto a fornecerem comida, medicamentos, a deixarem entrar ajuda humanitária. É fundamental olhar para a crise migratória na Colômbia, no Equador, no Peru, mesmo em territórios da União Europeia, em Portugal ou em Espanha, onde afluem cada vez mais venezuelanos na maior crise migratória do continente americano.

E, finalmente, é importante chamar a atenção para a ingerência externa inadmissível de Cuba e da Rússia e deixando dentro deste pano de fundo um apoio ao processo de paz, ao processo de diálogo que a Noruega está a mediar e que deve ter como objetivo a realização de eleições livres, democráticas e transparentes que restaurem a soberania do povo venezuelano.

**Javi López**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, muchas gracias, alta representante. Nosotros compartimos el análisis que hace la alta representante de la Comisión Europea sobre Venezuela. Pero creemos que es oportuno, ahora que iniciamos un mandato, reivindicar nuestra solidaridad con el pueblo venezolano; reivindicar que la única salida posible es una salida política, pacífica y negociada, que acabe desembocando en unas elecciones libres y justas, en igualdad de oportunidades para todos los actores políticos, y monitorizadas por la comunidad internacional.

Es el momento de reivindicar que existen expectativas positivas, ahora que en Barbados, con la compañía y el acompañamiento de Noruega, se están llevando a cabo estas negociaciones. Y es el momento también de poner luz sobre lo que pasa en Venezuela: el sufrimiento del pueblo venezolano, que han reivindicado y han calificado las Naciones Unidas de la mano de Michelle Bachelet; ejecuciones extrajudiciales, torturas, violaciones de derechos humanos —con impunidad— que necesitan respuesta, y también violaciones de derechos económicos y sociales que requieren de ayuda humanitaria.

Por todo ello, nosotros queremos —hoy— poner luz a la única salida posible y, al mismo tiempo, reivindicar el sufrimiento que está padeciendo el pueblo venezolano. Y ahora que vemos luz en esta salida política, quiero decir que solo gracias al trabajo de la Unión Europea hemos llegado hasta aquí.

**Dita Charanzová**, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señor presidente, señora alta representante, mañana es el Día de la Justicia Penal Internacional y este Parlamento envía un mensaje claro: no toleramos que en Venezuela se vulneren los derechos humanos. Es hora de que la Unión Europea tome una posición más firme contra la dictadura y amplíe las sanciones selectivas, incluyendo la posibilidad de sancionar a la empresa estatal de petróleo.

Dicen que Maduro está dispuesto a negociar, pero yo me pregunto cómo puede estar uno, por un lado, negociando y, por el otro, al mismo tiempo, encarcelando, torturando y matando a personas contrarias al régimen. ¿Cómo es posible decir que se quiere diálogo y, al mismo tiempo, perseguir a aquellos con los cuales se pretende negociar? No nos engañemos, Maduro sigue utilizando sus trucos de siempre: fingir disposición a negociar para ganar tiempo.

Tenemos que hacer todo lo posible para asegurarnos de que Maduro, por fin, se comprometa seriamente al diálogo y la crisis se resuelva de manera pacífica.

**Molly Scott Cato**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, during the last mandate we passed 15 resolutions on Venezuela. I'm not convinced that the objective of their proposals was really to resolve the situation to the benefit of most Venezuelan people, but rather to ensure that certain forces in that desperate country could take power from the discredited Maduro government. Meanwhile, we are ignoring human rights abuses in other countries, like those in Central America, that are giving rise to mass migrations – now the focus of another human rights urgency resolution in this House.

It's clear that the strategy of organising a coup with Guaidó at its head has failed and in your statement issued this morning, Ms Mogherini, I noted that he was not even mentioned.

Other things that have changed since our last resolution: for one, Michelle Bachelet visited Venezuela on behalf of the UN and clearly condemned the human rights abuses – on that we're all agreed – while Norway has launched a mediation initiative, bringing together the two sides in Barbados. This is an initiative that we should support, as you yourself have done. Although the negotiated resolution is still problematic, there is now hope that we can reach a mediated solution on a democratic process that all Venezuelans can sign up to. That is where the support of this House should go.

**Philippe Olivier**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, le Venezuela, c'est d'abord un drame humain et, si on est pratiquement tous d'accord, la confirmation de la nocivité des systèmes d'aspiration collectiviste. Mais, le Venezuela, c'est pour bien des pays européens de l'Union, comme le mien, l'illustration de ce qui apparaît comme une double faute: l'allégeance et l'ingérence.

L'allégeance, en donnant le sentiment de suivre servilement la position américaine en soutenant le président de l'assemblée, Juan Guaido, exactement dans le sillage du président Trump. À quoi sert une organisation européenne, si elle n'apparaît sur la scène internationale que comme le porte-drapeau d'une bannière étoilée qui n'est pas la sienne?

L'ingérence, en adoptant une attitude éminemment brutale dans un conflit intérieur qui peut dégénérer en guerre civile. L'Italie, qui a su tenir une position équilibrée, a fait preuve de clairvoyance.

En ignorant la prudence qui lui commandait l'indépendance et la non-ingérence, l'Union a perdu son unité et son crédit diplomatique, ce qui la handicape aujourd'hui pour jouer un rôle de médiateur, pourtant si nécessaire. Que cette triste situation nous serve de leçon.

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, Madam High Representative, in 2017 we granted the Sakharov Prize to the Venezuelan opposition. Unfortunately, the Maduro regime remains quite strong, despite the massive violations of human rights, intimidation of the democratic opposition and large-scale arrests. We are also concerned by the hyper-inflationary meltdown of the country, diseases, shortages of medicines and, in particular, the suffering of elderly people and children. There is a migration crisis with a spill-over effect on the whole region. Yet there is some hope in the recent diplomatic efforts. I cautiously welcome the Barbados process led by Norway, and we support your efforts, Ms Mogherini.

**Manu Pineda Marín**, *en nombre del Grupo GUE/NGL*. – Señor presidente, decía un político catalán del siglo pasado que «en política se puede hacer cualquier cosa menos el ridículo». Eso es lo que hará este Parlamento si aprueba mañana la enésima resolución sobre Venezuela.

Esta cámara, con Antonio Tajani a la cabeza, reconoció al autoproclamado Juan Guaidó como presidente de un país que —aunque a ustedes no les guste— tiene un Gobierno y un presidente democráticamente elegidos. El intento de golpe de Estado fracasó y, justo cuando Guaidó se sube a la mesa de diálogo en Barbados, vuelven las presiones.

Ustedes siguen la hoja de ruta marcada por los Estados Unidos para derrocar a Maduro. Pero no todo vale. La Unión Europea debe respetar el Derecho internacional, la no injerencia en las decisiones soberanas de los pueblos, y levantar las sanciones. Se dicen preocupados por el pueblo venezolano, pero exigen medidas que le generarán aún más sufrimiento.

Señora Mogherini, deje de amenazar con sanciones y siga reclamando diálogo y moderación, por favor. La Unión Europea debe apostar por el diálogo y dejar que el pueblo venezolano decida su futuro. Es decir, la Unión Europea debería actuar de forma democrática.

**Robert Rowland (NI).** – Mr President, the situation in Venezuela today is an example of what happens when a socialist ideology is pursued to its logical conclusion and why it must be defeated in Europe. What I find so disturbing this morning, listening to the MEPs from the left, is how they think a socialist agenda of more regulation, more central planning and more bureaucracy leads to an economic utopia. As an economist, I can tell you that these ideas are both deluded and misguided. Far from giving more personal and economic freedom, the ideas I heard this morning do the complete opposite. In the words of one great Austrian economist, Friedrich Hayek, it will lead down the road to serfdom.

Venezuela provides a reminder of how undiluted socialism works out: a brutal economic crisis marked by food and medicine shortages, along with the world's highest inflation rate of over a million percent. The nation's economy, which has already contracted by half in recent years, is expected to shrink by another 25%. By intervening, you may feel better by showcasing your political virtue but you most assuredly will not be helping the courageous opposition leader, Juan Guaidó, and his supporters.

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

**Martin Horwood (Renew),** *blue-card question.* – I would like to commend Mr Rowland on some points powerfully put. I wonder how he expects to get them across to the High Representative if we proceed with Brexit.

**Robert Rowland (NI),** *blue-card answer.* – We will do this multilaterally, of course.

**Leopoldo López Gil (PPE).** – Señor presidente, señora Mogherini, como venezolano y como español, es con profundo sentimiento que les hablo. El pasado 4 de julio la alta comisionada de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos, Michelle Bachelet, presentó el informe sobre las violaciones a los derechos de los venezolanos. Confirmó la persecución, las torturas, los asesinatos como una política de Estado, tal como lo denunció la oposición democrática venezolana, a quienes este Parlamento reconoció con el Premio Sájarov en 2017.

La legítima Asamblea Nacional de Venezuela sostiene que esta crisis debe resolverse por la vía del diálogo. Como coordinador de la Subcomisión de Derechos Humanos, agradezco al empeño puesto por este proyecto de Resolución para que se produzcan unas elecciones presidenciales libres, transparentes y verificables, bajo la observación internacional bien reconocida.

En línea con la Resolución del día 28 de marzo aprobada por este Parlamento, instamos al Grupo de Contacto a colaborar con el Grupo de Lima, con todas las acciones que conduzcan a estas elecciones. Este es el único camino para la democratización de Venezuela. Pido a todos los grupos políticos democráticos que apoyen esta Resolución. Su único propósito es lograr que cesen las persecuciones sistemáticas, la represión, la violencia y las violaciones a los derechos humanos y el éxodo masivo de Venezuela.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Alta Representante, a situação de tragédia humanitária na Venezuela continua a chocar todos os observadores internacionais.

O relatório das Nações Unidas mostra que as situações de atropelo dos direitos humanos continuam a multiplicar-se, as regras do Estado de Direito continuam a ser ignoradas e as condições de vida da população são cada vez mais difíceis, não podendo ninguém ficar complacente com esta situação. Mas sejamos claros, não há nenhuma solução para o país que seja capaz de proteger aqueles que lá permanecem, sobrevivendo em condições extremas, que não passe pelo diálogo e pela mediação internacional com vista a uma resolução pacífica da crise.



O trabalho do Grupo de Contacto tem tido resultados reconhecidos por todas as partes envolvidas. Impõe-se agora que a União Europeia continue a pugnar para que seja reposto o equilíbrio institucional e que sejam implementadas as mudanças necessárias para a realização de eleições livres e justas, abertas à participação de todas as forças políticas e com garantias de monitorização internacional.

**Samira Rafaela (Renew).** – Mr President, the situation in Venezuela is deeply troubling and is bringing hardship to millions. More than four million Venezuelans have now left the country, making this the second largest displacement crisis in the world after Syria, on our doorstep. But we Europeans are not living up to our own legal rules and our moral obligations in receiving those seeking protection.

Earlier this year, I saw the consequences for myself when I was in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Without our support, these territories face an impossible challenge in receiving refugees from Venezuela. For example, on the Dutch Leeward Islands refugees already represent over 10% of the local population. I call upon the Commission to provide much-needed assistance and to use all possible diplomatic means. We should allocate funding under the EU Migration Fund and we should send experts from the European Asylum Support Office. I am counting on the Commission to take action.

**Hermann Tertsch (ECR).** – Señor presidente; sí, señora Mogherini, yo me alegro mucho de que hayamos conseguido una Resolución —que espero que vote un amplio espectro en este Parlamento nuevo— para demostrar y volver a incidir en la brutal tragedia que se está produciendo en Venezuela desde hace muchos años, realmente con muchísima pasividad por parte de muchos.

Creo que, por desgracia, usted representa precisamente ese papel lamentable que hemos tenido, que ha impedido que hubiera momentos en los cuales se hubiera podido acortar el sufrimiento de los venezolanos. Creo que estamos hablando con una banda, no de políticos al uso, no es una dictadura ideológicamente marcada: es una banda de criminales de lo que estamos hablando; una banda de criminales protegida por un centro de mando que está en Cuba, que está en La Habana, al cual se ha protegido demasiado desde esta cámara, desde la Unión Europea, y también creo que desde su mandato.

Cuba es muy culpable de lo que ha pasado en Venezuela, y no se ha dicho lo suficiente. A los criminales de Venezuela hay que plantearles una amenaza creíble. Y sin amenaza creíble, no hay movimiento en esas negociaciones que se van a producir ahora, como no lo ha habido antes. Esa amenaza tiene que ser de sanciones o de lo que sea, pero es necesaria.

**Stelios Kouloglou (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, I would like to ask Ms Mogherini a very straight question. There was recently an attempted military coup in Venezuela: why have you not condemned it? Are you in favour of some military coups, or some military dictatorships? Why not?

I have a second question. Now that there is finally some reconciliation progress, under the auspices of Norway, why such an aggressive stance? Why such an aggressive resolution? Why are you not giving dialogue a chance? Why are you throwing fuel on the fire?

And my third question is: if a Guaidó were to appear in another country, where very severe violations of human rights are happening, where they are cutting dissidents into pieces, as in Saudi Arabia – if a Guaidó were to appear and proclaim himself the President of Saudi Arabia and the sponsor of democracy – would you recognise him? No.

Let's be frank, Ms Mogherini: the oil in Saudi Arabia is secured, whereas in Venezuela it's not secured.

**Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, javio sam se za riječ da osudim imperijalizam, da osudim militarizam i da se založim za pacifizam, za mir, mirno i demokratsko rješenje u Venezueli.

Ovdje možemo čitati o kršenjima ljudskih prava u Venezueli. Postavljam vam pitanje. Zašto ne govorimo o kršenju ljudskih prava tamo gdje ne kontroliramo naftu? Zašto ne govorimo o kršenju ljudskih prava u Saudijskoj Arabiji? Zato što tamo establishment kontrolira naftu, s njima su se dogovorili, s njima mogu raditi što hoće. Ne govorimo o ženskim pravima u Saudijskoj Arabiji, ne govorimo o kršenju ljudskih prava u Saudijskoj Arabiji, nema rezolucija. Odakle to licemjerje i do kada to licemjerje?

Također, želim osuditi imperijalizam. Sjedinjene Američke Države, njihov establišment, bio republikanski, demokratski uvijek je imao istu ili sličnu politiku prema zemljama Srednje Amerike, imperijalističku politiku. Nije prvi puta da se SAD miješa ili pokušava miješati u situaciju u Venezueli.

Treba osuditi politiku sankcija, puča, diktature. Međutim, ono što je najvažnije, treba pustiti narodu Venezuele da demokratski i mirno sam donese rješenje i maknuti imperijalističke šape iz Venezuele i drugih zemalja.

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** – Señor presidente, la situación en Venezuela es cada día más dramática. El régimen de Maduro, como ha demostrado el informe Bachelet, viola gravemente los derechos humanos y las libertades más básicas, como, en el fondo, todos sabíamos. El cruel asesinato del capitán Acosta es la prueba más reciente. Son necesarias sanciones para los responsables de estas graves violaciones de los derechos humanos.

Los cambios en Venezuela no pueden, no deben retrasarse. Es urgente la liberación de los presos políticos, un Gobierno de transición y la celebración de elecciones presidenciales libres. La nueva mesa de diálogo de Barbados, promovida por Noruega, debe producir pronto resultados y no debe ser utilizada por el régimen de Maduro para ganar tiempo, como ha sucedido con otros marcos de diálogo.

La Unión Europea debe implicarse más activamente. Creo necesaria —ya lo he dicho más veces— una actitud más decidida del Consejo ante el drama que vive Venezuela. El Parlamento sí ha sido ágil, impulsando el rápido reconocimiento de Guaidó hace unos meses.

La Unión Europea —y termino— debe trabajar en estrecha cooperación con el Grupo de Lima y con la gran mayoría de la comunidad internacional para poner fin a esta trágica pesadilla que sufren nuestros hermanos venezolanos.

**Julie Ward (S&D).** – Mr President, the humanitarian, political and economic crisis in Venezuela needs an urgent response. The recent report by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) on the situation is very worrying, because it paints a bleak picture of the human rights situation in the country. The only way out of the deadlock in which Venezuelan society finds itself is through a negotiated solution that includes all sections of society. It is important that women, young people and minorities are included in the process, as they hold the keys to building an inclusive peace.

I trust Venezuelans will find a peaceful solution through the negotiation process currently facilitated by Norway. As Europeans, it is important that we support these talks and oppose any calls for a military intervention. War is not the solution. The future of Venezuela should not be built on the use of violence, and the talks seem to be constructive. I call on all parties to continue working positively in order to reach the objective of holding free and fair elections with international observers. I want to state my full support for the pre-conditions laid out by the EU-led international contact group, including the release of political prisoners.

**VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS**

*Vizepräsident*

**Carlo Fidanza (ECR).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, alto rappresentante Mogherini, è tempo di bilanci anche per il Suo mandato.

Il nostro giudizio complessivamente per questi cinque anni è un giudizio negativo, ma nel caso di specie del Venezuela, riconosciamo che la Commissione ha fatto sforzi importanti. Ci rammarichiamo per contro del fatto che il Consiglio pochi mesi fa non è riuscito ad approvare una risoluzione a sostegno del legittimo presidente Guaidó per responsabilità del governo della mia nazione, dell'Italia, che non ha voluto sottoscriverlo, una macchia pesante.

La situazione è drammatica, come hanno detto i colleghi. Sei milioni di persone che vivono in condizioni tragiche, più di quattro milioni di persone che hanno lasciato il paese, profughi veri che probabilmente non destano l'attenzione dell'opinione pubblica internazionale perché non hanno alle loro spalle Carola Rackete, George Soros e Roberto Saviano, che si stracciano le vesti per loro, ma sono profughi veri che necessitano di aiuto.

Allora noi sosteniamo gli sforzi diplomatici, chiediamo alla Commissione di sostenere il processo di mediazione che si è caricata oggi la Norvegia verso nuove elezioni libere e trasparenti, condividendo l'auspicio della Conferenza episcopale venezuelana, che voglio ringraziare per il grande lavoro che sta facendo e che pochi giorni fa ha chiesto l'uscita di coloro che esercitano illegittimamente il potere e l'elezione nel più breve tempo possibile di un nuovo presidente della Repubblica. Parole sensate, parole misurate di buon senso che devono trovare presto attuazione.

**Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, από τις πρώτες πράξεις της κυβέρνησης της ΝΔ ήταν να αναγνωρίσει του αρχιπραικτοπηματία Γκουαϊδό, τον αχυράνθρωπο των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών της Αμερικής, ως μεταβατικό πρόεδρο της Βενεζουέλας, πατώντας ακριβώς πάνω στην απαράδεκτη κοινή θέση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, που στηρίζει η κυβέρνηση του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ. Πρόκειται για πράξη που στηρίζει τη βρόμικη επέμβαση των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών, της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και των συμμάχων τους στη Βενεζουέλα και στρέφεται κατά του νόμιμα εκλεγμένου προέδρου της χώρας και συνολικά κατά του βενεζουελάνικου λαού, ο οποίος είναι ο μόνος υπεύθυνος για να καθορίσει τις πολιτικές και κοινωνικές εξελίξεις στη χώρα του.

Ο ελληνικός λαός, όπως πολλές φορές έχει κάνει στο παρελθόν, χρειάζεται και τώρα να καταδικάσει αποφασιστικά την επέμβαση των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών και της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης στη Βενεζουέλα, μαζί και την αναγνώρισή της από την κυβέρνηση της ΝΔ, που παίρνοντας τη σκυτάλη από τον ΣΥΡΙΖΑ παίζει το παιχνίδι των ιμπεριαλιστών. Το ΚΚΕ εκφράζει τη διεθνιστική του αλληλεγγύη στον λαό της Βενεζουέλας, στο Κομμουνιστικό του Κόμμα και την Κομμουνιστική Νεολαία της χώρας, που μάχονται για τα λαϊκά συμφέροντα.

**David Lega (PPE).** – Mr President, I would like to say to the High Representative that the evil of communism has many faces. In Venezuela that face is Nicolás Maduro, who has torn this previously so wealthy country into pieces. According to the IMF, the country's inflation rate is projected to hit 10 million per cent by the end of 2019, and at home Venezuelans are starving to death. When taking to the streets they are being gunned down by Maduro's security forces. To survive, some five million people will have fled the country by the end of this year, according to the United Nations.

Venezuelans have been brought to their knees but they are not defeated. Juan Guaidó is their legitimate interim president, and this very European Parliament, and a majority of Member States, have recognised him as such. Still, quite a few Members and Member States keep supporting Maduro's illegitimate regime, and by doing so they legitimise Maduro's loathsome crimes against the courageous people of Venezuela. For that they will go down in history, although probably not quite in the way that they were hoping for.

So I agree with my PPE colleagues, High Representative, that you need to take the lead on EU policy in Venezuela. Maduro must be held accountable for his hideous crimes.

**Beata Kempa (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Kryzys humanitarny w Wenezueli się pogłębia, każdego dnia sytuacja staje się coraz gorsza. Stałe zainteresowanie społeczności międzynarodowej, a w szczególności Unii Europejskiej, jest bez wątpienia tym, co wenezuelskiej opozycji jest dzisiaj bardzo potrzebne. Owszem, rozmowy na Barbadosie trwają, ale nie może to uspić czujności społeczności międzynarodowej. Pamiętajmy, że to właśnie presja międzynarodowa sprawiła, że reżim Maduro w ogóle usiadł do stołu.

Zatem przede wszystkim musimy pamiętać o indywidualnym cierpieniu i tragedii tysięcy mieszkańców Wenezueli, gdzie blisko czterech milionów osób dotyka niedożywienie. Dotyczy to w szczególności kobiet w ciąży i dzieci. Płaca minimalna to siedem dolarów miesięcznie, dlatego wielu mieszkańców decyduje się na emigrację do krajów sąsiednich: Kolumbii, Peru, Ekwadoru, Brazylii czy Chile.

Jeśli chodzi o samą Wenezuelę, jedyną możliwością pomocy jest oddolna dystrybucja żywności i leków, która problemów nie rozwiąże, ale pozwoli przeżyć do momentu, kiedy pojawi się polityczne rozwiązanie. Polskie organizacje pozarządowe bezpośrednio niosą pomoc Wenezuelczykom. Bezcenna jest także rola kościołów i związków wyznaniowych oraz organizacji partnerskich. Zatem Unia musi również pomóc uchodźcom w Wenezueli. Zatem rolą Unii jest pomóc, i akcję tę powinniśmy podjąć jak najszybciej, wykorzystując polski wzorzec bezpośredniej pomocy na miejscu.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señora Mogherini, las conclusiones de las Naciones Unidas sobre la situación en Venezuela hacen más urgente que nunca activar una ayuda humanitaria a la altura de la tragedia que vive el país y un proceso de transición hacia la democracia.

La represión y las graves violaciones de los derechos humanos deben cesar. El diálogo en marcha tiene hoja de ruta: unas elecciones democráticas, libres y en condiciones justas para todos los actores, como propone la Asamblea de Venezuela, con mecanismos de verificación internacional que eviten la usurpación de la voluntad popular en que se basa el régimen del país.

Las cifras de represaliados, de asesinados, de exiliados forzosos, la desnutrición, el desabastecimiento de medicinas justifican una investigación de la Corte Penal contra los jefes del régimen y sanciones que deben bloquear el patrimonio ilícitamente obtenido por ellos durante esta dictadura.

**Mick Wallace (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, if Europeans really cared about the people of Venezuela, they would organise food and medicine for them in cooperation with the legitimate government, the elected government of Venezuela. You don't have to like Maduro, but he was elected and we should feel obliged to help the people in order to counteract the brutality of the US sanctions, which are bringing the country to its knees. There is no sense in these sanctions. It's a new form of terrorism. It aims to hurt the most vulnerable the most, and they are the ones who suffer the most. It would be better if the US military invaded the place and if they shot at the Venezuelans. At least the Venezuelans could defend themselves in self-defence.

This is the worst form of war – economic war. There is no excuse for it. Your decision to support Guaidó, a right-wing thug with no support worth talking about in Venezuela, was a huge mistake. You talk about your interest in international law, but this is 100% against international law. Any legal firm of standing will confirm that to you.

**Clare Daly (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, it is obvious now that the recognition of Juan Guaidó as interim President by a majority in this Parliament was not only illegal under Venezuelan and international public law, but more importantly, it has not worked. For people to come in here and to talk about a humanitarian catastrophe, with millions of people fleeing, and at the same time argue for targeted measures, more sanctions and more hardship – the very reason why many of them are fleeing in the first place – is beyond hypocrisy.

You are talking about human rights violations in Venezuela when you have just concluded a deal with Brazil, where the President has argued for a shoot-to-kill policy on the streets. If you are really concerned about the Venezuelan people, why don't you ensure that the assets belonging to them, which are frozen around the world, are released back to them? Why don't you work with the recognised international humanitarian agencies to bring them relief? Starving people into submission has never worked, and it is certainly not going to work here.

**Milan Uhrík (NI).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, návrh rezolúcie Európskej únie o Venezuele som veľmi pozorne počúval, ale okrem tých klišéovitých fráz a tradičných rečí o porušovaní ľudských práv a demokracie som sa nedozvedel bohužiaľ nič nové.

Chýba tam tá pointa a celá tá rezolúcia je v podstate len zrkadlom bezzubosti a slabosti súčasnej Európskej únie. Treba jasne povedať, že za situáciu vo Venezuele môže – takisto ako v Iraku, v Iráne, v Sýrii, v Líbyi – agresívna zahraničná politika Spojených štátov amerických. Ich tajné služby a armáda, ktoré rozdúchávajú konflikty po celom svete, rozvracajú suverénne národné štáty, ktoré doposiaľ fungovali bez väčších problémov, kvôli rope, kvôli peniazom, kvôli nerastnému bohatstvu.

Toto sa v tej správe, v tom návrhu rezolúcie bohužiaľ vôbec nespomína ani jedným slovíčkom a z tohto pohľadu je tá rezolúcia naozaj veľmi slabá.

**Der Präsident.** – Ich will Ihnen sagen, dass ich in Zukunft in dieser Wahlperiode bei den spontanen Wortmeldungen ausschließlich bei diesen fünf Minuten bleiben werde, wie das die Regeln vorsehen. Nachdem wir aber nur mehr eine Rednerin haben und Sie das vorher nicht wussten, dass es unterschiedliche Vorgangsweisen gibt, möchte ich noch Frau Sandra Pereira das Wort erteilen. Aber ich bitte Sie, sich darauf zu konzentrieren, dass unabhängig von der Anzahl der Redewortmeldungen die spontanen Wortmeldungen auf fünf Minuten beschränkt bleiben.

**Sandra Pereira (GUE/NGL).** – Senhor Presidente, estamos perante o inesgotável acervo deste Parlamento de hipócrita demagogia e falsidade que visa legitimar a ingerência sobre países soberanos. A União Europeia prossegue a sua ofensiva contra a Venezuela aliando-se com a estratégia e interesses dos Estados Unidos para a região que tomam como pátio traseiro. Afrontando a Carta das Nações Unidas usam e insistem na cartilha de sempre: sistemáticas ações de desestabilização interna, tentativas de golpe de Estado, terrorismo, sabotagens, sanções, bloqueio económico, financeiro, político e diplomático. São os interesses e as condições de vida do povo venezuelano e, em particular, da imensa comunidade portuguesa naquele país, que a União Europeia compromete, apoiando golpistas, o isolamento do país ou a ameaça de intervenção militar.

É na exigência pelo fim imediato das sanções e na defesa do diálogo e da paz, respeitando o direito reiteradamente afirmado pelo povo venezuelano de decidir livre e soberanamente o seu futuro que se encontra a solução para os problemas que a Venezuela e o seu povo enfrentam.

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** –Mr President, I think I never heard in this Hemicycle anybody wishing to see a military invasion of another country, and I hope this will not happen again. This strikes me – this shocks me – and I think we can be proud if it was the European Union, through our work, with a contact group, with the countries in the region, with the United Nation agencies, to stop any thinking of a military escalation; to stop any thinking of a military escalation from outside the country and from inside the country. I'm proud we have been the ones working with the UN agencies, with the humanitarian agencies, to allow them to enter the country and deliver assistance to the population. I'm proud we have been, and we continue to be, probably the biggest donor for assistance to the Venezuelan population. I hope you keep that in mind, and I hope – I really hope (I will be sharing only a few months with this Parliament) – but I really hope that you will have these five years ahead of you without thinking that imagining a military intervention to invade a country is a good option. This scares me as a European, if I can say so. I think this should be very clear in everybody's mind in Europe, because we have lived in Europe – what it means to be at war. And I think that the value of our work in the world is exactly our history: it is full of blood, and that has taught us that war is never a good idea.

We will continue, and I think that there is large convergence in this Hemicycle – not full convergence; I didn't expect that – on the need to continue to work in this direction.

First of all, to insist for a peaceful solution excluding any military attempt. Second, to work for a democratic solution with early presidential elections, with all the guarantees that this can be, finally, free and fair, which has not been the case before.

Thirdly, this includes dialogue, diplomatic engagement, full support that we have been providing from even before the talks mediated by Norway have started. We will continue to support the talks, knowing (without being naive) that in the past, previous experiences of negotiation and mediation have proven to be so difficult and also inconclusive, but a clear set up, clear perspective: I think we have a duty. The European Council also thinks we have a duty – I should move to the other part of the Hemicycle here to say that – to support this chance that a democratic peaceful transition can happen with political means, with diplomatic efforts. This includes also sanctions, and I want to stress this very clearly, because I hope that everyone in this Hemicycle knows at least what policies the European Union has and does not have in place.

The European Union measures are not sanctions against the country or the population. The measures that we have in place are targeted against persons – single individuals – that are responsible for serious violations of human rights. I want this to be very clear.

Last but not least, humanitarian support. I think we will need to continue to, first of all, provide resources. Last time I talked to Mark Lowcock, the UN Under-Secretary responsible for the humanitarian assistance. He was telling me that at this stage, the main problem when it comes to humanitarian assistance is indeed the lack of resources – much more than the difficulties of access.

So I think that we have a responsibility as Europeans to keep and even increase the level of assistance to the population, to our brothers and sisters in Venezuela. We have so many ties – so many family ties, and some of them are sitting in this room – that we have an interest, a duty, to support the people of Venezuela, and there is no doubt about that. But we also have a duty, I think, and a responsibility to call for others to increase their humanitarian assistance because, while there is work to try and achieve an electoral process as soon as possible that is transparent and fair and credible, we cannot ignore the dramatic humanitarian needs of the population.

And last but not least, to support the work of Michelle Bachelet, including with additional measures, if the Member States consider unanimously that this is the case: to support her work, again with individual targeted measures that we can introduce to follow up the recent reports on the human rights violations that are extremely serious.

So I hope this Parliament will be, if not unanimously, largely behind this approach, because having a strong voice from the European Parliament, from the European institutions, will be crucial to having a key role, including with the countries in the region from Brazil to Colombia: all of them, from Mexico to the countries that are part of the international contact group, in making Europe part of an active solution that is – let me stress once again – peaceful and democratic.

**Der Präsident.** – Gemäß Artikel 132 Absatz 2 der Geschäftsordnung wurden sechs Entschließungsanträge eingereicht.

Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 18. Juli 2019, statt.

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)*

**Caterina Chinnici (S&D), per iscritto.** – Vorrei ribadire la mia profonda preoccupazione per la situazione di protractedo stallo politico in Venezuela e per il perdurare della gravissima crisi umanitaria, sociale ed economica che sta producendo contraccolpi anche sulla stabilità dell'intera regione.

Come segnalato da UNICEF, dall'inizio della crisi sono circa 3,7 milioni i venezuelani, incluse famiglie con bambini, che hanno lasciato le loro case per andare in Brasile, Colombia, Ecuador, Perù e altri paesi della regione. Solo in Colombia vivono come migranti e rifugiati ben 327 000 bambini che necessitano di istruzione, protezione, di cure e di tutela. La condizione di grave crisi del paese è stata inoltre ribadita dalla relazione dell'Alto Commissario ONU per i Diritti umani, Michelle Bachelet, pubblicata lo scorso 5 luglio, che ha denunciato gravi violazioni economiche e sociali, e gravi fenomeni di violenza.

In tale contesto, divenuto insostenibile per il popolo Venezuelano, è quanto mai necessario che l'Unione europea prosegua la propria azione a supporto di una soluzione pacifica e negoziata della crisi, che escluda il ricorso alla forza o ad interventi militari e che, attraverso libere elezioni alla presenza di osservatori internazionali, favorisca la pacificazione del paese.

**Urmas Paet (Renew), kirjalikult.** – Olukord Venezuelas on jätkuvalt kohutav. Humanitaarabi vajab rohkem kui 7 miljonit inimest, 94% elanikkonnast elab allpool vaesuspiiri, 70% lastest ei käi koolis, tervishoidu peaaegu ei eksisteeri ning tegemist on juba maailma suuruselt teise rände- ja pagulaskriisiga. Inimesi repressseeritakse jätkuvalt ning toimuvad kohtuvälised tapmised. Sellised rängad repressioonid ja vägivald peavad lõppema, poliitilisele kriisile tuleb lahendus leida, sest ainult nii saab edasi minna muude kriiside lahendamisega riigis. Selles osas on oluline ka ELi toetus ja tugi nii Norra lepitusprotsessile kui ka ÜRO püüetele leida olukorrale lahendus. Lisaks on oluline toetada naaberriike, kes peavad suuresti Venezuelast tuleneva rändekriisiga toime tulema. Koheselt tuleb leida viise, kuidas tagada ligipääs toidule ja tervishoiule Venezuelas. EL saab mõjutada olukorda lisasanktsioonide kehtestamisega nende suhtes, kes vastutavad inimõiguste rikkumiste ja repressioonide eest. On ka äärmiselt oluline, et algatataks Rahvusvahelise Kriminaalkohtu uurimine Venezuela režiimi poolt toime pandud kuritegude ja repressioonide osas.

## 15. Sytuacja w Zatoce Perskiej (debata)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Vizepräsidentin der Kommission und Hohen Vertreterin der Union für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik zur Lage am Persischen Golf (2019/2731(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** – Mr President, the Gulf is incredibly close to Europe. It is part of our region, and the security situation in the Gulf is closely connected with our own security. We've always said that preserving the nuclear deal with Iran is first and foremost for us a European and global security interest, and this has become self-evident today. We don't want to see a military escalation in our region, nor do we want to see a nuclear arms race in a region that knows already so many tensions.

Throughout the years we have always said that without the nuclear deal the situation in the Middle East, which is already complicated enough, would be even more difficult, much more difficult than it is now. We have always said that. Now there seems to be a growing consensus on this. Even those who were sceptical – even very sceptical – about the deal, today understand that the situation would be much worse without it.

This is what I hear in all my conversations in particular with regional leaders in the Gulf, and the current tensions were very much in the minds of all the leaders, for instance of Iraq and Kuwait, whom I met during my trip to the region last Saturday and Sunday. Together we discussed how we can help avoid further escalation, including by supporting initiatives from the region itself to build a basic initial level of understanding and trust among the main actors. No one says that he wants a war. No one declares that a war is the intention. In the region nobody is saying so, beyond nobody is saying so, but the problem is that in particular in a region like that miscalculations can happen and can lead to extremely dangerous spirals of confrontation.

This is why we Europeans are inviting all relevant actors to exercise maximum restraint and to think rationally. This is why we've been doing everything we can to save the nuclear deal ever since the United States' unilateral withdrawal. Yesterday we had a discussion with the foreign ministers of the 28 at the Foreign Affairs Council. Let me tell you that all 28 Member States have confirmed our common intention to do all we can collectively to preserve the nuclear deal, even in these extremely difficult circumstances.

We have an interest to do so, we feel the responsibility to do so. You all know the situation. It has probably never been as difficult as it is today. Fourteen months after the United States' withdrawal from the deal, Iran has announced that it would gradually reduce its compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. The International Atomic Energy Agency, which remains the point of reference to assess Iran's compliance with its nuclear commitments under the deal, has confirmed, after having confirmed for many years Iran's full compliance, that Iran has now increased its stockpile of low-enriched uranium and has enriched uranium beyond the limits set in the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.

These actions are inconsistent with the deal, and together with the Foreign Ministers from France, Germany and the UK, I issued two extremely clear statements urging Iran to go back to full compliance. Full compliance – I want to underline that – that Iran has kept ever since the deal was done until a few days ago. At this stage, Iran's actions are still reversible and do not indicate an unequivocal decision or intention by Iran to revert to its nuclear programme.

At the same time, I want to be very clear: the longer Iran proceeds down this road, the harder it will be, technically, to step back. Our request to Iran is very clear: go back to the full implementation of the deal as you have been doing so far. This is in our interest, this is in Iranians' interest, this is our collective interest, and this is the same interest that was behind the decision to conclude the Iran nuclear deal. We did that because we knew that kind of deal was in the interest of all of us collectively and, I would say, in the interest of collective security in the world.

On our side, as the European Union, with the Member States, we've stepped up our work to try to mitigate the consequences of the United States' unilateral decision to re-impose sanctions on Iran. At the end of June, we convened in Vienna another meeting of the Joint Commission, that is the body overseeing implementation of the deal that we chair. Together with the E3 – France, Germany and the United Kingdom, China, Russia and Iran – we had a difficult but constructive meeting where we managed remain united concerning the continuous need and commitment for full and effective implementation of the agreement by all sides.

In Vienna at this Joint Commission meeting, we also decided that our experts will convene soon to discuss implementation issues, including how to facilitate the export of low-enriched uranium and heavy water out of Iran, something that has become increasingly difficult after the re-imposition of US sanctions.

On that very same day when we met in Vienna, France, Germany and the UK announced that the Instrument in Support of Trade Exchanges (INSTEX) with Iran was finally operational, something they had been working on for months, and the European Union and my offices in particular, have been accompanying and supporting this process. So now the instrument is finally operational and it is processing its first transactions. On the same day, seven EU Member States declared that they are willing to join the mechanism, and yesterday at the Foreign Affairs Council more Member States declared they are considering the possibility of joining INSTEX.

We're also having conversations with non-European Union countries that might join, because preserving the nuclear deal with Iran is not just a European interest. Many others around the world share our same preoccupation, first of all about an arms race in the region, in particular a nuclear arms race in the region.

So preserving the deal is not only in our interest and our responsibility – it is – but it is also a joint responsibility for all around the world. I want to recall once again that the deal is not a bilateral or even a multilateral agreements only: it is a UN Security Council resolution unanimously adopted, so there is a global responsibility to preserve it, and to preserve its full implementation.

On our side, as the European Union, as Europeans, we're doing everything we can. We never thought that this would be easy – and indeed it is not easy at all – but what we are trying to achieve is so important, and somehow an unprecedented exercise. I am sure that if it weren't for us, the deal first of all would not exist in the first place, and would probably not be alive as of today.

We've always said that any violation of the nuclear deal with Iran could only make our region more unstable, more violent and more exposed to the risk of escalation in tensions. Recent events, I'm afraid, have proven us right. But our objective is not to be proven right. Our objective is to try and make things work for the better and to develop in a positive direction.

I believe no one today should underestimate the risk that an escalation poses to all of us collectively in Europe, in the Middle East and all around the world. So it is in our collective interest to do everything we can to prevent this scenario. So our choice as Europeans – and I know we are united on this – is very clear: we will continue to do everything we can to save the deal.

We will continue to be a voice of reason, and we will continue to do that for our own security, for peace in our troubled region, and because we know that especially if there is a problem, the 'must' is to keep the channels of communication and of cooperation open, and to invest in the diplomatic way of solving problems.

**Michaela Šojdrová**, *za skupinu PPE*. – Pane předsedající, paní vysoká představitelko, já vám děkuji za Vaši velmi podrobnou zprávu o aktuálním vývoji. Situace v Perském zálivu se vyostřuje a toto místo zůstává neuralgickým bodem světového míru, kudy proudí nejvíce ropy a kapalného plynu na světě.

Schopnost Íránu vojensky zablokovat Hormuzský průliv je vážnou hrozbou pro světovou stabilitu a ekonomiku. EU a její členské státy, které jsou v Radě bezpečnosti OSN, musí udělat všechno pro to, aby Írán neustoupil od dohody o jaderném programu a aby celá situace neeskalovala.

Paní vysoká představitelko, Vy jste o tom hovořila, o tom, co se právě v těchto dnech projednává. EU musí být v tomto jednotná a musíme najít způsob, jak přinutit Írán, aby dohodu dodržel. I poté, co Spojené státy od dohody ustoupily a znovu zavedly sankce.

Chci vám poděkovat za tuto aktivitu, protože my si nové sankce proti Íránu nepřejeme, ale chceme, aby Írán dodržel tuto dohodu.

**Tonino Picula**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is indeed a major diplomatic achievement that took years of negotiations: a huge accomplishment of the transatlantic alliance, which the new US administration has denied and sought to revoke.



There is nothing strategic in dismantling our achievements, in dismantling the multilateral rules-based system or in calling into question high-value multilateral diplomatic successes. The agreement is key in terms of nuclear non-proliferation and global peace and security. It is in the interest of the entire international community, including the EU, the USA and Iran. Therefore, we have to act: to do more to preserve the deal, and to take all necessary measures to ensure tangible economic benefits, while reminding our Iranian counterparts to respect their commitments fully.

Escalation of tension between the USA and Iran has a highly damaging impact on an already unstable region. For the European Union it is crucial to stand firm and united and to ensure a clear European stance, defending the observance of international law.

**Nathalie Loiseau**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute représentante, l'Union européenne a joué un rôle majeur dans la conclusion de l'accord de Vienne. Depuis le retrait des États-Unis du JCPOA, la responsabilité de l'Europe est encore plus forte pour préserver cet élément essentiel de l'architecture mondiale de non-prolifération nucléaire.

Aujourd'hui, la situation est alarmante. Les États-Unis ont rétabli des sanctions à la fois unilatérales et extraterritoriales, l'Iran a dépassé la limite qui lui était fixée en matière d'enrichissement et de stockage d'uranium, le golfe Arabo-Persique connaît une phase de tensions préoccupante. Il y a urgence: la non-prolifération est affaiblie, les risques d'un conflit dans le Golfe sont accrus et les intérêts de nos citoyens comme de nos entreprises sont menacés.

Face à cette urgence, quelles mesures concrètes proposez-vous afin de contribuer à enclencher une désescalade? Quelles sont vos propositions pour rendre INSTEX pleinement opérationnel en incitant d'autres États membres à le rejoindre?

**Hannah Neumann**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, the Iran nuclear deal was a diplomatic success by a united European Union and it was rare enough, a deal mainly negotiated by women. Ms Mogherini, you were part of that negotiation process. However, four years later, this common achievement is in danger.

It is in danger because an irresponsible US President is jeopardising it. It is in danger because the Iranian regime is again stepping up its uranium enrichment. But it is also in danger because EU foreign policy is not yet strong enough to counterbalance this escalation. The recent events in the Persian Gulf that we are discussing here today have shown how one spark, and just one spark, might be enough to trigger a violent escalation that nobody wants. It is for all of us today, and in the coming weeks, to make sure that this conflict does not escalate further in a region that is already ravaged by war.

In this regard, we as Greens welcome the decision taken yesterday by the Foreign Affairs Council to find solutions to preserve the deal. Yes, the USA and Iran need to talk, but I also want to see the EU supporting the call for a regional conference that was issued by Iraq, for example. This could be a conference at which all regional actors sit at the table and work on a sustainable solution.

But let's be clear on one thing: this can be done only if the grave human rights abuses that have been committed are also addressed. So we also need to talk about the journalists killed, about the human rights defenders in prison and about the humanitarian aid that is currently not being granted to many people.

Together we are strong, and the European Union is needed today more than ever to protect a rules-based international order. And I want to see us, including the Member States, deliver on this ambition in the coming years.

**Herve Juvin**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, nous sommes attachés à la souveraineté des nations, qui n'est rien sans la puissance qui la fait respecter. À cet égard, j'aimerais interroger M<sup>me</sup> la Haute représentante sur la puissance qui permettrait à l'Europe de prévenir les actions de déstabilisation régionale de l'Iran ainsi que sur ses multiples ingérences dans les affaires intérieures de la région et des pays du Golfe.

Si nous sommes attachés à la souveraineté des nations, nous le sommes plus encore à notre indépendance et aux intérêts des entreprises européennes. C'est pourquoi je souhaiterais également poursuivre ma question.

Va-t-on réactiver les lois de blocage qui, dans les années 90, avaient effectivement protégé les entreprises européennes contre les conséquences de l'embargo américain sur Cuba?

Va-t-on, de manière encore plus décisive, mettre en place la plateforme de transactions interbancaires et la monnaie d'échange et de réserve mondiale, qui pourrait réunir auprès des nations européennes tous les pays non alignés en fournissant une alternative au règne unilatéral du dollar et permettre d'éviter la tenaille entre un empire chinois conquérant et une nation américaine de plus en plus agressive dans la poursuite de ses intérêts propres?

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, this evening we are discussing a regime that has started seriously to undermine freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz. Earlier we learned that it was particularly vicious to its own people, also playing a negative role in the region and exporting terrorism, including to territories of our countries, to EU territories.

Recently, since 7 July, we know that this regime has started to violate the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action that we used to praise so much: increasing the level of enrichment from 3.67% to an announced 4.5% and aiming at even more. Our actions are inefficient, Ms Mogherini, and we have to be much more decisive.

**Emmanuel Maurel**, *au nom du groupe GUE/NGL*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame Mogherini, pourquoi ne pas le dire clairement? La crise actuelle dans le golfe Persique est largement imputable à l'incroyable agressement américain dans le dossier nucléaire iranien, et nous le savons tous dans ce Parlement.

Il y a évidemment des motivations économiques, cela n'a échappé à personne puisque le renchérissement du cours du baril arrange M. Trump.

Il y a aussi d'évidentes motivations idéologiques. Les néoconservateurs qui sont à Washington font tout pour saboter la paix, ils ont d'ailleurs saboté l'accord de Vienne, et pour maintenir cette région dans l'instabilité. Mais nous, Européens, que faisons-nous, quelles sont les mesures que nous opposons à l'extraterritorialité des sanctions américaines? Il y a quelques timides mesures mais la réalité c'est que les injonctions de Washington sont la règle et que la résistance de l'Europe est l'exception.

Je crois qu'il est temps pour nous, Européens, d'agir en adultes face aux Américains, de reparler avec l'Iran, de refaire marcher la machine économique pour nos entreprises, pour les Européens, et aussi pour l'image de l'Europe dans le monde.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI)**. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Alto rappresentante, la discussione di oggi è provvidenziale.

Credo siamo tutti d'accordo sul fatto che un intensificarsi del conflitto nella regione vada evitato in ogni modo possibile e voglio pensare che le recenti azioni iraniane possono essere lette come un avvertimento all'Occidente sulle possibili conseguenze nel caso l'accordo sul nucleare tramontasse definitivamente.

Le mosse di Teheran sembrano andare in questo senso, provocazioni, ma nulla di più. Il mio è quindi un invito alla razionalità che deve continuare a prevalere. In queste situazioni un errore di valutazione può far precipitare la situazione. Credo che il regime iraniano sia ancora disposto al dialogo, che sono convinto rimanga l'unica opzione accettabile per tutta la comunità internazionale. E pazienza se, come alcuni analisti spiegano, il tentativo iraniano è quello di creare divisioni tra gli Stati Uniti, troppo spesso inutilmente aggressivi e noi ben più concilianti.

Una grande responsabilità pesa sulle nostre spalle. Ribadire il nostro ruolo di campioni del multilateralismo ed evitare che deflagri un conflitto, magari anche quasi per caso, che azzererebbe quello che ritengo sia stato il più rilevante successo diplomatico dell'Unione europea negli ultimi anni.

**Sven Mikser (S&D)**. – Mr President, Madam High Representative, the last thing we need is another flare-up in a strategic region that is already one of the most turbulent in the world.

I believe you did a great job, High Representative, in helping to put together a deal whose aim was to guarantee that Iran's nuclear programme remains purely civilian. Similarly, I believe that it has been important and necessary for us to keep the JCPOA alive after the unilateral withdrawal of the US, for until recently the Iranians did, by most accounts, comply with the letter of the agreement.

Regrettably, this may no longer be the case. And also we cannot completely ignore the fact that, even when Iran remained compliant, the economic benefits arising from the agreement largely failed to convince Iran's leaders to moderate their behaviour or reverse the pattern of fuelling conflicts in neighbouring countries in order to advance their own narrow goals. Therefore, in order to prevent another potentially catastrophic escalation, we must make every effort to keep what remains of the agreement from completely falling apart and at the same time, urge all players to exercise restraint and act responsibly in order to find a non-military solution to the current tensions.

**Klemen Grošelj (Renew).** – Spoštovani predsedujoči! V okviru današnje razprave o Perzijskem zalivu bi rad poudaril, da gre za krizo, ki lahko zaradi obsega in globine svojih posledic, kot je povečanje napetosti med velikimi silami, destabilizacije energetskih trgov in pa novih begunskih valov vpliva ne samo na regijo, ampak na mednarodni mir in stabilnost ter še posebej na varnost Evropske unije in njenih članic.

Zato ne glede na kompleksnost krize ali pa prav zaradi nje in posledic, ki bi jih nadaljnja destabilizacija razmer v Perzijskem zalivu imela za Evropsko unijo, pričakujem in pozivam Komisijo in še posebej vas, visoko predstavnico za zunanjo in varnostno politiko, gospa Mughnerini, k oblikovanju jasnega in trdnega skupnega evropskega stališča, temelječega na mednarodnem pravu in mehanizmih mirnega reševanja sporov, ker nadaljnje stopnjevanje napetosti in nestabilnosti, predvsem pa merjenje moči velikih sil ne bo prineslo potrebne rešitve.

Zato je nujno, da EU s partnerji v mednarodni skupnosti oblikuje in zagovarja celovito diplomatsko pobudo za umiritev razmer in postopno trajno stabilizacijo regije.

**Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D).** – Señor presidente, todos podemos tener reservas sobre el régimen iraní y sus evidentes déficits en derechos humanos, pero no siempre los etiquetados como regímenes gamberros son los que inician situaciones, crisis como la que vivimos.

En esta ocasión, en el origen de esta situación está la decisión de los Estados Unidos de retirarse unilateralmente del Plan de Acción Integral Conjunto. Es un agujero, un agujero más en el edificio de acuerdos multilaterales que ha hecho el mundo más seguro. Mantener el multilateralismo como marco político y el diálogo como principal instrumento son las únicas garantías frente a los retos globales de seguridad.

El acuerdo no es perfecto, pero estaba dando resultados y controlando el carácter pacífico del programa nuclear iraní. El acuerdo no es perfecto —es verdad—, pero es una piedra angular de la diplomacia europea y una piedra angular de la diplomacia de las Naciones Unidas, por su difícil origen —que usted conoció— y por los obvios resultados en su desarrollo.

La Unión Europea debe comprometerse, por tanto, a mantener vivo y operativo el acuerdo y no alinearse con retóricas belicistas, vengan de donde vengan, incluidos tradicionales aliados.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Clare Daly (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, the fact that Europe followed its own course when the US pulled out of the Iranian deal last year was a good thing. The fact that Europe then declared that the US sanctions were null and void was also the right thing to do. US sanctions against Iran are criminal; they are an act of war by other means – just as destructive as guns, and just as lethal as missiles.

What does it say when the International Court of Justice has told the US to end them, but yet they continue. I welcome the EU's hesitancy to become embroiled in American aggression against Iran – that's a good thing – but it's not good enough. We have to do more. To say that Iran should go back to the deal when you know that they're being forced into this position, because of the hardship being caused by the US imposed sanctions, is not really good enough. You have said, High Representative, that we in Europe are doing everything we can, but are we really? The United States only do what they do because we allow them to do so. We need to condemn the sanctions immediately.

**Martin Horwood (Renew).** – Mr President, I would like to thank the High Representative for her attendance tonight and for her remarks, and particularly the progress she reports on INSTEX. High Representative, I hope you will strongly defend that instrument, which I think is rewarding peace and restraint on behalf of moderates like President Rouhani, even as Donald Trump is undermining their position with sanctions.

I have two questions. First, underlying this crisis is the ongoing cold war between Saudi Arabia and Iran, which is blighting the region and exacerbating violence and conflict from Yemen to Iraq, Afghanistan, the Gulf States and Lebanon. So, can I ask what specifically the European Union is doing to promote dialogue and reconciliation between Saudi Arabia and Iran?

My second question: if the United States and its Saudi allies move to a policy of regime change in Iran, will the European Union firmly reject that policy?

**Mick Wallace (GUE/NGL).** – Mr President, Madam Mogherini, you say that Europe really wants the deal to work. We all do. But it's about time we started speaking straight. We know who is increasing the tensions in the Persian Gulf. It isn't Iran; the Saudis, with the nice backing of Israel and, of course, the US. Why don't we call it as it is and stop playing footsie with words? They have a problem with the powerful nature of Iran, with the independence of Iran, and Europe does need to put its arm around Iran and be more welcoming. Iran is not feeling the love from Europe. You have the potential to do more and welcome them more into the international community.

**Thierry Mariani (ID).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Représentante, j'ai eu la chance, pendant des années, d'être député des Français de l'étranger et de couvrir cette zone où je suis allé très souvent.

Ces derniers mois, j'ai vu des entreprises françaises bien implantées, comme Total ou Peugeot, devoir se retirer. J'ai vu des entreprises allemandes et italiennes devant faire la même chose.

Aujourd'hui, tout le monde sait que l'Iran respectait cet accord, et aujourd'hui tout le monde sait aussi que, si l'Iran en sort, c'est d'abord à cause du choix américain, qui en est entièrement responsable, et aussi peut-être parce que l'Iran attendait un geste de l'Europe.

À un moment, nous avons fait des annonces au niveau européen pour un mécanisme de substitution. Malheureusement aujourd'hui, il n'y a rien.

J'ai vu que vous avez réitéré votre volonté, il y a quelques jours, par une déclaration. Ce que j'aimerais, plutôt que des déclarations, c'est que l'on passe à des actes, parce que peut-être que les dernières chances de paix consistent aussi à montrer à l'Iran qu'il y a une possibilité de continuer à exister dans ses relations avec l'Europe, en dehors de ces sanctions. Mais là, cela dépend uniquement de nous et de notre volonté de nous émanciper de notre grand ami américain.

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Federica Mogherini, VPC/HR.** – Monsieur le Président, je commence par répondre à certaines questions qui ont été posées par des membres de cette Assemblée sur le mécanisme que nous avons mis en œuvre et sur lequel surtout la France, l'Allemagne et la Grande-Bretagne ont travaillé avec notre soutien, depuis de longs mois, il est vrai, depuis septembre de l'année dernière, ce fameux Instex, un mécanisme qui permet à des entreprises européennes d'avoir un commerce légitime avec l'Iran.

La question est de savoir si et quand il va être prêt, j'y fais référence dans mes remarques d'introduction. Non seulement le mécanisme est prêt mais il est déjà opérationnel. Il traite actuellement les premières transactions, depuis maintenant quelques semaines. Cela va prendre du temps parce qu'il faut prêter une attention très importante à la *due diligence* mais le mécanisme est en place, il travaille déjà sur les premières transactions qui en sont en cours de traitement.

Anyway, I can repeat it in English so the interpreters will help me with the appropriate French technical language. INSTEX has been operational for a couple of weeks. It has started to proceed with the first transactions so it is already in place.

The other part of the question, that I was surprised to receive, from another colleague from the same group, was whether we intend to activate, in respect of the extraterritorial impact of the US sanctions, the blocking status that we had in place to protect European investments, a few decades ago, vis-à-vis the extraterritorial impact of US sanctions on Cuba. The blocking status has already been reactivated, covering the extraterritorial effect of US sanctions on Iran in this case, for more than a year. I think that was done in the summer of last year, and I can provide you with all the information. It is all public. The previous Parliament debated this several times. The blocking status has been activated to cover European interests in Iran with regard to the extraterritorial effects of the US sanctions for a year now and, yes, INSTEX is already operational and processing the first transactions in these very same weeks.

I hope that is clarifying and reassuring. Again, all this information is publicly available and I have mentioned this several times, not only in the past few weeks but also in the previous months.

Having said that, some of you touched on other aspects that are not related either to the current escalation across the Gulf or to the preservation of the nuclear deal. In particular, I want to stress one point that is particularly important to me, namely our work to promote human rights across the region. In Iran and in other countries in the Gulf, this has constantly been part of our work, bilaterally and regionally.

By the way, we also have measures in place concerning human rights. We have human rights dialogues and we have considerable engagement, in particular, with the protection of human rights activists and some other citizens as well. So we're following both individual cases and human rights situations across the Gulf in a very active manner – as well as, as some of you mentioned, the recent risks to the freedom and safety of navigation in the Gulf. This is also a top priority for us and we are making that extremely clear.

To answer two specific questions asked by one of the last speakers, we would not support regime change. We normally don't support regime change anywhere in the world and it is not the kind of policy the EU promotes or supports. This is the case here too. We are respectful of the political dynamics inside countries. The angle from which we see the situation – not only in Iran, but also across the Gulf – is that of the promotion of channels of communication.

This brings me to the first part of the Honourable Member's question, which was about what we can do, or what we are doing, to promote channels of cooperation, or communication at least, in particular between Iran and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia but also more generally across the region. We have been working very actively in recent years, inter alia, to try and help our friends in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to overcome their own divergences and splits. What we're doing in specific terms is, on the one hand, keeping our own channels of cooperation open with all sides. Secondly, we're trying to support those forces in the region – one of which is Kuwait – that are trying to build bridges, trying to open channels for communication and trying, in particular in the case of the GCC countries, to underline the fact that there is a win-win scenario: regional cooperation is beneficial for all.

In this respect, I announced during my visit to Baghdad on Saturday that the European Union would be more than ready to support in all possible ways the initiative that the President of Iraq is considering, of convening a regional conference of the neighbours of Iraq. The aim would be to try to identify a common objective that unites all the neighbours of Iraq, which is protecting the country itself from this escalation in the region and also preserving the achievements that Iraq has managed to build, including with the support of the international community, in terms, for instance of the territorial defeat of Daesh and the improvement of the situation in the country.

We are supporting all possible initiatives from within the region and, obviously, from an international perspective, to highlight that there is a common interest – a shared interest – across the region. The European experience is clear in this respect. You can disagree, you can have a past of being enemies, or even at war, and you can still not define one another as friends, but if you share the same geographical space – and geography is something you cannot change – you have an interest in identifying the framework within which your disagreements can be handled in a peaceful and contained manner. That is the indication we are giving. In Europe we have experience of how to handle disagreements within a certain regional framework that may even be tense. We can offer our support and our experience in how to build a security framework architecture that is increasingly important as tensions arise.

I hope this answers your questions and I hope we can continue to count on your support because what is important is not only the practical steps we can take but also the political messages that we can send to the region. I believe that the voice of this Parliament will be important in that respect.

**Der Präsident.** – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

## 16. Sytuacja w Mołdowie (debata)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Vizepräsidentin der Kommission und Hohen Vertreterin der Union für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik zur Lage in Moldau (2019/2737(RSP)).

**David McAllister (PPE), on behalf of the PPE Group.** — Mr President, throughout the past legislature we held many debates on Moldova, and not a single one was positive. So I am more than happy, and let me admit, I am relieved that this country has finally begun turning from a captured state into a recovering democracy. Mr President, I think that the High Representative usually gets for floor first. I think the High Representative should perhaps give us an update first.

**President.** – Excuse me, I was too quick!

Wir beenden die vorherige Aussprache. Ich darf noch einmal die Frau Vizepräsidentin bitten, uns nun zur Lage in Moldau zu informieren.

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** – Mr President, I am sure it will not differ too much from what Mr McAllister was saying, but still, for the sake of the correct functioning of the institutions, I should say a few words before listening to your considerations on the situation in Moldova. But I can fully share what David McAllister was saying in the very first sentences.

We've had many debates about Moldova in this Hemicycle in the past years and they have very few times, if ever, been encouraging or positive.

The people of Moldova have asked for change, for reforms that would bring the country forward. Recently this was very evident. The European Union has followed the situation in recent months, as well as in the previous years, step-by-step, as neighbours, as partners and, most of all, as friends of the Moldovan people. We are glad that Moldova now has a government with a bold programme to tackle corruption and reform the country. Obviously, after the programmes, reforms need to happen for real and implementation has to come.

I want to recall where we stood just one year ago. When I met the previous Parliament for an urgency debate on Moldova, the situation was critical. The mayoral elections in the capital, Chişinău, had just been annulled by dubious court decisions. It was a difficult moment for our relations with Moldova. We had to take unpleasant but necessary decisions, for instance when we put on hold our micro-financial assistance because Moldova was not sticking to its own commitments.

In June, after the elections, a short but very profound institutional crisis unfolded. Together with Commissioner Hahn, we made clear our position: that we expected the democratically legitimate government to be allowed to take office and the rule of law to be respected. We were all relieved that the new government could finally start its work, and the institutional crisis was solved in a clear and peaceful manner.

The new government's programme has, at its core, many of the priorities that are clearly spelled out in our Association Agreement with Moldova. It is good to see that their agenda talks not only about structural reforms to fight corruption more effectively, but also about the independence of the judiciary and improving the electoral framework. These are not demands that come from the European Union. These are demands that come from the people of Moldova, which the European Union is ready to support.

I am also glad that, in these very first weeks, our contacts with our new counterparts have been very intense and very positive. Commissioner Hahn visited Chişinău in June. Prime Minister Sandu was in Brussels at the beginning of July. Just yesterday in Brussels, we hosted a new Foreign Minister, Nicolae Popescu, at our Foreign Affairs Council for a discussion on how to move forward in our Association Agreement implementation.

As you know, we are preparing a set of concrete measures to support the country based on the implementation of reforms under the Association Agreement and the package. What we are working on also includes the release of assistance that had been put on hold.

Yesterday, we also confirmed that the next Association Council with Moldova can take place next autumn. Their Foreign Minister yesterday confirmed that the new government intends to tackle corruption decisively and to address the politicisation of state institutions, including the judicial system. He also confirmed to us that Moldova has a strong interest in its partnership with the European Union, both politically and economically.

Our partnership has nothing to do with geopolitics or spheres of influence. Recent events have demonstrated very clearly that for the people of Moldova what truly matters is reforms and positive change, and not really geopolitics or calculations.

I also want to make it very clear that we see all the good intentions and all the good arguments, but what will really count is the implementation of these intentions and the real capacity to put in place changes in the country.

In this spirit, what we want to do is to keep accompanying and supporting reforms in Moldova. We do not do politics. We do not do internal politics in countries. We relate with institutions on the basis of content and policies, programmes and concrete reforms put in place. This moment represents an opportunity for the country, and we will be there to accompany this opportunity so that it can succeed.

**Der Präsident.** – Thank you very much. Now the order is right. Mr McAllister, the floor is yours.

**David McAllister**, *on behalf of the PPE Group.* — Mr President, thank you so much for giving me the floor for the second time. Throughout the last legislature, we held many debates on Moldova in this plenary, and not a single one was positive. So I am more than happy – yes, I am actually relieved – that this country has finally begun turning from a captured state into a recovering democracy.

This is a huge victory for all the Moldovans who voted for change. Now the new Prime Minister, Ms Maia Sandu, has to tackle a number of challenges. Federica Mogherini just mentioned a number of them: the fight against corruption, the reform of the judiciary, the depoliticisation of the state administration, the electoral reform and a pluralistic media landscape with adequate financing and safeguards to protect journalists.

A sustainable reform agenda for Moldova should be accompanied by a determined effort to heal the deep social divisions that we have seen in recent months, including a genuine commitment to inter-party dialogue in the Parliament in Chişinău. We will be welcoming Prime Minister Sandu in the Foreign Affairs Committee next Wednesday on 24 July. We will look forward to continuing the debate with her on that occasion.

**Marina Kaljurand**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, I would like once again to thank Ms Mogherini for her remarks and for the commitment to our eastern partners. Moldova has been through a political crisis and it was truly encouraging to hear your assessment after meeting their officials. It is crucial for Moldova to continue with democratic reforms and stay on the pro-European path. It is important to continue to work actively on the full implementation of the EU-Moldova Association Agreement, including the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement. It is also crucial for us to support these endeavours, as long as Moldova stays on a pro-European course.

I would like to use this discussion to say loud and clear that Moldova is an important partner, and as S&Ds, we remain committed to supporting its future. As an Estonian, I can assure you that we will continue with bilateral development cooperation projects. Finally, it is very encouraging to know that the EU is resuming budgetary support for Moldova in the amount of EUR 14.54 million, which was announced yesterday by Commissioner Hahn.

**Petras Auštrevičius**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, the European Union's Moldova partnership is based on common values, respect for democratic principles, rule of law and fundamental freedoms. In my capacity as standing rapporteur on Moldova, I have always been supporting and strengthening the importance of democratic criteria in our relations with Moldova and its domestic development.

I wish to recall the Joint Memorandum that all the EU institutions had reached in July 2017, emphasising the democratic criteria and respect for fundamental freedoms in relation to macro-financial assistance from the European Union. The EU was – and remains – bound to this Memorandum, and for very good reason. I strongly welcome the so-called silent revolution, which took place in June this year against the policies of the captive state, oligarchisation and state-built corruption system. The new Moldovan Government needs our support and solidarity under the principle of more for more.

**Heidi Hautala**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, I had the honour and pleasure to chair a small parliamentary mission to Moldova on 24 June, very soon after these positive developments in that country, on behalf of David McAllister. I travelled with our colleague Siegfried Mureşan and our former colleague Clare Moody, so it was a small mission, and very short, but it really was worthwhile. We had a chance, in that very short time, around half a day, to meet with Maia Sandu the new Prime Minister and to hear from her what agreement had been reached with the – let's say – Russia-friendly Socialist Party. We left convinced that the common denominator is strong enough to get rid of the high-level corruption that has really plagued that country. I very much hope that now the European political parties will also help and support positive developments instead of helping parliamentary state capture.

I think a key question is that we have to find out what really happened with the bank embezzlement scandal some years ago. The Prime Minister needs to get access to the second Kroll international investigation to see what was actually discovered.

**Dominique Bilde**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, si la Moldavie a démontré une chose, c'est sa capacité à parvenir de façon autonome, quoique précaire, à des solutions nationales.

La vanité de la stratégie européenne depuis l'accord d'association de 2016 éclate, quant à elle, au grand jour. En effet, combien de plans d'action, de rapports et de soi-disant programmes de réforme pour arriver, en définitive, à une crise institutionnelle ouverte? Et l'Union ne sera pas davantage parvenue à conquérir les cœurs et les âmes. Malgré l'inclusion dans un espace de libre-échange, de libération des visas ou dans certains programmes européens, les Moldaves plébiscitaient encore en 2015 l'intégration à l'Union économique eurasiatique plutôt qu'à l'Union européenne. Et à l'issue de cette crise, c'est le pro-russe Igor Dodon qui s'impose encore comme l'homme politique auréolé du plus fort soutien populaire, tandis que le pro-européen Plahotniuc aura été celui par qui le scandale arrive.

Ainsi, en Moldavie comme ailleurs, l'horizon européen est un leurre et, comme dans son voisinage partagé, Bruxelles devra encore pour longtemps compter avec la Russie.

**Helmut Scholz**, *im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Frau Hohe Vertreterin! Moldau durchlebt stürmische politische Zeiten. So viele Bürgerinnen und Bürger des kleinsten und ärmsten Landes in Europa dürsten nach Öffnung ihrer Gesellschaft. Mit der neuen Regierung Sandu steht jetzt die gesamte politische Klasse des Landes vor der gewaltigen Aufgabe, den Umbruch hin zu demokratischer Erneuerung der innenpolitischen und wirtschaftlichen sowie gesellschaftlichen Verfasstheit des Landes zu verstetigen.



Das korrupte Regime Plahotniuc hat tiefe Spuren hinterlassen: Regierungsinstitutionen, Gerichtssystem, Staatsanwaltschaft und Medien standen unter seinem persönlichen autoritären Führungsstil. Nicht nur die Funktionsfähigkeit der demokratischen Institutionen ist wiederherzustellen, sondern es ist auch Gerechtigkeit für widerrechtlich Angeklagte, verfolgte Politikerinnen und Politiker und gesellschaftliche Akteure herzustellen und politische Verfahren sind einzustellen. Die EU-Kommission und der Auswärtige Dienst sind gefordert, die eingefrorenen Mittel – zum Beispiel der EU-Makrofinanzhilfe – nur bei tatsächlich erzielten Fortschritten – einer Veränderung des Status quo – und in voller Transparenz freizugeben. Noch immer sind die geraubten Milliarden nicht an das moldauische Volk zurückgeführt worden – Stichworte: Die Berichte Kroll eins und zwei. Hier muss nun endlich auch der EU-Rat handeln.

**Christina Sheila Jordan (NI).** – Mr President, the people of Moldova have to resolve their domestic situation themselves. The country needs help, advice and support but not political interference. Moldova needs to keep its independence. I would go so far as to say to them, 'do not go anywhere near this undemocratic institution'. However, I doubt the newly elected EU Commission President, elected by just nine votes, will let them.

Earlier today one phrase of hers caught my attention: 'our people, our talent, our diversity'. As I looked out at the Members in the Chamber earlier today, I have to admit I did not know what she meant. I guess her idea of diversity is very different from that of mine and my party.

**Siegfried Mureșan (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, doamnă Înaltă Reprezentantă, stimați colegi, Republica Moldova are astăzi cel mai reformist și cel mai proeuropean guvern din ultimii 30 de ani. În urmă cu trei săptămâni m-am aflat într-o misiune oficială a Parlamentului European în Republica Moldova. Am avut întâlniri cu prim-ministrul Republicii Moldova și cu alți oameni politici. Am plecat încurajat și optimist de acolo.

Actualul guvern al Republicii Moldova dorește apropierea Republicii Moldova de Uniunea Europeană. Dorește restabilirea încrederii în instituțiile statului, inclusiv în justiție. Dorește justiție, dorește dreptate, dorește stat de drept, dorește combaterea fraudei și investigarea fraudei de 1 miliard de euro din sistemul bancar, dorește mass-media independentă și puternică. Este un guvern care merită ajutorul nostru. Cum putem ajuta acest Guvern?

În primul rând, deblocând cât de curând asistența macrofinanciară de 100 de milioane de euro. Guvernul Republicii Moldova este dispus să îndeplinească toate condițiile. În al doilea rând, prin cât mai multe vizite în Republica Moldova. Doamnă Înaltă Reprezentantă, vă solicit să mergeți cât de curând în Republica Moldova, să spuneți cetățenilor Republicii Moldova că suntem alături de ei și să le vorbiți despre beneficiile concrete ale apropierii Republicii Moldova de Uniunea Europeană.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, cara Alta Representante, caros Colegas, nos últimos anos assistimos a uma degradação das regras do Estado de Direito democrático na República da Moldávia incompatível com os *standards* europeus.

Diante das recentes evoluções, saúdo o descongelamento de parte do pacote de assistência microfinanceira anunciado pelo Comissário Hahn e espero que este primeiro passo por parte da Comissão possa servir de incentivo para que uma série de condições sejam satisfeitas.

O respeito pela liberdade e pela independência da imprensa, o respeito pelos opositores políticos, o combate à corrupção, a reforma do sistema judiciário eleitoral, a investigação isenta e exaustiva da fraude fiscal de 2014 são passos fundamentais para a regeneração da sociedade moldava que é uma das mais pobres da região e que viu emigrar um terço da sua população desde 2014 por falta de expectativa de futuro. O momento de mudança que se vive na Moldávia deve ser aproveitado por todas as forças políticas para encontrar uma solução governativa estável que vá ao encontro dos interesses dos moldavos.

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, drumul european al Republicii Moldova este acum mai deschis ca niciodată, datorită curajului Maiei Sandu, datorită curajului guvernului, dar mai ales al oamenilor, care și-au dorit foarte mult această schimbare.

Coaliția trebuie să-și respecte acum angajamentele pe care și le-a luat față de cetățeni și să curețe instituțiile de oligarhi. Este nevoie de o justiție puternică și independentă în Moldova, o justiție care să investigheze cum s-au cheltuit și cum au dispărut peste șaptezeci de miliarde de dolari care au fost spălați prin Republica Moldova, o justiție care să folosească raportul Kroll 2 pentru a afla cine și cum a furat trei miliarde de dolari din sistemul bancar.

Societatea civilă și jurnaliștii au fost, în tot acest timp, gardieni ai statului de drept și democrației și așa vrea să salut deschiderea guvernului pentru a transforma statul într-un partener de încredere al societății civile. Moldova trebuie sprijinită tehnic, politic și, mai ales, financiar pentru a implementa aceste reforme. Vă cer acest efort, pentru că Moldova merită să fie în Uniunea Europeană.

**Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, we unequivocally welcome the developments in Moldova. We stand with the Prime Minister, Maia Sandu, in her pro-European, anti-corruption and pro-democratic aspirations. We emphasise, at the same time, that any progress can be made almost exclusively by rule of law and the path of the rule of law, and we saw that it is possible. We saw it in the case of the Prosecutor General, who stepped down voluntarily.

We also emphasise that any progress in this area should be based on our European affirmation of territorial integrity and cultural independence of Moldova. There, no cooperation with Russia should jeopardise our affirmation of this belonging, nor of the belonging of Moldova to European perspectives. There, I would like to address the colleague on the far right who talked about the Eurasian perspective of Moldova. Moldova's perspective is European, and we have to do everything in order to keep this window open for this country.

**Ioan-Rareș Bogdan (PPE).** – Domnule președinte, excelențele voastre, Republica Moldova nu a avut șansa surorii sale, România, de a adera la Uniunea Europeană. Cetățenii ei, 3,5 milioane de europeni, au fost sacrificați fără milă în ultimii 30 de ani și au fost monedă de schimb în jocul geopolitic.

Din cauza corupției endemice și a forțelor distructive din țară și din Federația Rusă, care ne sfidează în continuare, Republica Moldova a fost vândută unor oligarhi în frunte cu Vladimir Plahotniuc, ani în șir. Acum are, în sfârșit, un guvern proeuropean.

Republica Moldova poate aduce plus valoare Uniunii, dar nu trebuie considerată un mărunțiș. Riscurile de securitate impun măsuri rapide. Trebuie soluții și finanțare pentru a contracara efectele războiului hibrid de la frontiera noastră, a Uniunii Europene, frontiera de est. Structurile de securitate, mai ales Ministerul Afacerilor Interne din Chișinău, trebuie integrate în ecosistem. Ministrul Andrei Năstase, vicepremier, este un garant pentru un asemenea proiect, alături de întreg guvernul de la Chișinău. Totodată, trebuie finanțată educația timpurie în privința valorilor democrației. Este o investiție în viitor. Guvernul de la Chișinău ne poate fi partener. Priviți-o ca pe o mare șansă!

**Viola Von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident! Vielen Dank, Frau Mogherini, für Ihren aussichtsreichen Bericht. Dennoch: Moldau ist aktuell – knapp fünf Jahre nach Abschluss des EU-Assoziierungsabkommen – immer noch der ärmste Staat in Europa. Bislang konnte aufgrund der politischen Krise nur wenig von dem umgesetzt werden, was in dem Abkommen vereinbart wurde. Deshalb sind wir nun – nach dem Regierungswechsel – mit einer Frau an der Spitze an einem entscheidenden Punkt angelangt: Erstmals überhaupt ziehen in einem Land der Östlichen Partnerschaft die USA, die Russische Föderation und die EU an einem Strang. Dieses Zeitfenster muss dringend für Reformen genutzt werden. Moldau sollte maximale Unterstützung in dieser wichtigen Phase erhalten, wenn es sich aus dem oligarchischen Korsett befreien kann.

Die EU sollte außerdem die bislang zurückgehaltenen Finanzierungshilfen, die vereinbart sind, unbedingt freigeben, und wir müssen Moldau mit allen Kräften darin unterstützen, auch sein landwirtschaftliches Potenzial gezielt und im Einklang mit der Umwelt auszunutzen zu können. Wer durch das Land fährt und die leeren Treibhäuser sieht, weiß, wovon ich rede – das Potenzial ist riesig. Aber aktuell arbeitet ungefähr jeder fünfte Mann außerhalb des Landes. Die sozialen Verwerfungen sind riesig, und deswegen glaube ich, dass es wichtig ist, darüber hinaus auch die Infrastruktur im ländlichen Raum – die Bildungsinfrastruktur, die Gesundheitsinfrastruktur insbesondere in Moldau – auch aus internationaler Sicht im Blick zu behalten.

**Andrzej Halicki (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Jako wieloletni przedstawiciel, szef Zgromadzenia Parlamentarnego Polska–Mołdawia chciałem podkreślić, że rzeczywiście czuć w Kiszyniowie tę atmosferę nadziei, ale ona może być bardzo krucha i szybko może zgasnąć. Rzeczywiście Mołdawia wymaga od nas bardzo szybkich, aktywnych działań i one mogą mieć bardzo praktyczny sens nie tylko na podstawie umowy stowarzyszeniowej – bo to dobry kurs – ale na przykład w postaci programu Erasmus+ na zasadach pełnego członkostwa. To jest osiągalne szybko, a nie tylko na zasadach partnerskich. Oczywiście pomoc finansowa, doradztwo – to musi być kraj wolny od korupcji – ale także kwestia sądownictwa, Trybunału Konstytucyjnego. To są fundamentalne wyzwania przed rządem Mai Sandu. Ale chciałem podkreślić, że nasza aktywność – zarówno parlamentarna, jak i ze strony Komisji Europejskiej – musi mieć ciągły i aktywny charakter. Tego oczekuje dzisiaj społeczeństwo Mołdawii.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Mr President, I would say to Madam Mogherini that the Moldova issue is very important for all of us. I would like to thank her personally and the whole Commission for what she did in order to assist Moldova in overcoming the political crisis.

Now in Moldova there is the government of Maia Sandu and we know her as a brave and real pro-European leader. That is why today it is very important for us to understand how we can help the Moldovan people and their pro-European government.

Back in 1990, just after the Berlin Wall came down, we in Lithuania and Moldova were very similar in our development. Now we are here and Moldova is still in a struggle for its future. What was the reason for such a difference in our development? The difference is very clear. We got EU membership prospects starting from 1993 and we became successful. Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia are still waiting for a clear message from the EU side.

I hope that, with the assistance of this Parliament, a new Commission will be brave enough to move forward. I would like to encourage the people of Moldova. Pro-European reforms are the only way to become a successful country. We in Lithuania are a good example, and we are ready to assist.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Traian Băsescu (PPE).** – Doamnă președinte, doamnă Înalță Reprezentantă, cred că luările de poziție din seara aceasta ne arată că nu știm unde este esența problemei Republicii Moldova. Problema Republicii Moldova este că nu știe care-i este viitorul. Uniunea Europeană refuză să-i dea perspectiva intrării în Uniunea Europeană mai devreme sau mai târziu, atunci când va fi pregătită. Republica Moldova este o țară aflată în zona gri și niciun politician din Republica Moldova nu poate spune românilor din Republica Moldova – doamnă Mogherini, Republica Moldova e locuită de români – care e viitorul acestei țări aflate între Ucraina, Transnistria controlată de Moscova și frontiera Uniunii Europene. Concluzie: dați perspectivă europeană Republicii Moldova, altfel va rămâne așa cum este o lungă perioadă de timp.

**Thierry Mariani (ID).** – Monsieur le Président, vous me permettez de ne pas partager l'optimisme de certains. Madame la Commissaire, la Moldavie a pas choisi l'Europe. Deux clans ont décidé de s'allier en Moldavie pour liquider le troisième, soyons clairs et chacun le sait. C'est-à-dire qu'en réalité la partie européenne représentée par M<sup>me</sup> Nastase et la partie pro-russe, qui ont des programmes totalement différents de M. Dodon, ont en réalité en une cible que chacun connaît, qui est le leader du Parti démocrate.

J'ai entendu parler de lutter contre les oligarques. On est en Moldavie, dans une situation un peu paradoxale, vous le savez, il n'y a pas des oligarques mais un oligarque au singulier.

Alors moi je partage au moins en tout cas la conclusion du dernier orateur, je pense qu'il faut donner un horizon clairement européen à la Moldavie. La Moldavie n'est pas dans l'Europe, mais tous les Moldaves qui le souhaitent sont facilement dans l'Europe, puisque l'un de ses grands voisins historiques est, on va dire, assez généreux quand certains demandent des passeports roumains.

Donc, aujourd'hui il est temps que l'Europe ait un vrai programme pour aider ce pays. J'ai beaucoup entendu parler de lutte contre la corruption, c'est indispensable, mais aujourd'hui ce que j'entends chaque fois que je vais en Moldavie, c'est des aides concrètes au niveau économique et je crois que c'est là où on gagnera le coeur au niveau européen.

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Mr President, I am very glad that Maia Sandu is now the Prime Minister. I have known her for many years and she is a pro-European, democratic and uncorrupted Prime Minister. I think that is something that gives hope to the citizens of Moldova.

I think that what we saw in the days when there was this change is one example of where the European Union should definitely be in a position to have majority voting on foreign policy issues. A unanimous stance was not possible because the current Romanian Government and their parties were very close to Vladimir Plahotniuc's party and they were not happy to drop them, which was problematic, but I think all the others were supportive from the outset.

I would like to thank the European External Action Service because our representation there really only contacted the new legitimate government, while other governments thought, well, perhaps they should mediate between a caretaker government that was installed by a dependent constitutional court. So let us perhaps reconsider our stance to discuss whether it is necessary to have unanimity always on foreign policy issues when it's so obvious, for example, that there is a clearly legitimate government.

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** – Mr President, I have little to add. I think it is clear to all that there's a window of hope, of opportunity, and that we have a responsibility to help and support the government to deliver on these good intentions and goodwill. You can count on us to do all we can to accompany this process in the best possible way.

The final responsibility, obviously, is in the hands of the Prime Minister and the government, but obviously, we have all the interests in making her task a bit less challenging than it looks, and it is.

Let me also say that indeed our statements and our moves in Chişinău, during the critical hours of the institutional crisis in June, have been decisive. I also have to say that yesterday, during the Foreign Affairs Council, I found unanimity on this point. We did not face any problems with Member States.

I often say in the Foreign Affairs Council, the major problem we face is normally not unanimity in reaching decisions, but the consistency of the day after implementation of the decisions we take. But this is another story, which relates more to the political will back in the capitals. I thank you for the support, and I count on our joint work – Commission, Council and Parliament – to accompany this new phase for Moldova.

**Der Präsident.** – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

## **17. Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia: Patrz protokół**

## **18. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(Die Sitzung wird um 23.02 Uhr geschlossen.)*

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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

*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 Europejscy Konserwatyści i Reformatorzy
GUE/NGL	Grupa Zjednoczonej Lewicy Europejskiej/Nordycka Zielona Lewica
NI	Niezrzeszeni