

**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 14 WRZEŚNIA 2023 R.**

(C/2024/4389)

PARLAMENT EUROPEJSKI

SESJA 2023-2024

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STRASBURG

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 14 WRZEŚNIA 2023 R.

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΟΥΛΗΣ

Αντιπρόεδρος

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

(Η συνεδρίαση αρχίζει στις 9.00)

### 2. Skład grup politycznych

**Πρόεδρος.** – Πριν περάσουμε στην ημερήσια διάταξη έχω μία ανακοίνωση: η Ανja Haga είναι μέλος της πολιτικής ομάδας του Ευρωπαϊκού Λαϊκού Κόμματος από τις 14 Σεπτεμβρίου 2023.

### 3. Parlamentaryzm, obywatelstwo europejskie i demokracja (debata)

**Πρόεδρος.** – Το πρώτο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη είναι η συζήτηση επί της έκθεσης του κ. Mituța και του κ. Nienass, εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής Συνταγματικών Υποθέσεων, με θέμα:

Κοινοβουλευτισμός, ευρωπαϊκή ιθαγένεια και δημοκρατία (2023/2017(INI)) (A9-0249/2023)

**Alin Mituța, rapporteur.** – Mr President, dear colleagues, yesterday, during the State of the Union, we listened to President von der Leyen speak about transformation and reform. But the loudest part of yesterday's speech was the one that we didn't hear, the one about citizens and democracy. One could say it was more like a State of the European Union bubble. It was a discussion between us, more Brussels people and Strasbourg people.

In order to transform the State of the Union we need to bring closer to the Union the citizens. And this is precisely the core objective of this report: to find ways of upgrading our European democracy and bringing the EU closer to its people. Indeed, our European democracy has been described by scholars in many ways, but actually few are positive. When people talk about the EU and its processes, they often think about 'deficit', 'bureaucracy', 'impersonal', 'elitist' or 'something far away'. We even invented nice words to cover, I would say, our weaknesses, such as 'failing forward' or 'sui generis model'.

While I'm the first to defend the EU, I'm also the first to point out to its weaknesses, because, yes, the EU is not perfect. The EU's institutional architecture is not fit for the 21st century, and we must admit that. We still think in terms of unanimity and we allow singular governments to take over the EU agenda for selfish national interests. The system in place is one in which one Member State can decide for 26. Unanimity does not strengthen our weakest members, but it weakens us all. Every day you come to work in this House and we vote on laws, but we cannot initiate them. This is not how a real democracy works. So what we say in this report is that we should make the necessary changes so that the EU becomes a fully fledged democracy on its own account: not a sui generis democracy, not something that falls forward just as a matter of gravity or inertia. To achieve this, we need to put Parliament at the centre of our democracy system. We need to become an authentic, bicameral parliamentary system in which the Council becomes a genuine upper chamber. And very importantly, we must put an end to the practice of the European Council tasking the Commission or even the Parliament to do this or that. The Commission and the Parliament are not the Secretariat of the European Council.

On top of that, we must bring freshness in our European democracy. And I would say we need freshness in democracy in general. Because we not we have not refreshed and upgraded our democracy model for more than 150 years. We are no longer in the 1800s.

Citizens are not engaged in our democratic life because they feel that their voice is not heard. It's not me who says that, but it's almost every Eurobarometer. This is why what we propose is to empower the citizens to actively contribute to the democratic life of the Union. And not only every five years when we have elections, but every year. And for that reason, we propose to create the European Agora, which would empower the citizens to be more active in our democratic life.

**Niklas Nienass**, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, Commissioner, dear Alin, my dearest co-rapporteur on this, European society is changing.

My grandma was born in a village. She received her education there. She bore her children there. Her whole life was in this village. She almost never left it. She died there in the end. And that's a few decades ago.

My mom was the first one of the family to fly to Paris on a plane that you could still smoke on. And when she announced that she would go and live in another city almost 100 km away – 88, to be quite frank – the whole town said she's crazy. I mean this is insane, so far away.

And now I have been to four countries in the past week, in a night train – non-smoking, by the way – but this is completely normal now. Nowadays, young people tend to live much faster lives in different ages, different whereabouts in Europe.

The Internet allows us to connect and exchange ideas but also a lot of fake news. And nobody is bound anymore to one location to live in for the rest of the life, especially young people. They grow up in one town, get their education in another, vocational training in the next, Erasmus in between, and then find their love of their life and move, I don't know, to another country to live there.

Democracy did not adapt to these changes. We still have a democratic system in which if you're interested in your local politics, you're required to be there for five years, commit yourself to the service and do that. But that's really hard to do, especially for young people if they don't even know what party they are attending tonight. Right? So they don't know where they will be in the next five years. So we need to find ways to adapt to it.

Also, our European parliaments – I'm not talking about this one, I'm talking about all the national ones – they have sometimes less European exchange than a Call of Duty lobby. And European law has been made commonly, but still people are not talking to each other when they're legislators.

At the same time, we are having Erasmus European solidarity, all these ways, creative Europe, to bring Europeans together, to create European exchanges, understandings and so on. And at the same time, when citizens move to a different country, their new home treats them as foreigners and makes it really hard to be somewhere: they're not allowed to vote, they don't get the easy access to social rights, and it's really, really hard.

We try to address all of this in this report. First of all, for the democratic question, we had the idea to increase democracy, to extend it, not to exchange representative democracy, because it's shown its value in the past, but to improve it by bringing it into fast-paced times, by giving citizens the possibility to give their ideas to have this exchange. And we know that it works because we use this very similar motive during the Conference on the Future of Europe.

Money cannot be a reason for less democracy, I have to say. So this is not a good reason. I also have to say, especially to the Commission, the proposal to include citizens in certain ways, in very precise and detailed questions, I think is the wrong extent because it's endangering democracy. In the end, it will feed into the fact that they can't really do anything about it. They have to really get into the details of it and, in the end, maybe their results are not being treated respectfully. So we need to change that.

Second point, we have talked about the parliaments and how we can bring them into exchange, how we can make sure that this globalisation, the Europeanisation of our legislation, is getting together.

And third, we have clearly defined what the European citizenship means and that means also an easier life through a common European administration and also more voting rights for citizens throughout Europe.

This is a path forward – an idea to bring our democracy to the 21st century. And I thank very much our shadows that we worked so closely together with.

**Elisa Ferreira**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, rapporteurs Mr Mituța and Mr Nienass, in fact I'm honoured to be here today and I'm going to speak on behalf of Vice-President Jourová, thanking you for the opportunity to attend and participate in this important debate.

In fact, reinforcing European democracy and improving the exercise of European Union citizenship rights is essential for the Commission. As mentioned in our Communication in follow up to the Conference on the Future of Europe, we must put citizens at the heart of the European democracy. The outcome of the conference has created momentum for new initiatives responding to citizens' proposals. The Commission has acted on close to 95% of the conference measures that are within the competence of the Commission in accordance with the Treaties.

Firstly, following up on the European Democracy Action Plan and the specific strategies for a Union of equality, we are working to ensure equal opportunities for all European citizens. To achieve this, democratic and electoral rights of all European citizens must be respected and properly implemented, both offline and online.

In our initiatives to promote democracy, the citizen, the voter, is always put first. We want to further empower the people so that they can make their democratic choices with the best knowledge and free from manipulation and interference.

Let me give you some concrete examples. As you know, the Commission proposed to update the current European Union rules on the rights of European Union mobile citizens to vote and stand in European Parliament and municipal elections. Together with you, we will also launch a communication campaign to increase the number of mobile European Union citizens voting in the 2024 European Parliament elections.

Then there is our legislative proposal on transparency and targeting of political advertising that will make it easier for the people to know who pays and for what, and how we are being targeted online. We are also working closely with Member States on what we call a guide of good electoral practice, addressing participation of citizens with disabilities in the electoral process, and the compendium of e-voting practices to foster inclusion and democratic participation in elections, including through easily accessible and friendly to use complementary voting methods.

On 23 and 24 October 2023, we will organise a high-level event on elections to help empower citizens to participate as voters and candidates in the democratic process in the run up to the 2024 elections to the European Parliament.

We are preparing our recommendations on inclusive and resilient electoral processes that aim to promote high standards on European elections and other elections at national level and also a recommendation aiming at enhancing the engagement of citizens and civil society in public policy-making processes. Strengthening the link between people and the democratic institutions that serve them is also key for our European democracy, whether at election time and beyond.

A new generation of European citizens' panels is now a regular feature of the Commission's policy-making process, strengthening citizen engagement and innovating and revitalising our democratic spaces. The citizens' recommendations are gathered in a citizen's report, which complements the Commission's impact assessment and public consultations. We are also developing a revamped 'Have your say' portal, a one-stop shop for online citizens' engagement, as a gateway for the Commission's public online consultations.

More broadly, the Commission is also committed to continuing to improve the exercise of European Union citizenship rights. This year to celebrate the 30th anniversary of EU citizenship, we will launch a large communication campaign, including an onboarding package to inform new or young EU citizens – in an attractive and easy to understand way – about their rights as European citizens and to illustrate its benefits and opportunities for democratic engagement.

We will also adopt a new citizenship report by the end of 2023, in line with Article 25 of the TFEU, to showcase progress achieved around European citizenship since the adoption of the 2020 citizenship report. Many of these actions are achieving tangible results to advance the rights attached to the status of European citizenship. For instance, we are in the process of adopting the reviewed guidance on free movement of EU citizens and their families, which will ensure a more effective and uniform application of the free movement legislation across the EU.

We are also preparing a revision of the Consular Protection Directive to strengthen the right of EU citizens to consular protection, especially in crisis situations. The Commission intends to come forward with these different initiatives on European citizenship by the end of this year. I look forward to hearing your remarks.

**Othmar Karas**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Kommissarin, Herr Präsident, meine lieben Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ja, die liberale Demokratie ist unter Druck geraten, außerhalb und innerhalb der Europäischen Union, durch äußere Einwirkungen, aber auch durch interne Fehlentwicklungen. Das ist mit ein Grund, warum wir uns heute mit der notwendigen Stärkung der liberalen parlamentarischen Demokratie auseinandersetzen. Ja, Friede, Freiheit und Demokratie sind nicht selbstverständlich. Sie sind kein Naturgesetz. Die Errungenschaften einer Generation können von der nächsten verloren werden.

Daher rufe ich uns allen zu: Stehen wir auf, wachen wir auf. Treten wir den Fehlentwicklungen entgegen, statt feige zur Tagesordnung überzugehen. Es geht um uns. Es geht um die europäische liberale Demokratie. Wir brauchen ein gemeinsames Verständnis, was wir unter dieser verstehen. Und wir brauchen den politischen Willen, dieses Bekenntnis auch täglich in unserer Arbeit umzusetzen.

Wir stellen daher ganz bewusst das Wort liberale Demokratie in den Mittelpunkt, weil ihre Gegner genau jene unterlaufen wollen. Wir bekräftigen die Parlamente als Herzstück der liberalen Demokratie, als direkt gewählte Kammern der Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Wir unterstreichen das Grundprinzip Gewaltenteilung, repräsentative Demokratie, Präsenzparlament, freies Mandat und Eigenverantwortung.

Wir wollen mehr Tempo bei der Umsetzung der Ergebnisse der Konferenz zur Zukunft Europas machen. Wir fordern das Ende des Einstimmigkeitsprinzips und damit der Erpressbarkeit und der Blockaden. Und wir leisten einen Beitrag zur Charta, zur Rolle der Parlamente in einer funktionierenden liberalen Demokratie, die wir noch vor den EU-Wahlen europaweit vorstellen werden.

Gehen wir es an. Es ist nie zu spät.

**Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz**, *w imieniu grupy S&D*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Sprawozdanie, o którym mówimy, zawiera szereg bardzo wartościowych propozycji. Chcę zwrócić szczególną uwagę na propozycję inicjowania przez Parlament Europejski ogólnoeuropejskich konsultacji z wykorzystaniem internetu do głosowania. Tego typu działanie Parlamentu nie wymagałoby zmian traktatowych. Koszty konsultacji byłyby znikome, a korzyści bardzo duże. Po odpowiedniej promocji i zainteresowaniu mediów Parlament, zadając Europejczykom ważne pytania sprawiłby, że miliony naszych obywateli miałyby poczucie udziału w decydowaniu o wspólnych sprawach. Rola Parlamentu stałaby się lepiej widoczna i zrozumiała. Stopniowo kształtowałaby się ponadpaństwowa europejska opinia publiczna. Oparte o te konsultacje działania Parlamentu Europejskiego zyskałyby niezwykle silny mandat polityczny. Byłoby bardzo dobrze, gdyby Parlament skorzystał z tego instrumentu jeszcze przed przyszłorocznymi wyborami.

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa**, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señor presidente, muchas gracias al ponente por este informe. Se ha dicho ya: estamos en una democracia liberal y, por tanto, somos ciudadanos. En este caso somos parlamentarios y no somos vasallos. Y por eso —por eso— es tan importante poner el foco en las reglas de juego. Y nos viene bien recordar el fundamento de nuestro sistema democrático y parlamentario para mejorarlo.

Destaca el informe que en una democracia, «los parlamentos deben formar parte de todos los procesos de toma de decisiones», por lo que los procedimientos legislativos por la vía rápida de urgencia deberían ser una minoría. Lamentablemente, los Ejecutivos están descollando últimamente con ese tipo de fórmulas. Así está ocurriendo de forma muy extraordinaria en mi país.

Hacemos este informe en un momento en que, paradójicamente despuntan los populismos y no solo los de derechas. La democracia liberal está en riesgo en este momento en que estamos intentando dar muchísimos más derechos y dar calidad a la actividad de los ciudadanos en el sistema político liberal. Así lo hemos visto, por ejemplo, en Israel. Así lo vemos en Hungría.

Se invocan mayorías parlamentarias para saltarse la igualdad ante la ley y para erosionar la libertad de conciencia. Porque los populistas identitarios creen estar por encima de la ley y de los derechos de los demás. Por eso, la clave es saber si les vamos a dar la razón, si un gobierno puede hacer que los responsables de delitos graves tengan impunidad y si pueden convertir, por tanto, todo lo que estamos intentando hacer en papel mojado. Es muy importante que defendamos también lo obvio.

**Damian Boeselager**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, colleagues, I want to thank the rapporteurs for a strong draft and I want to agree with Mr Karas, the thing that the populists fear the most is a functioning parliamentary democracy.

And what is a parliamentary democracy? It's not so complicated. If we were just 100 people in a room, we could potentially still decide together. But since we are many more millions of people, we delegate our power to a couple of people to take decisions. To be able to take decisions, meaning I can bring in new ideas. That's the right of initiative. I can decide on the government that is actually governing these decisions that proposes new ideas. And I can decide about how the money is allocated, the cash, and that's budget authority. You bring these three points in your report, and I think they're very, very crucial.

In addition, I really like that you also look into what happens in between elections and there are good ideas of citizen participation that we can learn from. And it should also be clear that if I move to another EU country, I have the right to also participate in the democracy that is there – national elections, regional elections, and of course, the European elections.

**Dominik Tarczyński**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, dear leftists, I'm very happy to take part in this debate about democracy in Europe. So let me give you some example of very major democracy in Poland, over 1 000 years of tradition of Polish nation.

Polish nation rejected you, dear leftists, eight times. Eight times in a row you have lost elections in Poland. So get used to it, because you're going to lose again. That's number one.

Let me give you some data about Poland and Polish democracy. The lowest unemployment in European Union is: Poland. The highest GDP after COVID in European Union is: Poland. One of the lowest debts in European Union is: Poland.

So don't give us this rubbish about the need of educated immigration, as we heard yesterday. We don't need your doctors. We don't need your engineers. Take them all and pay for them. We don't need them. You know why? Because there are zero terrorist attacks in Poland. Why? Because there is no illegal migration in Poland.

So don't give me this look. Don't give me these arguments about the populism, because this is a fact. This is your data, from Eurostat! So we don't need your engineers. We don't need your doctors. Take them. Do not teach us. Do not teach us about democracy, because we know what the democracy is. So learn from Poland. Be like Poland.

**Πρόεδρος**. – Επόμενος ομιλητής για την Ομάδα ID, ο κ. Lebreton.

Όλοι ακούγονται, όλοι κρίνονται. Ευτυχώς λόγω της κοινοβουλευτικής δημοκρατίας οι συνεδριάσεις μας είναι δημόσιες και όλες οι απόψεις αξιολογούνται. Δεν χρειάζονται αντιδράσεις από τους συναδέλφους.

**Gilles Lebreton**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, ce rapport, copiloté par un centriste de Renew et par un Vert, est totalement inacceptable. Sous prétexte d'améliorer les modalités de la démocratie européenne, il propose en effet d'accélérer la transformation de l'Union européenne en un État fédéral supranational. Son objectif majeur est de rétrograder le Conseil, dernier rempart de la souveraineté des États membres, en le transformant en une deuxième Chambre, autrement dit en une sorte de Sénat européen.

Le Parlement européen serait le grand bénéficiaire de cette réforme. Le rapport ne s'en cache pas, puisqu'il lui attribue des pouvoirs équivalents à ceux d'une assemblée nationale, comme par exemple un droit d'enquête et un droit d'initiative législative. Mais là encore, je ne suis pas d'accord, car c'est oublier un peu vite qu'une assemblée nationale n'a de sens que s'il existe une nation. Or, la nation européenne n'existe pas. Je veux donc rappeler solennellement à ce Parlement qu'il n'est pas une assemblée nationale, mais un simple organe délibérant d'une organisation internationale.

**Tatjana Ždanoka (NI)**. – Mr President, colleagues, Commissioner, I'll speak about European citizenship, which, to my regret, is still a simple derivative from Member States citizenship.

I'll start with a citation: 'We do consider that EU citizenship based on residence should be the ultimate goal to make the European Union a genuine political community. The crucial reality of the enlarged EU is that among those covered by the term "third country nationals" are half a million people who are not nationals of any state, being former citizens of a state which doesn't exist anymore, the USSR. These people make 20 % of the population of Latvia, my country, and 9 % of Estonia.'

This is a fragment of the speech I made when considering the report on European citizenship in January 2006. If you think the situation of mass statelessness in the two EU Member States has been resolved since then, you are wrong. Moreover, the essential part of those people who changed their 'alien' status to the status of 'citizens of Russia', as the legal successor of the USSR, will receive in the nearest future the orders to leave Latvia.

So the EU has not succeeded in solving the problem of European citizenship in general either, and Brexit did not reach us, regrettably.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE)**. – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, there are some good ideas in this report. This is quite good when we look at the reinforcement and strengthening of Parliament, legislative initiative, when we see that the Council should go to a second chamber. This is totally good. I'd say they are very good developments. Also there are very good ideas for citizen participation.

But this is a dangerous report because it can easily be misunderstood. There is a major constitutional mistake that we are doing all the time, when we say in a recital that Parliament should scrutinise the European Council. This makes no sense. Council and the European Council are totally democratic. They represent the Member States. And then you have Parliament that represents the peoples of the Union. And this should be very clear for us. The European Council is not undemocratic, it's democratic, and when we accept this, we can reinforce Parliament's presence.

When we say that European citizenship could be defined by another instance than the Member States, this is not acceptable. European citizenship is linked with national citizenship.

When we speak about referendums, about permanent agoras, there is the risk that we evolve from a representative democracy to a direct democracy. My dear friends, I understand very well your good intention, your good faith, but make no mistake, history has always taught us the first step to dictatorship is direct democracy. And when we are enhancing all the tools for direct democracy, you are creating the path for a dictatorship.

**Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D)**. – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, veo que también dentro del Grupo popular hay distintas sensibilidades sobre esta materia, porque hemos oído al señor Karas y luego al señor Rangel. Era un poco distinto. Pero gracias, en cualquier caso, por la oportunidad.

Aunque me va a quitar tiempo del poco tiempo que tengo voy a empezar respondiendo al señor Lebreton, al que agradezco que siga en la Cámara, porque algunos de sus compañeros hablan y se van corriendo. Yo le pediría que dejara de hablar todo el rato del federalismo como una mala palabra. Yo aprovecho para decirle que soy el presidente, orgulloso, por cierto, de la Unión de Federalistas Europeos. Y, mire, la ideología del federalismo no ha causado los desastres de su ideología, que es el nacionalismo. De hecho, si usted relee la Declaración Schuman, dice que la CECA es el primer paso para una federación europea, es de 1950. Esa idea, ese ideal federal, nos ha dado 70 años de paz. El suyo, el del nacionalismo, nos dio todas las guerras que causaron los mayores desastres en Europa. Por tanto, convendría que dejara de utilizar eso con ánimo despectivo.



Ya no me queda mucho tiempo para hablar del informe, señor presidente, pero me parecía importante señalar lo anterior. En cuanto al informe, lo apoyo totalmente. Democracia representativa no es incompatible con democracia deliberativa o participativa. De hecho, una refuerza a la otra.

Y creo también que tenemos una gran oportunidad, como ha dicho el señor Cimoszewicz —aprovecho para felicitar a todos los ponentes—, para que, con una aplicación, como EU-DEM o EurHope, de los Jóvenes Federalistas Europeos, pudiéramos tener el portal único que se propone para las peticiones y las iniciativas ciudadanas y para las consultas en línea.

**Laurence Farreng (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, ce rapport sur le parlementarisme et la citoyenneté européenne est crucial. À la veille des élections européennes, il rappelle que ce Parlement est le cœur de la démocratie européenne. Il rappelle que nous, députés européens, représentons les citoyens directement.

Mais les citoyens le savent-ils? Comment leur donnons-nous les moyens de résister à la désinformation nationaliste, aux discours qui attaquent l'Union européenne, pourtant si protectrice au travers de chaque crise? La solution est dans ce rapport: c'est l'éducation civique européenne. C'est une nécessité. Comment savoir qu'on est citoyen européen si on ne connaît pas le fonctionnement de l'Union européenne ni ses valeurs fondamentales?

L'Éducation civique européenne, les citoyens nous l'ont d'ailleurs demandée directement lors de la Conférence pour l'avenir de l'Europe. Mais pour que chacun puisse accéder à un minimum d'éducation civique européenne dans chaque État membre, cela appelle à plus de compétences partagées en matière d'éducation, et c'est là encore un objectif de ce rapport: aller plus loin avec une réforme institutionnelle incluant la réouverture des traités pour une Europe encore plus efficace pour nos concitoyens.

**Ladislav Ilčić (ECR).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, poštovani kolege, prosječan izlazak na europske izbore je dvostruko manji od izlaska na nacionalne izbore.

Dakle, građani dvostruko manje vjeruju u demokraciju na europskoj razini, odnosno europska tijela imaju dvostruko manji demokratski legitimitet. I sada vi nacionalne predstavnike u Vijeću nazivate problematičnim i želite njima oduzeti jedan značajan utjecaj koji imaju, a dakle ti predstavnici imaju veći demokratski legitimitet, i taj utjecaj dati europskim tijelima koja imaju manji demokratski legitimitet, i to još nazivate demokratskim napretkom. Pa tko je tu lud? Ovo izvješće je ustvari udarac na demokraciju.

I pozivate se na Konferenciju o budućnosti Europe. Pa to je potpuno izmanipulirani proces i iznad svega na potpuno nereprezentativnom uzorku. I to sad namećete iznad nacionalnih predstavnika koji imaju, ponavljam, dvostruko veći demokratski legitimitet. Dakle, jedna riječ je samo za ovo izvješće, a to je sramota.

**Ivan David (ID).** – Pane predsjedající, naprosto zásadně protestuji proti pokračující snaze o likvidaci vlivu členských států na jejich vnitřní záležitosti a narušení demokratických principů, jakými jsou všeobecné, rovné a přímé volby do zastupitelských orgánů. Jde o zahraniční vměšování do voleb. Je zcela nepřijatelné, aby právo volit a být volen bylo založeno na pouhém faktu nahlášení trvalého bydliště bez ohledu na občanství státu, kde probíhají volby.

Občanství, státní příslušnost, je naprosto zásadní podmínkou demokratického rozhodování. Je nepřijatelné, aby o budoucnosti obce nebo země rozhodovali občané cizích zemí, kteří nesplnili podmínky získání občanství. Kolemjdoucí nebo hosté včetně nezvaných nesmějí rozhodovat o naší budoucnosti. Návrh včetně prosazovaného většinového hlasování v Evropské radě je důkazem úmyslu likvidovat zbytky svrchovanosti členských států Evropské unie.

**Francesca Donato (NI).** – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, l'Unione europea si pone di fronte al mondo come modello e baluardo di democrazia, arrivando a formulare ingiunzioni e irrogare sanzioni a chi non rispetta i suoi standard democratici. Ma in realtà c'è ancora tanta strada da fare perché l'Unione europea traduca il nobile ideale dei suoi padri fondatori in un sistema autenticamente e solidamente democratico.

Questa relazione va nella giusta direzione, puntando agli obiettivi essenziali, cioè dare al Parlamento europeo l'iniziativa legislativa, maggiore trasparenza e responsabilità per la Commissione e il Consiglio e i referendum europei. Una riforma del trattato in tal senso potrebbe dare all'Unione europea quella legittimità e credibilità che oggi non ha rispetto a molti dei suoi cittadini.

Il Consiglio dovrà dimostrare quanto crede nell'Unione europea e nella democrazia in questo processo. Altrimenti finirà, come nella canzone di De André, a dare buoni consigli dopo aver dato il cattivo esempio.

**Salvatore De Meo (PPE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, parlamentarismo, cittadinanza e democrazia: tre elementi interconnessi e vitali per l'Unione europea e per tutti i suoi Stati membri.

Le decisioni che prendiamo ogni giorno nelle istituzioni hanno un impatto diretto sulla vita dei cittadini. Per questo è necessario chiarire e rivendicare il nostro ruolo e il ruolo di tutti i parlamenti nazionali aprendo una riflessione sul funzionamento della democrazia in Europa e nelle sue istituzioni.

Dobbiamo incoraggiare la conoscenza dell'Unione europea e il senso di appartenenza ad essa, accrescendo il valore della cittadinanza europea, in modo che i cittadini conoscano chiaramente i loro diritti e doveri, promuovendo al contempo l'educazione civica europea. Questo non solo rafforzerà il senso di appartenenza all'Unione, ma anche la loro partecipazione alla vita democratica, anche in previsione delle prossime elezioni.

Alla luce della proposta di revisione dei trattati della commissione AFCO, chiedo al Consiglio e alla Commissione di aprire un dibattito serio sul futuro dell'Unione europea, in modo da dar seguito alla proposta dei cittadini e del Parlamento. Il futuro dell'Unione dipende dalla nostra capacità di promuovere questi tre valori e solo rendendo l'Europa più efficiente, riusciremo a garantire vera fiducia nelle istituzioni e, soprattutto, a far sentire i cittadini parte attiva di questo progetto, che è l'unica strada per affrontare le sfide presenti e future.

**Mercedes Bresso (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, la democrazia e la cittadinanza europea sono beni preziosi che non dobbiamo mai dare per scontati. Mai come in questo momento di guerra nel cuore dell'Europa ne abbiamo sentito la forza. Ci siamo arrivati attraverso passaggi lenti, spesso faticosi, ma il nostro cammino non è certo finito qui.

Abbiamo bisogno di migliorare e rafforzare la nostra democrazia, le sue pratiche, le sue istituzioni, a partire evidentemente dal Parlamento, a cui andrebbe riconosciuto il diritto di iniziativa legislativa. Dobbiamo strutturare anche esperienze di partecipazione dei cittadini europei, con meccanismi, magari anche permanenti, per il loro coinvolgimento.

La Conferenza sul futuro dell'Europa è stata un momento importante di partecipazione alle proposte e alle misure concrete che ne sono emerse abbiamo il dovere di dare un seguito, e per rafforzare la democrazia europea non possiamo pensare certo che tutto resti invariato. Come diceva il collega prima, abbiamo bisogno di una convenzione che lavori alla riforma dei trattati per un'Europa più democratica e più forte ma anche che apra di più ai cittadini europei.

Permettetemi una osservazione al collega Ilčić: non è vero che le istituzioni europee sono le ultime nella fiducia dei cittadini. Si vota di meno perché gli Stati non fanno promozione; però la fiducia nelle istituzioni europee è maggiore che nei parlamenti nazionali e nei governi, quindi vada a vedere meglio i sondaggi e i dati.

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew).** – Mr President, is Mr Tarczyński still in the room? I wanted to ask him if he still needs his salary paid by the money of the European citizens that he just insulted, or perhaps he's ready to drop it.

Domnule președinte, le mulțumesc colegilor mei pentru acest raport fiindcă au pus pe masă o viziune pentru Europa și viitorul democrației pe care puținii avem curajul să o proiectăm, dar realitatea e una singură: populismul crește în Europa și, pentru că suntem departe de oameni, guverne, instituții, nu mai ajungem la ei. Nu sunt destul de implicați în decizii. Nu promovăm o cultură a transparenței și a dialogului. Dacă le explicăm, nu se mai nasc frici exploatare de extremism. Dacă suntem transparenți și corecți, nu mai există îndoieli și percepția că toți suntem corupți și la fel.

Populismul crește și în România din același motiv, iar răspunsul e unul singur: trebuie să ascultăm oamenii, să le livrăm ce le-am promis. Trebuie să știe ce facem și de ce – cu banii lor, cu energia lor bună, cu speranțele lor – și să nu le mai înșelăm așteptările. Dacă vrem democrație, uniune și valori, trebuie să ascultăm vocile celor care iubesc democrația și o apără. Tot lor trebuie să le dăm socoteală. E atât de simplu!

**Beata Kempa (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Mieszkańcy Europy borykają się dzisiaj z olbrzymią inflacją, z uzależnieniem od rosyjskiego gazu, spowolnieniem gospodarczym, rosnącymi cenami kosztownej unijnej polityki klimatycznej. Tymczasem my zajmujemy się projektem europejskiego obywatelstwa.

Chcę powiedzieć, że nie ma czegoś takiego. Każdy z nas jest obywatelem swojego kraju. Te kraje tworzą Unię Europejską, bo tak wynika z traktatów. Nie można być obywatelem Unii Europejskiej, bo Unia Europejska nie jest państwem. Tym bardziej nie jest superpaństwem. Ten projekt jest szczególnie wrażliwy dla Polski. My przeżyliśmy taki projekt wtedy, kiedy byliśmy pod dyktandem Związku Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich. I to się bardzo źle skończyło.

Dzisiaj siła Unii powinna wynikać przede wszystkim ze współpracy państw narodowych. Dzisiaj te państwa – takie, które chcą współpracować – w zasadzie stawia się pod pręgierzem, i chcemy tego uniknąć. Parlament i Komisja, stosując różnego rodzaju – w moim kraju uważa się, że to są wręcz szantaże – tak naprawdę zamiast zajmować się realnymi problemami, walczą z suwerennymi państwami, takimi jak Polska.

Ratunkiem dla Europy nie jest federalizm, a powrót do Europy narodów, do Europy silnych państw, a nie do kontynentu zdominowanego przez kraje starej Unii. Te zmiany, które są postulowane w Radzie, to nic innego jak powrót do idei, które nie chcielibyśmy, żeby w Polsce wróciły.

*(Mówczyni zgodziła się odpowiedzieć na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)*

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew), întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”.** – Domnule președinte, aș vrea să o întreb pe doamna Kempa cum vede dânsa statut-națiune polonez în Uniunea Europeană: cu sau fără libera circulație a cetățenilor? Cu sau fără libera circulație a mărfurilor și capitalurilor? Cu Schengen sau fără Schengen și cu, din nou, controale la frontieră? Cu dreptul tinerilor de a studia în alte țări din Uniunea Europeană sau fără acest drept? Cum? Cum vreți să împăcați și completa autodeterminare, dar și colaborarea cu celelalte țări, care oferă atâtea oportunități Poloniei, care a devenit un mare exportator de legume și de fructe, de exemplu, în Uniunea Europeană, de când e în Uniunea Europeană și nu mai e sută la sută stat-națiune?

**Beata Kempa (ECR), răspuns la întrebarea adresată de doamna Cioloș.** – Jak najbardziej zgadzam się z Panem. Jestem i byłem zawsze za członkostwem w Unii Europejskiej, bo brałam udział również w referendum przedakcesyjnym w Polsce i byłem zagorzałą zwolenniczką wejścia do Unii Europejskiej, ale jestem przeciwna dyktatowi i temu, co dzisiaj dzieje się z w stosunku do mojego kraju. My przestrzegamy wszelkich reguł, ale jesteśmy przeciwko nielegalnej imigracji. Będziemy bronić granic Unii Europejskiej przed hybrydowym atakiem Rosji i Białorusi, który ma w tej chwili miejsce na granicy nie tylko Polski, ale również Unii Europejskiej.

Trzeba nam wiedzieć, że tego typu projekty, które dzisiaj forsujecie, są forsowane w czasie, kiedy jesteśmy w okresie brutalnej wojny Rosji przeciwko Ukrainie. Nie można być naiwnym, przede wszystkim Unia Europejska nie może być naiwna i przestrzegać tych traktatów, które są, i wtedy wyjdziemy z tego kryzysu.

**Πρόεδρος.** – Πριν δώσω τον λόγο στην επόμενη ομιλήτρια, στην κ. Ponsatí, θα ήθελα να σας πω ότι στη διάρκεια των προηγούμενων ομιλιών δέχτηκα δύο αιτήματα για γαλάζια κάρτα από δύο συναδέλφους, τον κ. Boeselager και τον κ. Ilčić, οι οποίοι όμως είχαν μιλήσει προηγούμενα.

Επειδή έχουμε μια καθυστέρηση στην υλοποίηση του χρονοδιαγράμματος, επέλεξα να δίνω τον λόγο για γαλάζια κάρτα σε συναδέλφους που δεν είχαν την ευκαιρία να μιλήσουν και να καταθέσουν την άποψή τους. Παρακαλώ αυτό, και εσείς κύριε Boeselager και εσείς κύριε Ilčić, να το σεβαστείτε και να διευκολύνουμε τη συζήτηση.

Έτσι κι αλλιώς όλες οι απόψεις ακούγονται και υπάρχει ένα μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον απ' όλους μας στην εξέλιξη αυτού του διαλόγου.

Κυρία Ponsatí, έχετε τον λόγο.

**Clara Ponsatí Obiols (NI).** – Mr President, representation is the core virtue of parliamentary democracy. But how can anyone take this Parliament's duty to represent all European citizens seriously when so many European languages, so many millions of citizens, have their language still banned?

Well, now it seems that for contingent political necessities in Spain, the EU institutions will at last start discussing making Catalan, the language of 10 million and my constituency, perhaps an official language. However, immediately we hear voices that say, 'Oh no, it's too expensive'. Apparently a taxpayer in Barcelona must subsidise the translation of my speech into French or Swedish, but taxpayers in Paris or Stockholm should not pay to translate to Catalan.

Are there taxpayers with different rights in different places? Well, that is certainly not the argument, because the reason that has kept my language banned is not money, as every MEP who will be taking a chauffeur to go to a restaurant today knows. The reason that our languages are banned is to deny our voice and our rights.

*(The speaker concluded in a non-official language)*

**Sven Simon (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Hier ist viel Kluges gesagt worden.

Ich will mal zwei Zitate herausgreifen. Das eine stammt von Herrn Kollegen Othmar Karas, der, wie ich finde, etwas sehr Kluges gesagt hat. Er hat gesagt: „Die Errungenschaften einer Generation können in der nächsten verloren gehen“, und das müssen wir immer im Kopf behalten. Ich werde immer eintreten für die liberale Demokratie. Und ich bin auch der Meinung, dass – in der Bewältigung der Pandemie – die liberale Demokratie unter Beweis gestellt hat, dass sie das überlegene System ist gegenüber den autoritären Regimen, wie zum Beispiel in China, wo man die Leute viele, viele Monate mehr weggesperrt hat.

Dazu gehört allerdings auch, dass ich zutiefst davon überzeugt bin, dass die repräsentative, die parlamentarische Demokratie die Staatsform ist, mit der wir die besten Erfahrungen gemacht haben. Und deshalb müssen wir an verschiedenen Punkten vorsichtig sein. Das betrifft erstens die Bürgerbeteiligung. Natürlich kann man Bürger beteiligen und schlauer werden. Aber im Grunde rennen wir die ganze Zeit im Wahlkreis herum und beteiligen Bürger, deshalb Vorsicht. Zweitens: Bei der Krisenbewältigung haben wir es in Europa zu stark zugelassen, dass Entscheidungen getroffen wurden ohne Parlamentsbeteiligung.

Bei der Änderung der Geschäftsordnung gestern ist das freie Mandat und die parlamentarische Demokratie mit Füßen getreten worden. Sie wird geschwächt mit dem Quatsch, der da beschlossen worden ist. Und was wir auch nicht einfach so zulassen dürfen, ist, dass eine Kollegin sechs Monate weggesperrt wird, ohne dass die Immunität aufgehoben worden ist.

**Victor Negrescu (S&D).** – Domnule preşedinte, dragi colegi, avem nevoie să democratizăm accesul la informația cu caracter european. Trebuie să creştem nivelul de informare despre Uniunea Europeană, să le explicăm cetăţenilor europeni care sunt drepturile şi obligaţiile lor, să îmbunătăţim accesul la mecanismele democratice europene în așa fel încât să apropiem instituțiile europene de cetățeni. Europa trebuie să fie accesibilă peste tot, atât în capitalele europene, cât și în comunități mai mici, de exemplu, în satele din Munții Apuseni. Trebuie să fie accesibilă pentru cei cu venituri mari, dar și pentru cei cu posibilități financiare reduse.

Uniunea Europeană suntem noi și trebuie să redevină a noastră. Este singura cale pentru a evita ca antieuropenii și prorușii să câștige teren la viitoarele alegeri pentru Parlamentul European. În acest sens, împreună cu colegii mei din PES Activists România, am început o amplă campanie de informare despre modul în care funcționează Uniunea Europeană. Totodată, susțin în continuare necesitatea introducerii unor cursuri despre Uniunea Europeană în toate școlile din statele membre. Trebuie să arătăm importanța Parlamentului European și miza semnificativă a alegerilor din iunie 2024 pentru viitorul nostru comun și al cetățenilor pe care îi reprezentăm.

**Michiel Hoogeveen (ECR).** – Voorzitter, het trackrecord van de EU op het gebied van democratie is moeizaam te noemen. Een bekend voorbeeld is dat de uitkomsten van de referenda over de Europese grondwet werden genegeerd. Maar ook de Conferentie over de toekomst van Europa kwam tekort. Argeloze burgers werden door vooringenomen experts gestuurd naar een vooraf bepaalde uitkomst. En nu misbruiken mijn collega's die uitkomst om te pleiten tegen het vetorecht voor lidstaten, vóór verdragswijzigingen, alsook stemrecht voor migranten – een thema waar onze collega Guy Verhofstadt ongetwijfeld nog goede herinneringen aan heeft.

Dit verslag herhaalt het bekende Sinterklaaslijstje van de drammenende Eurofederalisten. Maar laat ik u uit uw droom helpen. Er is geen Europese demos. De bevolking wil geen verdragswijziging, want de meeste burgers willen niet meer macht naar Brussel, juist minder. Laat de EU zich richten op waar het wél meerwaarde biedt: vrijhandel. En stop toch eens met die sprookjes over een Verenigde Staten van Europa.

**Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege glasat ću protiv izvješća o parlamentarizmu, a sad ću vam reći i zašto ću glasati tako.

Ovo što ovdje piše je bahato i protiv interesa Hrvatske. U dijelu G stoji sljedeće: budući da je postojanost jednoglasnog odlučivanja u Vijeću postala *de facto* prepreka napretka europskog programa jer omogućuje jednoj vladi države članice da blokira donošenje odluka u Europskoj uniji. Pa, naravno, to je uopće i ideja prava veta, da se blokira štetna odluka. Hrvatska čini svega 0,8% stanovništva i 0,4% ekonomije Europske unije. Ako se pravo veta ukine zemlje poput Hrvatske postaju ništa drugo nego nebitne provincije koje će morati pokleknuti pod nadnacionalnim briselskim diktatom. Veto je jedina prava moć za zaustaviti nešto što je štetno za Hrvatsku. Ne pamtim da smo ovo prava ikada koristili jer imamo korumpiranu vladu ali ne smijemo ga se odreći.

Čak i u bivšoj državi, u Skupštini Jugoslavije, prema Ustavu iz '74. republike i pokrajine imale su pravo veta na zakone a Brisel želi sada ovakvo pravo ukinuti. Ovakve ideje samo još pojačavaju veliki europski deficit demokracije. Pravo da onemogućimo odluku naše je pravo, naše je pravo i neće poduprijeti nikakvo relativiziranje ili ukidanje ili dokumente koji to podupiru.

Ako ipak dođe do tog ukidanja, Hrvatska više nema što raditi u ovoj organizaciji.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, današnja Europska unija nije niti sjena onoga što je bila kada je osnivana.

Njezina temeljna ideja je bila da se države Europe ujedine, da imaju zajedničko tržište, da imaju zajedničke granice, da imaju zajedničke, slobodne i otvorene puteve. Što je danas Europa? Europa je danas, u kojoj se glumi neka demokracija, a svaki pokušaj demokracije u nacionalnim državama proziva se nacionalizmom.

Pa države i postoje zbog nacionalizma. Jedan kolega je rekao da je nacionalizam proizveo sve zlo. Drugi svjetski rat. Pa to je potpuna povijesna laž. Dovelovelo je do Drugog svjetskog rata, nacionalsocijalizam, a ne nacionalizam. Ta činjenica da je upravo socijalizam doveo do pogubljenja mnogih se želi prikriti lažnim činjenicama. Nacionalne države su izvor opstanka građana Europske unije i svake države pojedinačno.

Ne federaciji.

Παρεμβάσεις με τη διαδικασία «catch the eye»

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – Mr President, this a very important discussion because we need to focus on where we are in terms of democracy, and particularly the European Union, which is too often attacked for its negatives and not praised often enough for its positives.

One thing I think we should really be focusing on more in the future is cooperation between national parliaments and the European Union, especially the European Parliament, because there's too much of a divide even now.

We should also be trying to improve relations and cooperation with local politicians – county councillors, as we call them in Ireland – representing municipalities through the Committee of the Regions. There is no point in having in these parties if we do not work more closely with them.

Finally, in terms of creating European democracy and citizenship and awareness, I think we should be doing far more in facilitating young people to come to Europe by expanding Erasmus and 'Meet your MEP'.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisar, stimați colegi, este clar, Uniunea Europeană are nevoie de reformare. Are nevoie de reformare pentru ca încrederea cetățenilor să fie la nivelul de care avem nevoie. Discursul doamnei președinte Ursula de ieri nu a ajuns la inima cetățenilor. A fost un *laudatio* personal. Nu a vorbit despre cetățeni. Nu a vorbit cum să facem să ajungă fapte și nu vorbe. Oamenii așteaptă concret să li se îmbunătățească viața și nu poți să ai dublu limbaj. Doamna președintă Ursula a lăudat România pentru buna practică la frontiere și, în același timp, România de 16 ani este ținută în afara spațiului Schengen. Nu se poate să spunem una și să facem alta.

Mai este o problemă: cred că faptul că un singur om poate bloca voturile a 26 nu înseamnă democrație. Lăsăm să zburde Austria, ipocrit, în spațiul Uniunii Europene, blocând piața internă, fragmentând piața internă și nu i se întâmplă nimic, deși Comisia are la îndemână, evident, tratatul și, atunci când un regulament este încălcat, trebuie să acționeze împotriva statului membru. De aceea, este nevoie ca Parlamentul European să poată să aibă inițiative. Este singurul Parlament din lume care nu are acest drept.

**Barry Andrews (Renew).** – Mr President, I want to take issue with the assertion of MEP Rangel that there is a link between direct democracy and dictatorship.

Ireland is the country with which I'm most familiar, and Ireland has more characteristics of direct democracy than any other EU Member State, I would say. First of all, we have real direct elections with no list system, and therefore no barrier between the voters and the elected representatives. Secondly, we have a tradition of citizens' assemblies like the Agora proposal, which allows very difficult public policy issues to be solved through direct democracy. And thirdly, we're the only EU Member State that is required to have referendums on Treaty change.

I would therefore say that it's no coincidence that Ireland has the highest approval rating for EU membership and, I would argue also, the highest literacy about the EU and what it can do.

So we need to listen to each other, learn lessons from each other, and recognise that the health of European liberal democracy depends on the health of liberal democracy in the Member States.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor presidente, comisaria Ferreira, ciudadanía y democracia. Escuchamos hablar de ello en un debate con la presidenta Von der Leyen, lamentablemente minado por intervenciones en español que, despreciando la agenda europea, solo tenían como obsesión denostar al Gobierno de España y a la Presidencia española.

Pero lo cierto es que ninguno de los grandes objetivos de profundización democrática, incluido el reconocimiento de la diversidad incluso lingüística, será practicable si no despejamos las dificultades del método de decisión y la regla de la unanimidad, con la consiguiente reforma de los Tratados. Y desde luego es el caso de la ampliación a una Unión Europea de hasta treinta y tres miembros de la que habló también la presidenta Von der Leyen.

Pero, además, le escuchamos decir que el Nuevo Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo es una combinación de soberanía, solidaridad y seguridad. Lo cierto es que la soberanía y la seguridad son las aspiraciones y las reivindicaciones de los Estados miembros, mientras que la solidaridad y la cohesión —no solamente entre Estados miembros, sino también solidaridad con los ciudadanos de terceros países que intentan llegar a la Unión Europea huyendo de la desesperación—, esas son el verdadero reto y esa es la cuenta pendiente no solo del Nuevo Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo, sino de la profundización democrática en la Unión Europea.

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, Conferința pentru viitorul Europei a avut rolul de a ne deschide față de cetățeni, de care ne amintim o dată la cinci ani, când avem alegeri. Au venit mai multe idei de acolo, de la cetățeni. Acum, trebuie să le și punem în practică, pentru că e important să fluidizăm relația dintre cetățeni și decidenți în democrație. Altfel, riscăm ca democrația europeană să se erodeze în timp și să pierdem această legătură.

Dincolo de rapoarte și de documente, doamnă comisar, e important să luăm decizii, pentru că cetățenii așteaptă în primul rând decizii care să aibă un impact pozitiv asupra vieții lor și asta trebuie să facem împreună, inclusiv cu Consiliul. Nu mai putem admite ca un stat membru să blocheze 26 de state membre atunci când e vorba de o decizie legitimă, legală, morală și de bun simț și ceea ce facem până la sfârșitul acestui mandat trebuie să ne dea această posibilitate. Altfel, o să vorbim de extreme după alegerile din 2024 și proiectul european va fi un proiect în proprietatea extremelor.

(Τέλος παρεμβάσεων με τη διαδικασία «catch the eye»)

**Elisa Ferreira**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, rapporteurs, in fact, the importance of this debate is worth noting. So thank you very much for having this debate, and on the proposals, that are in fact very inspiring, represented by the report.

In fact, Europe's strength lies in its unity, and this unity is based on our shared democratic values. European citizenship is one of the most significant achievements of the European project and is unique in the world.

As underlined in the European Democracy Action Plan, we should continue to work on promoting free and fair elections and strong democratic participation, supporting free and independent media, and countering disinformation. We should also continue to improve the exercise of European citizenship rights and civic engagement.

As indicated earlier, the Commission is currently working on many different actions supporting democracy and citizenship in Europe, which should bring tangible improvements. With your support, we will continue to look for ways to further improve these rights. We look forward to continuing to work with you on this multiplicity of files and dimensions of the discussion. Thank you very much – also in the name, of course, of Vice-President Jourová.

**Niklas Nienass**, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, thank you very much, everybody, for participating in this debate. It is a parliament. 'Parliament' derives from the word *parlare* and means talking. I wish that we would also include 'listening' to it, because a lot of Members who have spoken are not here anymore to listen, actually, to responses. However, I'll still try to sum it up a little bit.

The liberal democracy – I think this is the part where we all agree – is in danger from outside and from the inside. It's changing and we need to improve democracy in order to make sure that it's still working. When people call for representative democracy to have showed the best experience in the past, that might be true, but we still need to understand that things need to change in order to conserve what we want to keep precious.

One of the main things I think the press and media and everybody is saying is that people are losing trust in democracy and losing trust in politicians, and so on. This is right, but the question is: how do we bring trust back?

You don't bring trust back by just saying, 'Give it to me', but you have to trust others in order to be trusted. Trusting citizens means giving them the possibility to decide, giving them tangible things to do with their own power, with their own voice. We can do that. Commissioner, you know about my ideas about using the cohesion funding for exactly that: to give citizens the power to decide where to use funding in order to empower them and to gain trust in democracy. But we should also do it when it comes to legislation. That's why we are seeing the benefit of including partial measures of direct democracy into our representative democracy.

Let me make sure that we're not talking about referenda after referenda for everything. I think this is not wise, but to get the people in Agoras in a meaningful discussion – we have shown it in Ireland, we have shown it during the Conference on the Future of Europe that this works. It's really good to build up trust, to make citizens feel noticed and make sure that they get involved in the political process.

One last problem I want to mention here – and this goes to the Presidency, sorry, but I have to say, if we're discussing democracy and we're not allowing for blue cards in a various manner, then there's something very badly wrong with a parliament that does not listen. So please, the Presidency of this House should make sure that blue cards are always available and that time has been taken seriously in account that blue cards can also be used.

**Alin Mîtuța, rapporteur.** – Mr President, there have been many good ideas, but I want to mention only a couple of the ideas that were mentioned here. So the first one is that somehow citizens' participation causes the fact that representative democracy weakens. It's not real. This is not what we intend to transmit through this report, but the opposite.

It is not by chance that representative democracy and the trust in political institutions is the highest in Member States where these kind of citizens' participation mechanisms exist already. And my colleague Barry Andrews already mentioned that in Ireland the trust in public institutions is greater because we have this this mechanism of public participation.

So our idea about creating this European Agora would follow up to the Conference on the Future of Europe, because, yes, we have to give an answer to the citizens. The citizens clearly said that they want to get involved more in the decisions of the Union. I think we need the citizens to get more involved in the decisions of the Union because we saw that they bring added value. They brought a lot of good ideas in the conference, such as competences on health, competences on education and so on.

So these are ideas that are very good for our European democracy, and I think we should be at least as courageous here in this House as the citizens were in the Conference on the Future of Europe. Thank you very much, and I wish to thank also my co-rapporteur, Niklas, and of course, the shadow rapporteurs and the Commission.

**Πρόεδρος.** – Αυτή η πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα συζήτηση έληξε. Διήρκεσε 25 λεπτά περισσότερο από τον προγραμματισμένο χρόνο, αλλά νομίζω ότι η σημασία της δικαιολογεί αυτήν την επέκταση του χρόνου.

Η ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί σήμερα.

#### **4. Przemoc i dyskryminacja w świecie sportu po mistrzostwach świata w piłce nożnej kobiet organizowanych przez FIFA (debata)**

**Πρόεδρος.** – Το επόμενο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη αφορά τη δήλωση της Επιτροπής με θέμα:

Βία και διακρίσεις στον χώρο του αθλητισμού μετά το Παγκόσμιο Κύπελλο Γυναικών FIFA (2023/2843(RSP)).

Εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής, τον λόγο έχει και πάλι η Επίτροπος κυρία Elisa Ferreira.

**Elisa Ferreira, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, on this file I address you on behalf of Vice-President Margaritis Schinas.

Gender-based violence and discrimination have no place in Europe – not on our streets, not on our homes, not in our offices and not in our sports stadiums. The Commission is a strong defender and promoter of gender equality in all spheres of life, and sports cannot be exception to this. Europe is the cradle of football, the place where its rules were invented, and today the main showcase of this sport worldwide.

European football therefore has not just a vocation, but the responsibility to act as an important vector for promoting gender equality and ending gender-based violence – hallmarks of the union of equality that Europe must readily embody.

With full respect for the autonomy of how sport is governed and organised, I believe that sports federations have a key role to play in ensuring good governance, including the respect of sport and European values as well as European law.

For its part, the Commission is showing its commitment to gender equality in sport with concrete actions. It has led the work of the High Level Group on Gender Equality in Sport that issued recommendations in spring last year, including on measures to ensure safe sport and fight harassment.



Sport can be a powerful environment to inspire changes in attitudes and end gender biases and other stereotypes. The European Union Work Plan for Sport for 2024 includes gender equality and safe sports as key topics. The Commission recognises champions of gender equality in the world of sport with the Be Equal award, for instance, and in 2022 appointed a female coach as the European Week of Sport Ambassador, as a role model.

To provide more evidence and address the media coverage on women in sport, the Commission runs a joint project 'All In Plus' with the Council of Europe.

Finally, the Commission encourages equality, a safe environment and inclusive sport through the funding priorities of the Erasmus+ sport actions.

Unfortunately, when it comes to gender-based violence, there is no place which is completely safe for women and girls, including in sport. Despite some progress, sexual harassment remains ubiquitous in our societies. Combating all forms of violence against women and domestic violence is a key priority for this Commission. This is why we welcome the European Union's accession to the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in June 2023.

The European Union Gender Equality Strategy for 2025 recognises the urgency of addressing sexual harassment as a form of gender-based discrimination and violence. In the European Union, women also often face sexual harassment at work. This has significant negative consequences for the victims, the employers and workplace culture. Sexual harassment is covered by International Labour Organisation Convention 120 on violence and harassment in the world of work.

The European Strategy Framework on Health and Safety at Work acknowledges the negative consequences of workplace violence, harassment and discrimination, whether based on sex or any other grounds. The Commission supports, together with the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, awareness-raising on workplace harassment and gender bias, and calls on the Member States to promote gender considerations in design, implementation and reporting.

Regarding legislative measures, I would like to recall that harassment based on sex and sexual harassment in the field of employment and occupation and access to goods and services are already prohibited under EU law on gender equality in the area of employment and occupation.

In March 2022, the Commission proposed EU wide rules to end gender-based violence against women and domestic violence. You are currently negotiating this proposal with the Council. I would like to use this occasion to thank the European Parliament for its constructive approach to successfully conclude the negotiations still under this mandate, which I believe is our shared goal.

The Commission is furthermore proposing that managers in the public and private sector are obliged to receive training on how to recognise sexual harassment at work, provide support to victims and respond in an adequate manner. This is not limited to physical sexual harassment, but covers all forms of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical contact of a sexual nature.

Once the directive is adopted in the Member States where sexual and psychological harassment constitutes a criminal offence, victims of those forms of violence will benefit from the established measures on protection support, including targeted support for victims of sexual harassment at work and access to justice.

The Commission remains fully committed to upholding women's rights and combating any form of violence against women, including sexual harassment.

Thank you very much for your attention.

**Rosa Estaràs Ferragut**, *en nombre del Grupo PPE*. – Señor presidente, hace unas semanas, con motivo de la celebración de la victoria española en la Copa Mundial Femenina de la FIFA, pudimos ser testigos de la deplorable, bochornosa y desafiante actitud del presidente de la Real Federación Española de Fútbol, que atentó contra la dignidad y los derechos de todas las mujeres.

Estas conductas reflejan, sin ninguna duda, la punta del iceberg de una realidad discriminatoria y sexista mucho más amplia que se venía denunciando desde hace tiempo.

Desde aquí nuestra más absoluta condena a toda forma de violencia contra las mujeres. Hay que erradicarla con una respuesta inmediata y con una respuesta eficaz. Por esto, es necesario un llamamiento a toda la comunidad deportiva para que se cumpla con el Convenio de Estambul: proteger, prevenir, perseguir y eliminar. Proteger a las mujeres. Prevenir, perseguir y eliminar todas las formas de violencia contra las mujeres.

La respuesta de toda la sociedad ha sido ejemplar. El clamor social y el apoyo masivo a la campeona mundial de fútbol Jenny Hermoso ha sido decisivo. Gracias, Jenny. Y también gracias a la comunidad solidaria de las campeonas, porque nos han dado una lección para que nunca más una mujer tenga que vivir una situación de menosprecio, falta de respeto, abuso o violencia. Tenemos un largo camino por recorrer para derribar la desigualdad y conseguir un deporte libre de violencia y discriminación. Se acabó. Por todas, estamos contigo, Jenny Hermoso. El mundo está orgullosa de vosotras. Habéis hecho historia en el deporte, pero también en la lucha por conseguir una igualdad real en la situación de la mujer en el mundo del deporte.

La sociedad requiere y busca autenticidad y coherencia en la voz de sus líderes. Ojalá la reacción unánime de todos y todas en defensa de los derechos de las mujeres hubiera sido la misma en defensa y en crítica, sobre todo, de las dramáticas consecuencias de la Ley del «solo sí es sí». Es una pena.

**Evelyn Regner**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau Kommissarin! Wann ist ein Kuss ein inakzeptabler Übergriff? Das hat sich die ganze Welt in den letzten Tagen gefragt.

Die Antwort ist aber ganz einfach: Dann, wenn die Zustimmung fehlt. *Consent ist key*: Das gilt für alle zwischenmenschlichen Aktionen – selbst aktiv Ja oder Nein sagen zu können. Und besonders wichtig: Dem Gegenüber die Möglichkeit geben, den eigenen Willen auszudrücken. Nur Ja heißt Ja, das muss immer gelten. Sei es daheim, hinter verschlossenen Türen, sei es vor laufender Kamera, wenn die ganze Welt zuschaut, sei es beim Sport, sei es in der Arbeit, sei es privat zwischen Freunden.

Es ist klar: Der Kuss von Rubiales war ungewollt, er war aufgedrückt, ohne eine Chance abzulehnen, und damit ein sexualisierter Übergriff, ein Machtmissbrauch. Ich hoffe, dass die weltweite Diskussion darüber zumindest eins allen klargemacht hat: nämlich was Konsens bedeutet. Die Selbstbestimmung der Frau über ihren eigenen Körper ist noch immer keine Selbstverständlichkeit. Sie ist aber eine gesellschaftliche Notwendigkeit.

**Laurence Farreng**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, un baiser sur la bouche sans consentement n'est pas un acte mutuel et consensuel. Non, Monsieur Rubiales, c'est une agression intolérable. Heureusement, ce geste de l'ancien président de la Fédération de football espagnole sur Jenni Hermoso a été filmé, ce qui a valu à la joueuse internationale le soutien de l'opinion. Sans cela, il n'aurait jamais démissionné, protégé par sa fédération et un sentiment d'impunité trop bien ancré.

Mais combien d'autres agressions silencieuses, combien de sportives et de sportifs victimes de coaches, médecins, encadrants abusifs, combien de douleurs étouffées par les fédérations sportives? Les agressions sexuelles sont pourtant répréhensibles partout dans l'Union européenne. C'est bien l'omerta qui règne encore dans le sport jusqu'au sommet des fédérations et qui détruit des femmes et des hommes.

La loi existe et elle n'est pas respectée. À nous, parlementaires, de la faire appliquer, de faire pression sur les grandes organisations sportives comme la FIFA, de porter les voix des victimes, de favoriser la féminisation des encadrements sportifs, de promouvoir l'éducation au consentement dès le plus jeune âge, et d'harmoniser toujours davantage nos instruments judiciaires. Parce que plus jamais un homme ne doit salir la victoire des femmes.

**Diana Riba i Giner**, *en nombre del Grupo Verts/ALE*. – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, estamos ante una legislatura que es fructífera por lo que respecta a la lucha por la igualdad de género. Pero seamos claros, el trabajo que falta por hacer es ingente. Hechos como el beso no consentido de Luis Rubiales a Jenni Hermoso ante el mundo entero nos demuestran cómo de difícil es romper con las violencias y una impunidad que son estructurales.

Por esto hay que seguir abordando leyes que promuevan la igualdad, también en el mundo del deporte. El número de mujeres federadas o árbitras, por poner un ejemplo, sigue siendo inmensamente inferior y la brecha salarial es inaceptable. La mejor jugadora del mundo, Alexia Putellas, cobra en un año lo mismo que muchos jugadores del equipo masculino en un mes. También es urgente aumentar la presencia de la mujer en órganos de decisión del mundo del deporte. La imagen de la Asamblea de la Real Federación Española de Fútbol con 6 mujeres de 140 miembros, es bochornosa —por cierto, una asamblea repleta de palmeros apoyando el discurso reaccionario y machista de Luis Rubiales—.

Por esto, hoy pedimos iniciar un procedimiento legislativo que obligue a entidades deportivas como la Federación Española de Fútbol, una organización de interés público, a mantener la igualdad de género en sus órganos de decisión.

Y no, señor Borrell, no es que estemos aprendiendo a jugar como los hombres, es que estamos aprendiendo a romper el silencio. Como dijo la futbolista Vero Boquete: «Hemos callado ya mucho, hemos tenido que escuchar mucho y aguantar mucho. Y ahora vamos a hablar cuando nos dé la gana y donde nos dé la gana».

**Jorge Buxadé Villalba**, *en nombre del Grupo ECR*. – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, que quede claro que la mayor violencia contra las mujeres en el deporte femenino es permitir que hombres que se autoperciben mujeres puedan arrebatarles medallas, récords y victorias.

Hace un año en España, el socialismo y sus socios aprobaron una reforma del Código Penal: 1 200 reducciones de pena, 117 excarcelaciones y varias absoluciones de violadores y agresores sexuales. Esta es su ley, su obra criminal. Ustedes la presentaron, la votaron, la aprobaron, la aplaudieron. Y las mujeres hoy son menos libres. Decenas de niñas y mujeres son todas las semanas en España atacadas físicamente por manadas sexuales. El 46 % de los condenados por agresión sexual en 2021 eran extranjeros. Curiosamente, cuando los autores son extranjeros, ustedes callan porque no encaja en su enfermo esquema moral de que el sujeto a destruir es el hombre occidental.

Montan este espectáculo por un acto grosero y de falta de respeto a las mujeres, pero promueven la sexualización de los niños en los colegios. Ustedes se han opuesto a debatir aquí cuando se mató a un sacristán en Algeciras o cuando otro tipo iba pegando puñaladas a los niños y a bebés en un parque, solo porque no encaja en su enfermo esquema moral de que el sujeto a destruir es el hombre occidental.

Ustedes, la izquierda —lo siento, tengo que decirlo—, siempre han sido un peligro para las mujeres. La diferencia es que ahora tenemos las pruebas.

**Idoia Villanueva Ruiz**, *en nombre del Grupo The Left*. – Señor presidente, «se acabó». Es la bandera que las jugadoras de fútbol de la selección española levantaron junto a la Copa del Mundo. Una Copa conseguida con muchas trabas, con mucho esfuerzo, con mucho trabajo y que nos han hecho sentir orgullosas y orgullosos a todos y que ha creado nuevos referentes en niñas en nuestro país. Muchas gracias.

«Se acabó». Es también la bandera levantada contra la violencia sexual, contra la cultura de la violación, contra la discriminación sexual y laboral, contra el silencio y la impunidad. Con ella se ha levantado toda una ola en la sociedad española. Mujeres y hombres que defienden que no hay libertad sexual sin consentimiento. Un cambio social que avanza consciente y decidido, pero que todavía se enfrenta a muchas instancias de resistencia —Rubiales con toga— que se resisten a respetar y a garantizar el consentimiento y el derecho a la libertad sexual.

Por eso, todos nosotros y nosotras, desde todas las instituciones, debemos trabajar para que así sea. Gracias al movimiento feminista y a los cambios legislativos que acompañan esta lucha, donde hoy España es pionera, seguimos avanzando. «Solo sí es sí». «Se acabó».

**IN THE CHAIR: KATARINA BARLEY***Vice-President*

**Dino Giarrusso (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, immaginate se alla fine dei mondiali in Qatar, un dirigente argentino fosse andato a baciare in bocca Leo Messi: cosa sarebbe successo? E perché invece un dirigente spagnolo lo ha fatto con una donna?

Il problema delle molestie e poi degli stupri è un problema innanzitutto culturale e va combattuto educando i bambini e i ragazzi al rispetto reciproco e a una consapevolezza completa della sessualità propria e altrui.

Ma va combattuto anche a livello legislativo: in Italia oggi una donna ha solo un anno di tempo per denunciare una molestia o uno stupro; fino a poco tempo fa solo sei mesi. I grandi scandali degli ultimi anni non avrebbero avuto alcuna conseguenza penale in Italia, poiché nascevano da denunce arrivate dopo diversi anni da donne coraggiose che avevano superato il trauma.

Propongo dunque che l'Europa stabilisca l'obbligo per tutti gli Stati membri di provvedere all'educazione sessuale dei propri giovani cittadini e di prevedere un limite di almeno cinque anni per una donna che vuole denunciare una molestia o uno stupro subiti. Senza nuove regole, temo, parleremo ancora per decenni di cultura dello stupro e di molestie rimaste impuniti.

**Frances Fitzgerald (PPE).** – Madam President, no woman is safe from sexual harassment – not even a winner of the World Cup. What we witnessed this summer is a reflection of the widespread disrespect and misogyny faced by female athletes. I ask: if this can happen in public for the whole world to see, just imagine what happens in private and behind closed doors. The arrogance, the audacity, the collusion in full view of the world to see – an insult to women and to the men who champion equality in sport. What is now emerging is what many of our top female – and indeed male – athletes have had to cope with in terms of blatant harassment and again, for the women, the misogyny they have faced and demeaning behaviour. It is time to call a halt to this.

What we have seen in recent years is a wonderful flourishing of female sport, making up for decades of invisibility and lack of societal appreciation, thanks to terrific initiatives by many in sporting organisations, and indeed the resilience of sportswomen themselves. However, we still have a wage gap of 13% overall, and media coverage – this is hard to believe – of barely 4%.

We still have huge work to do for women in most sporting bodies at all levels – administration, coaching and amongst players. Future generations of young girls deserve equal access to a safe environment to participate in sport. This is the very minimum that they deserve.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Fru talman! Fru kommissionär! Fotboll är världens största sport och världens största kulturyrtring. Det spelar ingen roll vart i världen man reser så kommer man att mötas av barn i fotbollströjor, barn med drömmar om att en gång få spela i en VM-final.

Det vi såg efter VM-finalen nu var en professionell idrottsskvinna som i sin största stund blir utsatt för ett övergrepp. Det har i sin tur lett till att fler har klivit fram och berättat om sina upplevelser.

Nu är det viktigt att vi står på Jennis sida och på alla andra fotbollstjejers sida och ser till att vi gör allt för att vi ska få till en förändring. För att de små flickor som i dag för första gången vill drömma och upptäcka fotbollsglädjen, så att glädjen ska kunna leda dem till upplevelser i fotbollssporten framöver. Det förtjänar våra flickor.

**Ernest Urtasun (Verts/ALE).** – Señora presidenta, el mundo presenció de forma bochornosa lo que fue un acto deleznable de violencia sexual. Una agresión por parte del señor Rubiales que debe ser condenada por este Parlamento.

Pero el mundo presenció también cómo se levantó el movimiento feminista en España, en Europa. Un movimiento feminista cada vez más necesario para denunciar. Porque ya no toleramos estas actitudes. Y eso provocó la renuncia del señor Rubiales, en última instancia.

Pero también, todo este caso ha demostrado que son muchas las discriminaciones que aún persisten en el deporte. Quiero felicitar a las futbolistas por el acuerdo alcanzado en materia salarial después de una huelga que ha sido un ejemplo para toda Europa. Porque las discriminaciones salariales continúan de una manera muy importante. Pero, como ellas han señalado también, faltan aún cuestiones como la protección de la maternidad o los protocolos contra el acoso.

Queda mucho camino por hacer para defender a las deportistas de las discriminaciones. Igual que la masculinización de los órganos de dirección de las federaciones deportivas, como vimos con el bochornoso espectáculo de una federación toda llena de hombres que aplaudían de forma bochornosa al señor Rubiales.

Queda mucho por hacer, pero Jenni Hermoso y las futbolistas nos han dado una lección a todos y a todas en toda Europa. Gracias a ellas.

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Madam President, ‘No means no’, President von der Leyen said in her speech yesterday. Sadly, this basic principle is still something we need to fight for. I stand here today as a mother, as a woman, as a lawmaker working on the Directive on Combating Violence Against Women. I hope that together we bring closer the day that in our workplaces, streets and homes, nobody needs to be convinced that ‘no’ means just ‘no’.

And the absence of ‘yes’ also means ‘no’. We all know that the first kissing is just the tip of the iceberg of what women endure every day in many places inside and outside the sports world, whether they are on top or at the bottom of the ladder. But laws alone are not going to solve this problem. We must all think about our daily habits. Men and women.

Yes, men, women can be your boss and continue being who they are. Face it! No, women, it is not okay to play groupies and pick me games. Be allies. Who do you pick as allies? When do you look away? Only if we realise as lawmakers that this is bigger than the law will we be able to truly start changing something and making our kids proud.

**Sira Rego (The Left).** – Señora presidenta, la imagen de una agresión sexual se ha visto en toda Europa: el presidente de la Federación Española de Fútbol besando sin su consentimiento a una de las campeonas del Mundial. Y esto que para cualquier persona con sentido común es abuso sexual y de poder, se ha puesto en duda, lo que revela que es algo normalizado en todos los ámbitos de la vida. Quieren convencernos de que sus privilegios y los abusos son algo normal. De que no es para tanto que un tío te toque el culo por la calle. De que no es para tanto que tu novio te viole porque tiene derecho por ser tu pareja o que tu jefe te dé un morreo porque está muy contento. Pero sí que es para tanto, porque es abuso, es violencia sexual, son privilegios de los hombres que se asientan sobre nuestros cuerpos. Como ya han dicho las futbolistas y el movimiento feminista: «Se acabó».

Por eso necesitamos un marco de convivencia feminista, es decir, de derechos, para tener un ámbito deportivo, pero también laboral, político y social, libre de violencias sexuales.

**Tomasz Frankowski (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowna Pani Komisarz! Wydarzenia, które miały miejsce w Hiszpanii, poruszyły świat sportu. Sam byłem zawodowym piłkarzem i tematyka sportu jest mi szczególnie bliska. To karygodne, że to zdarzenie miało miejsce na boisku, gdzie miały dominować wartości, takie jak zdrowa rywalizacja, równość, tolerancja i solidarność. Swoim zachowaniem Luis Rubiales zaprezentował przeciwieństwo ideału sportu, do którego staramy się dążyć.

Nie jest to jednak jedyny przypadek i należy zauważyć, że ogólnie rozumiana przemoc w sporcie pozostaje w dalszym ciągu problemem. Przemoc na boisku jak i poza nim wpływa na wizerunek zarówno sportu, jak i sportowców jako wzorów do naśladowania. Zachowania tego typu mogą zagrozić roli sportu jako narzędzia przekazywania pozytywnych wartości.

Niestety przemoc i różne formy nietolerancji występują w wielu formach na boiskach lokalnych klubów sportowych, amatorskich i poza nimi. Szczególnie w kontekście sportów zespołowych. Badanie Agencji Praw Podstawowych Unii Europejskiej wskazuje, że rasizm i dyskryminacja stają się coraz bardziej powszechne zarówno w sporcie amatorskim, jak i profesjonalnym.

Dlatego musimy dołożyć wszelkich starań, by wyciągnąć wnioski z ostatnich zdarzeń i dopilnować, aby podobna sytuacja nigdy się nie powtórzyła. Moje sprawozdanie z 2021 roku na temat przyszłości europejskiej polityki sportowej zawiera szereg rekomendacji, które powinny zostać wdrożone jak najszybciej przez federacje i organizacje sportowe, ale również przez władze publiczne. Sport musi być wolny od każdej formy przemocy.

**Lina Gálvez Muñoz (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, el caso Rubiales no es un caso aislado, es sencillamente la normalidad del machismo.

El propio Rubiales y gran parte del mundo del fútbol, tan opaco, donde se reparte tanto poder y tanto dinero, aún no entienden lo que ha pasado. Pero las mujeres sí lo entendemos y, junto a muchos hombres, hemos dicho «se acabó», sintiendo ese beso no consentido de su jefe a Jenny Hermoso como una humillación colectiva.

Porque esto no es tampoco exclusivo de un país, sino de una cultura androcéntrica —también de la occidental, señor Buxadé— que minusvalora todo lo que tiene que ver con las mujeres y lo viste de normalidad.

Pero creo que sí, que no es casualidad que haya ocurrido en España, donde tenemos un alto nivel de concienciación, un movimiento feminista muy robusto y unas leyes de igualdad de las más avanzadas del mundo. Y un partido como el socialista que no ha dejado de construir una arquitectura institucional y que no se ha vendido a los negacionistas de la igualdad como sí han hecho otros.

La buena noticia de este bochornoso asunto es que el feminismo ha arraigado en la sociedad y en las instituciones. También en este Parlamento, en el que hay que garantizar que avancemos en igualdad real, también en ámbitos que poco la han visto, como el mundo del deporte.

Se acabó y no vamos a parar.

**María Soraya Rodríguez Ramos (Renew).** – Señora presidenta, las jugadoras de la selección española de fútbol han tenido que ganar un Mundial para que el mundo las escuche. Ellas habían levantado la voz muchas veces porque llevaban años viviendo una situación de discriminación, de trato vejatorio contrario a la dignidad profesional del deporte y también personal. Por lo tanto, lo que se vio en la celebración de la Copa del Mundo no era un hecho aislado, era el final de lo que venían viviendo. La diferencia es que lo vieron millones de telespectadores.

Miren, si los responsables políticos en España del fútbol hubieran actuado antes, Rubiales no hubiera dimitido, hubiera sido cesado y esto no hubiera pasado. El beso no consentido de Rubiales a Jennifer Hermoso está en manos de los tribunales. Los futuros triunfos futbolísticos de estas campeonas están en sus pies, pero la responsabilidad de que esto no vuelva a pasar también está en este Parlamento.

Esta camiseta es la camiseta de la selección femenina de fútbol firmada por varias comisarias, por colegas de todos los grupos parlamentarios democráticos. Es un apoyo para decir alto y claro: tolerancia cero a la discriminación y la violencia sexual en el deporte.

**President.** – Excuse me, you know the rules in the House. This is against the rules of the House, as you know. I will have to ask you to refrain from showing – even if I like it! – these kinds of symbols.

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Nein heißt Nein. Das hat auch Ursula von der Leyen in ihrer Rede zur Lage der Nation gestern betont.

Als Luis Rubiales die Fußballspielerin Jennifer Hermoso vor laufender Kameras geküsst hat, hatte sie keine Chance, Nein zu sagen. 2021 hatten Tausende Athletinnen angegeben, sie hätten als Minderjährige im Sport Gewalt erfahren. Sie waren nicht alt genug, um Ja zu sagen. Fast immer folgt der Gewalt nicht die Sanktionierung der Täter, sondern die Einschüchterung der Opfer. Im Fall Rubiales hatte Frau Hermoso Glück: Durch massiven öffentlichen Druck kam es zum Rücktritt.

In dieser Parallelwelt des internationalen Sports voller systemischer Probleme, in der Korruption, Vertuschung und Sexismus regieren, braucht es eine grundlegende Reform. Es braucht eine sichere internationale Anlaufstelle mit einem starken Mandat für den Schutz von Athletinnen und für die Sanktionierung von Tätern.

Die Sportorganisationen wollen das natürlich nicht und nutzen die Autonomie des Sports zum Schutz ihrer Funktionäre. Auch in der Politik – leider – schauen viel zu viele lieber weg, als sich mit den mächtigen Sportfunktionären anzulegen.

Wir müssen Athletinnen schützen und endlich mehr tun, um die Integrität des Sports wiederherzustellen. Deshalb kämpfe ich hier gemeinsam mit euch, mit Ihnen weiter an der Seite von Athletinnen für eine internationale Antikorruptionsagentur.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, svaka sportašica, svaka žena zaslužuje ravnopravnost, zaslužuje duboki respekt i uvažavanje.

Ženski sport je kao, i muški sport, život rada, život truda, život velikih odricanja i patnje s ciljem konačnog uspjeha: biti prvi, biti najbolji, biti ono što jesi. No da bi se žene, kao i muškarci, mogli međusobno natjecati, da bi mogli pravedno pobijediti, one, recimo to glasno, recimo to otvoreno, moraju biti žene. Mnogi su kroz povijest tražili lakši put do uspjeha varanjem, dopingom, hormonima. Danas, ideološki pokusi koje neki nameću, koji pokušavaju izbrisati granicu između žena i muškaraca, stavljaju novi teret i nove nepravde pred ženski sport. Podmeću osobe koje glume žene, a onda se na terenima, u bazenima i u ringu izivljavaju nad ženama. To je suludo i žene su ultimativne žrtve takvih društvenih eksperimenata koji onečišćuju sport i koji dovode do socijalnih razdora.

Zaštitimo dignitet sporta, zaštitimo dignitet sportašica i omogućimo pošteno natjecanje oslobođeno bilo kakvih ideoloških hirova.

**Massimiliano Smeriglio (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, quello che è accaduto è un fatto grave. L'atto di violenza machista è un abuso di potere, la dimostrazione plastica di come la cultura patriarcale è ancora presente nello sport.

Basti pensare agli ultimi abusi nel mondo del calcio femminile compiuti da allenatori. Purtroppo si tratta di un fenomeno diffuso: un'atleta su sette al di sotto dei 18 anni dichiara di aver subito abusi sessuali, violenze e molestie, spesso per mano dei *coach*.

Ma la discriminazione contro le atlete ha forme molteplici. Stiamo facendo dei passi avanti: li stanno facendo direttamente le protagoniste. L'inibizione di Rubiales è un primo importante fatto.

La politica però non può fermarsi alla sola repressione: bisogna costruire reti territoriali che incoraggino la denuncia e garantiscano la tutela delle donne vittime di abuso e molestie. È importante investire in processi di consapevolezza degli uomini e in progetti di educazione sentimentale.

Le donne non sono oggetti o trofei da esporre come segno del potere: il consenso è l'unico criterio che vale, nello sport come nel resto della società.

**Salima Yenbou (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, «se acabó», c'est fini. Il est en effet temps que l'on en finisse avec l'impunité. Il aura fallu quand même trois semaines à Luis Rubiales pour accepter de démissionner. Trois semaines de mobilisation de l'équipe féminine de football espagnole et de condamnations de toutes parts. Mais trois semaines n'ont pas été suffisantes pour lui faire admettre que son geste était inacceptable et qu'il constituait une agression sexuelle. Et c'est ça le problème: que certains, trop d'ailleurs, n'ont pas encore compris de quoi on parle. Mais on parle d'agression, on parle de violence. Eh oui, même pour un baiser volé. Aucun humour, aucun pouvoir ni aucune émotion ne saurait justifier les avances et les actes non consentis.

J'en appelle alors à toutes les gouvernances. Il ne faut plus attendre que les auteurs d'agressions, de discriminations ou de violences décident de démissionner. C'est à vous de prendre la décision de les sanctionner. Ne détournes pas le regard, soyez courageux et prenez les décisions qui s'imposent pour enfin protéger la liberté et les droits des femmes. La honte doit changer de camp.

**Laura Ballarín Cereza (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, «Y yo le dije: “¿Un piquito?” Y ella me dijo: “Vale”». Estas infames palabras forman parte ya de la historia del deporte. Representan lo peor del machismo y la discriminación contra las mujeres. Y ensombrecieron una hazaña histórica conseguida a pesar de la discriminación salarial, de la falta de apoyo técnico e incluso del peor calzado respecto a sus compañeros.

Sin embargo, también han provocado un rechazo en nuestro país y una ola de feminismo y sororidad a nivel global que han arrasado con parte de la cúpula de la Federación Española de Fútbol. Porque Rubiales no ha dimitido. A Rubiales le hemos echado todas. Las campeonas del mundo dijeron: «Se acabó». Porque no fue solo un beso, fue abuso sexual y de poder. Porque «solo sí es sí».

Pero esto va mucho más allá del fútbol. También va de abusos sexuales a deportistas de todas las disciplinas, incluso siendo menores, como denunciaron Simone Biles o también la tenista Angélique Cauchy. También del resto de profesiones: periodistas, abogadas, políticas, camareras... Debemos acabar con la cultura de la impunidad. Y este Mundial ha marcado un antes y un después. Lo de toda la vida ya no vale. Lo de no era para tanto ya no tiene lugar. Hoy en este Parlamento decimos alto y claro: «Se acabó».

**Karin Karlsbro (Renew).** – Fru talman! Kommissionen, kollegor och åhörare! Ibland hör vi att det som sker på fotbollsplanen eller i styrelserummen, eller hemma i sovrummet för den delen, inte är politik. Men det är det visst!

Att kvinnor utsätts för våld och diskriminering är ett samhällsproblem. Det krävs ett ledarskap från alla som har makt att förändra.

Det som borde ha varit den största fotbollsdagen i den spanska landslagsspelarens liv blev i stället en uppvisning i mäns våld mot kvinnor. Att Jenni Hermoso sedan själv anklagades av sin förövare för att hon hade skuld i det som skett är en klassisk påminnelse om att skuldbeläggning är en viktig beståndsdel i våld mot kvinnor.

Fotbollen har de senaste åren gjort stora framsteg mot att vara en sport för både män och kvinnor. Men för att alla tjejer ska våga snöra på sig fotbollsskorna måste mer göras. Fotbollsplanen får aldrig vara en frizon för övergrepp, våld och diskriminering.

**Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, sexisme, racisme, homophobie sont les discriminations auxquelles les sportifs sont confrontés. Mais le sport permet aussi de lutter contre la discrimination. L'exemple le plus symbolique en la matière reste le poing levé des athlètes afro-américains lors des Jeux olympiques de Mexico, en 1968.

Depuis, beaucoup d'eau a coulé sous les ponts. La portée médiatique de la Coupe féminine a donné une nouvelle dimension et ouvre le débat. Le scandale du baiser forcé de Rubiales pose le problème crucial de la violence sexuelle. Ce baiser est une agression sexuelle que nous condamnons, qui montre aussi comment les femmes sportives de haut niveau sont perçues dans le monde du sport. Jusqu'à présent, leurs performances n'étaient pas aussi valorisées que celles des hommes. Les rémunérations qu'elles reçoivent sont nettement inférieures à celles de leurs collègues. L'intérêt médiatique a mis à nu les inégalités du sport féminin. Les sportives s'entraînent dans des conditions déplorables. On se souvient également du débat des sportives voilées, qui considéraient cette interdiction comme une forme d'intolérance et de discrimination. Le scandale du baiser non consenti a éclipsé le débat sur la victoire des footballeuses.

Non, c'est non! Et ça, Madame la Présidente l'a dit hier. Il faut accroître la présence féminine dans les institutions sportives afin que la voix des joueuses soit entendue. «Acabó», c'est fini, le silence des femmes, le manque de respect. Non, demeure non, et non, c'est aussi à l'impunité.

*Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A Uachtaráin, ní minic a bhíonn díospóireacht againn sa Pharlaimint seo ar chúrsaí spóirt mar, níl údarás ná inniúlacht againn ar spóirt i gcoitinne.



Dá bhí sin, cuirim fáilte mhór roimh an díospóireacht seo ar maidin, go háirithe mar a bhaineann sé le Corn Domhanda na mBan. Agus ar dtús, caithfidh mé a rá, go raibh a lán rudaí maithe ag baint le Corn Domhanda na mBan. Bhí na cluichí ar fheabhas, bhí an leibhéal scile an-ard agus bhí sluaite móra i láthair. Agus ar ndóigh, bhí mo thír féin, Éire, páirteach ann den chéad uair agus chruthaigh siad go maith, cé gur tugadh bata agus bóthar don bhainisteoir, Vera Pauw, ina dhiaidh.

Ach, i ndeireadh na dála, tar éis an Choirn Dhomhanda, ní raibh aon duine ag caint faoi na cluichí iontacha a d'imir na mná ach, faoi Rubiales agus a iompar, agus thaispeáin sé seo go bhfuil bóthar fada le taisteal fós chun comhionannas idir fir agus mná a bhunú i gcúrsaí spóirt agus sa domhan uilig. Ach, tá súil agam go gcabhróidh díospóireachtaí cosúil leis seo agus obair Choiste FEMM sa Pharlaimint chun sprioc sin an chomhionannais a bhaint amach go luath.

**Malin Björk (The Left).** – Madam President, I would like to thank Jennifer Hermoso and the whole Spanish team, also those who actually boycotted and didn't come to the World Cup.

I want to thank them for the games. I followed all of them and you beat my country, Sweden, but it was a very beautiful game. I want to thank you also because you are role models on the field and off the field, and this is one of the reasons why I love women's football. You play creatively, strong, powerful games, and then you walk off the pitch and you continue to be role models and you cannot wish for better.

There has been enormous support for the Spanish team and to denounce the behaviour of Rubiales and Vilda and the others machos in the Spanish Federation. Let them all fall out now. Let them all be gone, in Spain and elsewhere where they are. And let us continue the fight for equality, for you on the field so that we can enjoy women's football. We will enjoy it next year for the Olympic Games and we will continue to enjoy it for the World Cup and for all the generations to come.

You have shown the way. We will stand with you in solidarity. This is a 'me too' for sports, but all of us know it's all over society and we are behind you. You have our backing.

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Elisa Ferreira, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, allow me on a personal note just to say '*enhorabuena campeones*'.

Honourable Members, thank you very much for this debate. It's really a debate on civilisation. In fact – and now I speak on behalf of Vice-President Schinas, as I mentioned – I strongly condemn all forms of sexual harassment and violence in the workplace, on the sports field and everywhere else.

We count on you to make smooth progress with your co-legislator on the adoption of a directive on violence against women and domestic violence. The adoption of a strong and comprehensive directive on violence against women and girls is the best signal we can give that we no longer tolerate violence. We want to combat and prevent sexual harassment and violence in a holistic way. Let us ensure sport is a place of victory for gender equality. Thank you very much for your attention, and *muchas gracias las campeones*.

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

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)*

**Cristina Maestre Martín De Almagro (S&D), por escrito.** – Los y las socialistas hemos reiterado el «se acabó» en el Parlamento Europeo, de la misma forma que la sociedad española, así como la de otros países del mundo.

El beso no consentido del expresidente de la Real Federación Española de la Fútbol, Luis Rubiales, a Jenni Hermoso es un abuso sexual y de poder intolerable. No es exclusivo de un país, tiene trascendencia internacional y mundial, si bien ha sucedido en España, un país con una sociedad moderna, que abanderó la igualdad y es referente feminista en la conquista de derechos, también en el deporte.

En España, en Europa, los y las socialistas decimos no a cualquier violencia o discriminación de las mujeres. Y llegaremos hasta el final en esta cuestión.

**Sylwia Spurek (Verts/ALE)**, *na piśmie*. – Równość i prawa człowieka to fundamenty Unii Europejskiej. Dlatego w tej Izbie musimy głośno mówić o wszelkich formach dyskryminacji. Wyrazy uznania należą się wszystkim piłkarkom, które brały udział w eliminacjach i finale mistrzostw świata w piłce nożnej kobiet. Dzięki nim wydarzenie to zdobyło światowy rozgłos, porównywalny do tego, jakim cieszy się jego męska edycja. FIFA zarobiła na organizacji kobiecych mistrzostw 570 milionów dolarów – tymczasem 1/3 uczestniczek zawodów nie dostała żadnego wynagrodzenia za swój udział, a 2/3, aby móc reprezentować swój kraj w rozgrywkach, musiało wziąć urlop od innych obowiązków, często bezpłatny. Gdy piłkarze mogą skupić się na pokonywaniu barier wynikających z fizycznej formy, piłkarki muszą mierzyć się niedofinansowaniem, stereotypami, a także, niestety, przemocą ze względu na płeć.

Kiedy Luis Rubiales na oczach milionów pocałował bez zgody Jenni Hermoso, pokazał, jak głęboko patriarchalna i seksistowska jest nadal struktura zawodowego sportu. Ale ta struktura jest jedynie soczewką ujawniającą wciąż obecną nierównowagę sił w społeczeństwie. Dlatego nadal musimy walczyć o równość praw i szans dla kobiet oraz doskonalić i uszczelniać system prawny tak, aby skutecznie chronił przed wykluczeniem, dyskryminacją i przemocą, tak aby żadna dziewczyna nie porzuciła sportu z obawy przed dyskryminacją, a żadnej zwyciężczyni chwila triumfu nie została odebrana przez męską przemoc.

**Alicia Homs Ginel (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Los y las socialistas hemos reiterado el «se acabó» en el Parlamento Europeo, de la misma forma que la sociedad española, así como la de otros países del mundo.

El beso no consentido del expresidente de la Real Federación Española de la Fútbol, Luis Rubiales, a Jenni Hermoso es un abuso sexual y de poder intolerable. No es exclusivo de un país, tiene trascendencia internacional y mundial, si bien ha sucedido en España, un país con una sociedad moderna, que abandera la igualdad y es referente feminista en la conquista de derechos, también en el deporte.

En España, en Europa, los y las socialistas decimos no a cualquier violencia o discriminación de las mujeres. Y llegaremos hasta el final en esta cuestión.

## 5. Poprawa warunków pracy strażaków (debata)

**Die Präsidentin**. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Anfrage zur mündlichen Beantwortung an die Kommission über die Verbesserung der Arbeitsbedingungen von Feuerwehrleuten von Dragoş Pişlaru im Namen des Ausschusses für Beschäftigung und soziale Angelegenheiten (O-000036/2023 – B9-0028/23) (2023/2701(RSP)).

**Dragoş Pişlaru**, *author*. – Madam President, colleagues, the increasingly frequent and larger fires and natural disasters, the landslides and floods show us that in the very close future, our planet is either drowning or boiling.

And this summer, our planet has experienced its hottest three-month period on record. At the beginning of June, on the other side of the ocean, in Canada, an area 12 times greater than the average of previous years had been lost. From July on, the most dramatic news came from Greece. Due to high temperatures and strong gusts of wind, almost 30 000 people were forced to evacuate from their homes on the island of Rhodes. It was the largest fire ever registered in Europe.

Sadly, many other European countries followed Greece between July and August. And last year we had similar events happening all over Europe. Firefighters play an indispensable role in protecting lives, the environment and the infrastructure in the EU. They operate under extremely difficult working conditions and are exposed daily to highly carcinogenic, combustible and chemical substances and intensely stressful situations. Firefighters have up to 300% higher chance of getting cancer than the general population.

On 22 March, the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs organised a hearing where we had the opportunity to meet firefighters and their representatives for various EU countries and hear their testimonials. I can tell you that their stories are emotional, showing how difficult their situation is and how many challenges they face in the fight with extreme fires and urgent situations in order to protect us all.

Our current legislation, European and national health and safety legislation, is not suitable to protect workers facing ad hoc high levels of exposure, as well as to ensure proper working conditions for them. It is clear that we need further actions at EU level.

Dear Commissioner Ferreira, the questions to start this debate are the following: will the Commission put forward an EU proposal on minimum standards for firefighters' gear and personal protective equipment? Will the Commission take further action following the World Health Organisation's (WHO) recognition of firefighting as carcinogenic occupation? Will the Commission consider the establishment of a European register to collect disaggregated data on occupational diseases developed by the sector?

In the view of the need to increase firefighter numbers in the future, how does the Commission intend to safeguard this voluntary commitment in Europe without putting Directive 2003/88/EC on working time into question? How will the Commission, jointly with the Member States and social partners, ensure the protection of firefighters and their working conditions, including compensation for overtime? And last but certainly not least, is the Commission considering more investment in new research and technology in the sector?

I will switch to Romanian right now.

Nu aş putea încheia această dezbateră despre protecția pompierilor la nivel european fără să aduc în discuție noile dovezi cu privire la riscurile enorme și condițiile de muncă deficitare cu care se confruntă acești oameni. În România, în 26 august, la Crevedia, două explozii enorme au produs în jur de 58 de victime, dintre care peste 40 sunt pompieri. Au fost cinci decese. Pompierii și-au pierdut viața, iar restul au fost spitalizați cu arsuri grave.

România a activat Mecanismul european de protecție civilă pentru transferul victimelor în spitalele din statele membre ale Uniunii Europene. Asta, în timp ce pe planul național de resetare și reziliență, unde avem bani europeni, România tocmai a decis să taie investiții importante pentru sectorul sanitar, pentru sănătate, între care cea mai mare de 740 de milioane de euro pentru construcția de spitale.

Nu i-am fi putut salva dacă nu ar fi fost mecanismul Uniunii Europene de consolidare a cooperării dintre țări. Uniunea Europeană este importantă pentru a asigura condițiile bune de muncă și pentru o protecție a pompierilor. Mulțumesc și așteptăm această dezbateră și răspunsurile Comisiei Europene. Vreau să mulțumesc foarte mult colegilor mei, coordonatorilor din Comisia de muncă și afaceri sociale pentru alinierea completă pentru protecția pompierilor pe tot teritoriul Uniunii Europene.

**Elisa Ferreira**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members of the Parliament, dear rapporteur honourable Pislaru and all the shadow rapporteurs, colleagues, I am here today, in this debate, on behalf of Commissioner Nicholas Schmit.

I join him in presenting our condolences for the loss of Véronique Trillet-Lenoir, a great champion, relentlessly fighting for the health of workers and citizens at large. She will be greatly missed.

Now, turning back to the subject at hand, firefighters provide an essential service to European citizens, even more so in the light of natural disasters and the devastating consequences of climate change that we are increasingly witnessing. The value of their work lies in their dedication to saving lives, protecting property during emergencies, safeguarding communities from the devastating impacts of fires and all other disasters.

I want in particular to thank Parliament's EMPL Committee for organising a hearing on the working conditions of firefighters in March that put the spotlight on their work and on our duty to them. Firefighters protect us. We must protect them.

For decades, the European Union's occupational health and safety acquis has fostered the good health of all workers, including firefighters and emergency service providers.

We do it by addressing specific risk factors such as carcinogens. And though occupations give important indications on specific risks, the occupational safety and health, we are not legislating for specific occupations, but first and foremost, focusing our efforts on assessing and preventing risks.

For instance, the provisional agreement on the Asbestos at Work Directive reached in trilogues in June, will further improve protection for many workers, including firefighters.

The Commission has also committed to developing guidelines for the practical implementation of the Asbestos at Work Directive, which will cover firefighters as well.

Our upcoming initiative on the screening and registration of asbestos in buildings could also provide valuable information for firefighters before they have to intervene.

Next year, we will put forward a proposal to amend for the sixth time the Carcinogens at Work Directive, with substances also of concern for firefighters.

Our agency in Bilbao, EU-OSHA, as presented at the EMPL Committee hearing on firefighters in March this year, provides valuable tools for the implementation of protective measures on the ground, such as guidance for workplaces, case studies on healthy firefighters, an education film on the risks of fire at workplaces and an exposure survey on cancer risk factors.

Moreover, the Working Time Directive ensures a high level of protection of firefighters, for example by guaranteeing after long working shifts full and immediate compensation of missed rest periods. At the same time, through its system of derogations, it provides the flexibility necessary for the proper organisation of civil protection work, bearing in mind the need for continuity of service.

Volunteer firefighters play a crucial role in complementing and enhancing the capabilities of professional firefighting services in many Member States, often serving in rural areas and smaller communities, and contributing to the overall resilience and safety of their regions. I want to pay tribute to all the women and men volunteering for this life-saving work.

I would like to stress that the European law, notably the Working Time Directive and its interpretation by the Court of Justice, does not pose a threat to voluntary firefighting services in Member States.

Finally, I want to encourage all Member States to make use of available European funds such as Horizon Europe, the Regional Fund, the Social Fund Plus or the RRF to support measures that would help the protection of firefighters.

Firefighters protect us all. Let's all stand by their side.

**Dennis Radtke**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich finde, die Debatte könnte eigentlich kaum zu einem besseren Zeitpunkt stattfinden.

Ich möchte aber an der Stelle ergänzen: Die Debatte hätte auf jeden Fall deutlich mehr Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Weil, wenn wir über die Männer und Frauen reden, die sowohl bei den verheerenden Bränden, die wir diesen Sommer gesehen haben, als auch bei den nicht minder verheerenden Fluten – wir reden über die Männer und Frauen, die dort in der ersten Reihe gegen Feuer und die Fluten ankämpfen –, wenn wir über sie und ihre Arbeitsbedingungen sprechen, dann ist es eigentlich schon traurig, dass wir auf der Besuchertribüne mehr Zuhörer haben als hier im Plenarsaal.

Aber trotz alledem, für uns als EVP-Fraktion: Wir legen seit langem den Finger in die Wunde und wir werden auch heute nicht aufhören, sowohl die Kommission als auch die Mitgliedstaaten aufzufordern, in die Feuerwehren zu investieren, weil die Wichtigkeit der Aufgabe, die dort von den Männern und Frauen geleistet wird, steht an vielen Stellen leider in keinem Verhältnis zu der Ausrüstung und zu den Arbeitsbedingungen, unter denen und mit denen diese Arbeit geleistet werden muss. Und hier muss dringend etwas passieren.

Wenn wir uns den Arbeitsschutz ansehen: Arbeitsschutz ist so organisiert, dass er sich im Grunde für eine Gruppe von Arbeitnehmern oder die Masse der Arbeitnehmer an Belastungen orientiert, die im Durchschnitt erfolgen, also Substanzen, denen man im Durchschnitt einen bestimmten Zeitraum ausgesetzt ist. Bei Feuerwehrleuten funktioniert es aber ganz anders, weil sie für kürzere Zeiträume viel höheren Konzentrationen ausgesetzt sind.

Dragoş hat darauf hingewiesen: Das Risiko der Krebserkrankung ist 300 % höher als bei anderen Arbeitnehmern. Darauf müssen wir als Politik eine Antwort geben und den Arbeitsschutz anpassen.

Und eine letzte Bemerkung: Die Besonderheit, die Trennung zwischen Berufsfeuerwehr und Freiwilliger Feuerwehr: Da ist es dringend notwendig, dass die Kommission hier endlich für Rechtssicherheit bei der Arbeitszeitrichtlinie sorgt, um die Struktur der Freiwilligen Feuerwehren nicht zu gefährden.

**Ilan De Basso**, *für S&D-gruppen*. – Fru talman! Klimakrisen är ett faktum. Jordens temperaturer ökar, och allt fler länder drabbas av extremhetta, skogsbränder och översvämningar.

EU har genom civilskyddsmekanismen och RescEU en stark och solidarisk samordning av insatser vid kriser. Däremot saknar EU en gemensam standard för de brandmän som befinner sig i krisernas centrum och som dagligen räddar liv. När brandmän från olika medlemsländer samlas vid en kris kan vi inte vara säkra på att de har lika utbildning, samma kompetens eller kompatibel utrustning.

Därför är jag djupt oroad över föreställningarna om vad det innebär att vara brandman.

WHO har klassificerat den exponering som brandmän utsätts för i arbetet som särskilt cancerframkallande, och vi bör göra samma sak.

Brandmän löper 300 procent större risk att drabbas av cancer. En lista över yrken som anses vara cancerframkallande skulle hjälpa arbetsgivare att identifiera och underlätta genomförandet av lämpliga skyddsåtgärder och utbildning. Utan gemensamma regler och krav riskerar EU:s krisrespons att bli ineffektiv och livshotande för både brandmän och våra medborgare.

**Sylvie Brunet**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, merci au président de notre commission de l'emploi, Dragoş Pîslaru, d'avoir eu l'idée de mettre le sujet des conditions de travail de nos pompiers à l'ordre du jour. Nous le savons, c'est un métier exigeant en termes d'exposition à des substances dangereuses, en termes de santé mentale, de santé physique et, avec le changement climatique, malheureusement, de plus en plus d'interventions, tous les étés, tous les ans, et donc des dangers accrus.

Dans ce contexte, nous attendons de la Commission et du Conseil des initiatives pour mieux protéger et soutenir nos pompiers en Europe. Quelles sont nos propositions? Des standards européens, nous l'avons dit, pour les équipements, qui doivent être modernisés et adaptés aux situations de crise intense; davantage d'échanges entre les États membres en matière de formation – on pourrait réfléchir au développement d'un centre d'excellence européen dans le domaine de la protection civile; une surveillance médicale adéquate, accrue, avec un protocole de décontamination, puisque les pompiers sont particulièrement exposés aux substances dangereuses telles que le plomb et l'amiante – les textes sur lesquels nous travaillons vont être importants à cet effet; susciter davantage de vocations en améliorant leurs conditions de travail et en promouvant l'engagement volontaire en Europe; et enfin, renforcer les capacités de la réserve RescEU pour mieux lutter ensemble contre les catastrophes.

**Rosa D'Amato**, *a nome del gruppo Verts/ALE*. – Signora Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, i nostri vigili del fuoco sono allo stremo e non esagero. Abbiamo ascoltato il loro grido di allarme, io direi di dolore, pochi mesi fa in commissione Lavoro. Oggi, in questa assise in plenaria, il Parlamento interroga la Commissione europea perché a questi lavoratori va riconosciuto l'alto rischio quotidiano che vivono a fronte di interventi indispensabili per la sicurezza di tutti noi.

I vigili del fuoco hanno un ruolo indispensabile nella protezione delle vite umane, delle infrastrutture, dell'ambiente e lo avranno sempre più in futuro a causa della crescente gravità e frequenza dei disastri naturali. I vigili del fuoco operano in condizioni di lavoro estreme, sono esposti quotidianamente a sostanze chimiche e combustibili altamente cancerogeni e a situazioni di intenso stress, con ripercussioni sulla loro salute e sulla loro sicurezza psicofisica. Ma non solo la loro, anche quella delle loro famiglie. I vigili del fuoco hanno il 300 % in più di probabilità di contrarre il cancro rispetto alla popolazione generale.

Ma la legislazione europea e anche quelle nazionali in materia di salute e sicurezza sul lavoro non sono adatte per proteggerli. E, beffa delle beffe, in alcuni degli Stati europei, come il mio, come l'Italia, i vigili del fuoco non hanno nemmeno la copertura assicurativa adeguata. Si devono rivolgere a un'assicurazione privata.

È ora che la Commissione europea agisca: è urgente una strategia europea sui vigili del fuoco e sui servizi di emergenza. Serve un pacchetto con un approccio globale che fornisca risposte concrete alla carenza di personale, alla carenza di attrezzature, alle condizioni di lavoro, alla salute e la sicurezza del loro lavoro. E serve uno *screening* sanitario. Servono procedure armonizzate per operazioni congiunte nell'Unione europea.

**Elżbieta Rafalska**, w imieniu grupy ECR. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz! Szanowni Państwo! Strażacy wykonują zawód całkowicie wyjątkowy, zawód szczególny – ratują nasze życie, zdrowie, majątek, środowisko, infrastrukturę. To dobra okazja, żeby powiedzieć wszystkim strażakom w Europie, jak bardzo ich szanujemy, jak bardzo im dziękujemy. Chciałabym szczególnie te podziękowania skierować też do polskich strażaków, zarówno tych z państwowej straży, jak i ochotniczej, strażaków, którzy uczestniczą w wielu misjach międzynarodowych, ostatnio w Grecji, Francji, Szwecji czy Turcji.

Wiemy, że ten zawód jest niebezpiecznym zawodem, ale musimy pamiętać, że zachodzi potrzeba uznania tego zawodu za niebezpieczny, bo oni są dzisiaj klasyfikowani w Unii Europejskiej, tak jak pracownicy biurowi. Musimy pamiętać, że narażeni są na długotrwałe działanie czynników rakotwórczych, palnych, chemicznych, że narażeni są na wtórne zakażenia, że w wielu krajach (akurat nie w Polsce) nie wypłaca im się nadgodzin. Nie ma regulacji ustawowych i wymaga to rzeczywiście pilnych rozwiązań, ale zawsze w porozumieniu z państwami członkowskimi

**Dominique Bilde**, au nom du groupe ID. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, les sapeurs-pompiers subissent de plus en plus d'agressions et d'incivilités lors de leurs interventions. Ce constat est sans appel. En France, nous avons connu l'année dernière une recrudescence très inquiétante de ce phénomène. Rien qu'en 2022, 1 505 agressions à l'encontre des soldats du feu ont été enregistrées, dont 173 avec arme. C'est très simple, loin des explications fumeuses des uns et des autres, c'est en réalité un refus de l'autorité de l'État qui se manifeste dans cette explosion de violence à l'égard des hommes et des femmes en uniforme.

Autre problème de taille: plus globalement, les pompiers professionnels sont également de moins en moins nombreux dans l'Union européenne, malgré un risque d'incendie plus important. Ils sont actuellement 360 000 sur tout le territoire de l'Union européenne, soit 5 000 de moins qu'en 2022. C'est d'autant plus inquiétant que les dépôts de feu se multiplient partout sur le continent et que nos forêts, plus vulnérables à cause des sécheresses importantes, s'embrasent à la moindre étincelle – étincelle parfois criminelle. Nos pompiers sont donc de plus en plus en danger lors de leurs interventions.

En bref, que ce soit face aux feux de forêt ou dans nos villes ou nos villages, les gouvernements mettent en danger ceux qui sacrifient leur vie pour sauver celle des autres. Notons que cette résolution sur les pompiers est quand même un peu partie de l'initiative du groupe Identité et Démocratie au Parlement européen. Je suis donc très fier de porter la parole de ceux qui meurent dans les flammes ou sous les attaques de la racaille. Ne laissons plus faire.

**Sandra Pereira**, em nome do Grupo The Left. – Senhora Presidente, todos os verões ressurge a discussão sobre os bombeiros pelo seu papel fulcral no combate aos incêndios florestais.

Para além disso, garantem, diariamente, entre muitos outros serviços de apoio às populações, serviços de emergência pré-hospitalar, socorro e resgate de vítimas de acidentes rodoviários e o transporte de doentes não urgentes.

Valorizamos a importância da recente classificação da Organização Mundial de Saúde, que identifica a exposição ocupacional enquanto bombeiro ou bombeira como potencialmente cancerígena.

Necessitamos agora de medidas concretas que visem a sua proteção e a sua saúde, promovendo a melhoria das suas condições laborais. Porém, o combate não se esgota aí. A melhoria das condições laborais dos bombeiros, a sua proteção, depende também do financiamento suficiente das suas corporações e das associações humanitárias de bombeiros, de uma ampla reestruturação do sistema de proteção civil em vigor em Portugal, de uma diferente e melhor gestão e planeamento dos fundos comunitários, entre muitas outras medidas que temos vindo a defender e propor.

No sentido de cumprir a sua missão em segurança e com sucesso, os bombeiros devem ser valorizados. E é nesse combate que hoje, como sempre, estamos empenhados.

**Cindy Franssen (PPE).** – Voorzitter, commissaris, collega's, het is hoog tijd dat we onze brandweer de best mogelijke bescherming bieden, voor, tijdens en na de interventies. 52 % van de jaarlijkse werkgerelateerde overlijdens wordt momenteel toegeschreven aan werkgerelateerde kanker. Uit onderzoek blijkt dat brandweerlieden inderdaad tot 300 % meer kans op kanker hebben dan gewone werknemers.

We hebben al heel wat belangrijke stappen gezet. Ik denk aan ons kankerverslag, asbestverslag en de opeenvolgende herzieningen van de Richtlijn blootstelling aan carcinogene stoffen. We hebben hierbij steeds ingezet op extra beschermende maatregelen voor de brandweer, want het beroep wordt steeds complexer. Ze komen in contact met steeds meer chemische stoffen waarvan we de schadelijkheid zelfs nog niet eens kennen. Het werk is dus niet af.

En daarom moeten de brandweer en hulpdiensten toegang krijgen tot een register van aanwezige gevaarlijke materialen in gebouwen. Bij grote rampen in grensgebieden moet er een goede coördinatie komen voor de traceerbaarheid van chemische stoffen tussen de lidstaten, en er moet via sensibilisering en opleiding ingezet worden op betere hygiënemaatregelen en decontaminatie na een interventie om secundaire blootstelling te vermijden.

De brandweer zorgt voor onze veiligheid. Het is onze plicht om voor hun veiligheid te zorgen.

**Daniela Rondinelli (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, gentile Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, a un anno dalla pubblicazione del rapporto dell'Organizzazione mondiale della sanità che classifica l'esposizione professionale dei vigili del fuoco come cancerogena, la Commissione europea oggi finalmente si impegna a occuparsi dei 3 milioni di vigili del fuoco, dopo reiterate richieste da parte nostra in commissione Lavoro.

Il loro ruolo, infatti, per la protezione delle nostre comunità e dei nostri territori diventa sempre più insostituibile per fronteggiare le estreme conseguenze del cambiamento climatico. Molti sottovalutano o non sanno che, anche a distanza di decenni dalla cessazione del loro servizio, questi lavoratori hanno il 300 % di possibilità in più di contrarre il cancro senza godere di alcuna tutela sanitaria, abbandonando intere famiglie al loro destino.

Abbiamo quindi il dovere morale, innanzitutto, di avere una legislazione europea che attribuisca ai vigili del fuoco uno specifico status che garantisca il pieno riconoscimento della malattia professionale, i protocolli di prevenzione e di decontaminazione, dispositivi di protezione moderni, una copertura assicurativa pubblica e accesso ai servizi sociosanitari per la cura delle loro malattie fisiche e mentali.

Perché chi mette a repentaglio la propria vita ogni giorno per salvare la nostra vita non può e non deve essere lasciato indietro.

**Engin Eroglu (Renew).** – Sehr geehrte Frau Vizepräsidentin Barley, sehr geehrte Frau Kommissarin, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir reden heute über die wichtige Arbeit der Feuerwehrleute in der Europäischen Union, und ich möchte gerne das Augenmerk auf die mehr als 3,2 Millionen ehrenamtlichen Feuerwehrfrauen und -männer in der Europäischen Union legen.

Ich bin der festen Überzeugung, dass gerade die Ehrenamtlichen und vor allem auch die im ländlichen Raum, wo die Gelder ja in ganz Europa wirklich knapp sind, die beste Ausrüstung verdienen.

Denn eins gilt immer, seitdem es Menschen gibt, die einem anderen Menschen helfen wollen, und gerade bei den Feuerwehren: Die Feuerwehren sind immer da, wenn man sie braucht. Egal wann, zu welcher Zeit, egal wie schlimm und lebensbedrohlich das Umfeld ist, Feuerwehrfrauen und -männer sind immer da, wenn man sie braucht.

Und wenn es Menschen gibt, die immer da sind, die man braucht, dann gehört es sich auch, dass wir als Politik gerade auch den Ehrenamtlichen im ländlichen Raum die bestmögliche Ausrüstung zur Verfügung stellen.

Und es geht nicht nur um das Menschenleben, sondern auch um Katastrophenschutz. Wenn Umweltgifte im Spiel sind, wenn Feuerwehrleute durch Umweltgifte bedroht sind, brauchen sie eine gute Ausrüstung.

Ich freue mich, dass die Kommission den Weg mitgeht, vielen Dank dafür!

**Stefania Zambelli (ID).** – Signora Presidente, gentile Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, sono molto soddisfatta: oggi affrontiamo un tema a me molto caro, nato grazie alla mia proposta di risoluzione. Finalmente, infatti, possiamo discutere delle condizioni di lavoro di tutti i vigili del fuoco in Europa, una categoria importantissima, sempre pronta a intervenire in nostro aiuto. Categoria che purtroppo opera molto spesso in condizioni difficili.

In ogni intervento i vigili del fuoco sono esposti a sostanze pericolose e a sostanze cancerogene: questa esposizione negli anni può provocare malattie anche mortali. Dobbiamo prevenire queste malattie, garantendo a tutti i vigili del fuoco la giusta protezione e la giusta sicurezza sul lavoro.

Per questo servono risposte immediate dall'Europa: investire sulla sicurezza dei vigili del fuoco è un dovere che dobbiamo rispettare. Dobbiamo agire oggi per proteggere chi ogni giorno protegge ognuno di noi.

**Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, νιώθω ότι είναι ήρωες την ώρα της μάχης, αναλώσιμα εργαλεία μετά. Αυτή είναι η πραγματικότητα και άκουσα με προσοχή και εισηγητές από τις μεγάλες παρατάξεις. Να τα πείτε στις κυβερνήσεις σας, να τα κάνουν.

Εγώ ακολουθώ τη σκέψη του εισηγητή μας, νομίζω είναι στη σωστή κατεύθυνση, και λέω τούτο: τη στιγμή που η Ευρώπη καίγεται και βουλιάζει, ο αριθμός των έμμισθων πυροσβεστών μειώνεται. Με αυτή την ιστορία έχουμε λιγότερο κράτος. Δεν καταλαβαίνω. Από αυτή τη στιγμή που σας μιλώ στη χώρα μου, οι άντρες και οι γυναίκες του πυροσβεστικού σώματος, οι εποχικοί πυροσβέστες και οι εθελοντές είναι μέσα στα νερά της πλημμυρισμένης Θεσσαλίας. Χθες ήταν στα δάση του Έβρου και στην Κέρκυρα και στη Ρόδο και παντού, στην πρώτη γραμμή, και προχθές στον σεισμό. Ήρωες την ώρα της μάχης, αναλώσιμοι μετά.

Στη χώρα μου υπάρχουν 4.000 κενές οργανικές θέσεις και αντί να καλυφθούν, έχουμε τη σύγχρονη ανακάλυψη της εποχικότητας. Τι ιδέα είναι αυτή; Όμως η επιδεινούμενη κλιματική κρίση αναδεικνύει την ανάγκη για μόνιμο προσωπικό. Πρέπει να καλυφθεί το τεράστιο μισθολογικό χάσμα ανάμεσα στον πυροσβέστη του Νότου και στον πυροσβέστη του Βορρά. Ένα από τα εργαλεία μας είναι η οδηγία για τον ευρωπαϊκό κατώτατο μισθό. Γιατί δεν προχωράει; Και βεβαίως το ευρωπαϊκό μητρώο, στο οποίο αναφέρθηκε ο εισηγητής μας. Πολύ ωραία ιδέα! Να στηριχθεί. Πρέπει να δράσουμε συλλογικά σε ενιαίο σχέδιο. Μας αφορά όλους αυτή η ιστορία.

**Anne Sander (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, je suis heureuse que les pompiers reviennent au cœur de nos discussions, parce que c'est avec un dévouement sans relâche que les soldats du feu assurent la sécurité des Européens. Ils ont été au rendez-vous tout l'été, volontaires et professionnels, partout en Europe pour lutter contre les feux de forêt, pour intervenir aussi lorsqu'il y avait des inondations ou d'autres catastrophes.

Plus d'interventions, plus de risques, plus de dangers. Donc oui, il faut davantage sécuriser les interventions de nos sapeurs-pompiers, de meilleurs équipements, de meilleurs standards. Le Mécanisme européen de protection civile fonctionne, et c'est une réussite que nous devons saluer.



Alors forcément, des difficultés naissent aussi de ces rencontres de sapeurs-pompiers qui ont des cultures d'intervention différentes et qui parfois peuvent les mettre en danger. Peut-être serait-il urgent aussi de travailler à une meilleure harmonisation des qualifications et des formations des sapeurs-pompiers au niveau européen, via par exemple la création d'un passeport européen de compétences.

Je voudrais rappeler aussi qu'il est de plus en plus difficile de recruter et de garder les sapeurs-pompiers volontaires, qui sont la colonne vertébrale de notre système de protection. Donc, là encore, des interrogations sur le statut et sur le lien avec la directive sur le temps de travail. Voilà pourquoi je voudrais me tourner vers la Commission européenne en demandant: à quand un statut du volontaire ou du sauveteur européen qui permettrait peut-être aussi de sécuriser notre protection civile?

**Alex Agius Saliba (S&D).** – Sinjura President, nhar it-Tlieta li għadda kellna diskussjoni interessanti hafna dwar il-htieġa li nkomplu ninvestu anke wara numru ta' heatwaves illi kellna fuq bażi Ewropea kkawżati b'mod dirett minhabba t-tibdil fil-klima.

U l-haddiema tal-Protezzjoni Ċivili jilaghbu rwol importanti hafna wkoll f'dan il-fatt, speċjalment sabiex ikunu fuq ta' quddiem nett biex isalvaw il-hajja ta' nies illi jkunu affettwati b'mod dirett minhabba dawn il-fenomeni. U dawn il-fenomeni saru aktar u aktar spissi.

Imma fuq in-naħa l-oħra, mbagħad, il-haddiema tat-tifi tan-nar kulma jmur qegħdin jonqsu fuq bażi Ewropea minn, tista' tgħid, kwazi l-Istati Membri kollha. Dan it-tnaqqis jaffettwa l-kapaċità tal-Korpi illi jirrispondu f'qasir żmien għal numru dejjem jizdied ta' dawn il-fenomeni.

Il-haddiema tal-korpi tal-Protezzjoni Ċivili huma kontinwament esposti għal ċerti kundizzjonijiet li huma diffiċli hafna, li huma perikolużi hafna, fosthom il-hidma illi jagħmlu fil-viċin ma' numru ta' tossiċi, illi hafna minnhom huma wkoll karċinoġeniċi.

L-inqas illi nistgħu nagħmlu quddiem dan kollu huwa li niżguraw li r-riżorsi tal-Korpi tat-Tifi tan-Nar ikollhom aktar riżorsi, aktar haddiema, aktar equipment, sabiex fl-ahħar mill-ahħar dawn ikunu jistgħu jaqdu dmirhom, imma wkoll sabiex inkunu nistgħu nagħtuhom xi haġa żgħira lura – dik illi niproteġu s-saħħa tagħhom.

**Guido Reil (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir reden heute darüber, die Arbeitsbedingungen bei der Feuerwehr zu verbessern.

Ein wichtiges Thema, und es wurde schon viel Richtiges gesagt. Aber ein Problem wurde gar nicht angesprochen. Ein Problem, das wir früher gar nicht kannten. Ich rede von Gewalttaten gegenüber der Feuerwehr und Rettungskräften: im Jahr 2021 2160 Gewalttaten gegen Feuerwehr. 42 % der Feuerwehrkräfte und der Rettungskräfte geben an, schon mal Opfer von Gewalt geworden zu sein. Warum ist das so?

Damit hat sich jetzt der Verband der Feuerwehr beschäftigt. Vor wenigen Tagen hat ein Kongress stattgefunden, und auf diesem Kongress wurde die Frage gestellt: Woher kommt der Hass? Ein Redner dort, ein Psychologe mit palästinensisch-arabischen Wurzeln, hat dazu Folgendes gesagt: „Wenn wir den Migrationshintergrund nicht erwähnen, verweigern wir uns der Debatte“.

Dieser Hass ist importiert, dieser Hass ist direkte Folge der illegalen Masseneinwanderung. Und wenn wir dieses Problem lösen, müssen wir dies ansprechen. Und der Präsident des Feuerwehrverbandes hat noch ganz klar dazu gesagt: „Wir müssen diese Gewalttaten endlich rigoros bestrafen“.

**Marc Botenga (The Left).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, vous l'avez entendu, ces travailleurs, ces pompiers qui nous sauvent dans des situations difficiles ont 300 % plus de chances de développer un cancer. Alors reconnaissons ce travail comme pénible et cancérigène. Pourquoi est-ce que cela prend tellement de temps? Est-ce qu'on ne veut pas les sauver? Pourquoi cela ne peut pas aller plus vite?

Mais ne faisons pas semblant que cela va tout résoudre. Parce qu'un grand problème, c'est évidemment le fait que ces travailleurs sont en sous-effectif. Ce qui complique encore plus des conditions de travail déjà extrêmement difficiles. Donc, il faut embaucher des pompiers et des pompiers professionnels. Mais vous, la Commission européenne, vous voulez réactiver l'austérité, le pacte budgétaire, qui pousse à couper dans les services publics. Ça, c'est contradictoire. On ne peut pas couper dans les services publics et prétendre vouloir aider les pompiers. C'est une hypocrisie. Donc, abandonnez cette austérité.

Deuxièmement, la Commission européenne pousse toujours à hausser l'âge de la pension. Un pompier qui doit travailler jusqu'à 64-67 ans, ce n'est juste pas faisable. Est-ce que vous savez qu'un pompier a une espérance de vie inférieure de sept ans à la moyenne? On ne peut pas les faire travailler jusqu'à 64 ou 67 ans, ce n'est pas faisable.

**Evelyn Regner (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrte Frau Kommissarin! Feuerwehren sind nicht nur höchst professionell, sie sind auch höchst gefragt. Mit dem Klimawandel werden die Wetterextreme immer häufiger. In dem einen Monat liegen Teile eines Landes unter Wasser und im nächsten verwüstet ein Hangrutsch oder ein Waldbrand große Gebiete. In solchen Ausnahmesituationen sind die Feuerwehren immer an erster Stelle.

Unsere Feuerwehrmänner und Feuerwehrfrauen sind dabei nicht nur extremen Stresssituationen ausgesetzt, sondern auch hochgradig krebserregenden Stoffen und oft anderen Gefahren. Und hier müssen wir ausnahmsweise einmal ihnen helfen, nämlich indem wir unsere Feuerwehrleute und ihre Familien in Österreich, in der Europäischen Union, schützen, so gut es geht. Dazu gehören Vorschriften zur Dekontaminierung. Dazu gehört die richtige Ausrüstung und das Werkzeug genauso wie Instrumente des Arbeitsrechts. Und damit können wir effektiv allen Feuerwehrmännern und Feuerwehrfrauen Danke sagen. Danke für eure Unermüdlichkeit, für euren Einsatz, für euren Mut. Jetzt ist es an uns, euch besser zu schützen.

**Elena Lizzi (ID).** – Signora Presidente, signora Commissaria, voglio ricordare, come ha fatto la collega Zambelli, che la discussione sul miglioramento delle condizioni di lavoro dei vigili del fuoco è un'iniziativa conseguente anche alla nostra proposta di risoluzione depositata lo scorso 22 marzo, dopo l'audizione. Questo è per noi motivo di grande soddisfazione.

Tutti condividiamo il fatto che la professione dei vigili del fuoco è ad alto rischio di malattie a causa dell'esposizione a sostanze nocive. Studi americani rilevano che i vigili del fuoco avrebbero il 300% di probabilità in più di ammalarsi di cancro. Però qui ancora non è stato detto che hanno un'aspettativa di vita media di vent'anni più bassa e noi in Europa non abbiamo studi che possano smentire o certificare questa situazione.

Recentemente Eurostat ha certificato che nel 2022 i vigili del fuoco professionisti nell'Unione erano quasi 360 000 ma ha anche rilevato che all'interno degli Stati membri esistono diversi gradi di affidabilità dei dati forniti e questo è un chiaro segnale che è necessario intervenire. Sempre Eurostat analizza l'età media di questi lavoratori: è prevista una continua riduzione delle unità operative, con il concreto rischio di non poter garantire in futuro interventi per loro sicuri ed efficaci sul territorio. Accanto ai 360 000 professionisti, operano anche 3 200 000 volontari. La responsabilità di agire a tutela dei vigili del fuoco è quindi maggiore.

Al momento, signora Commissaria, la sua risposta per me è deludente. Io vorrei un maggiore impegno e, come ha sentito, anche i colleghi; le domande contenute nell'interrogazione orale mirano a ottenere dalla Commissione europea un impegno per i futuri interventi per la salute di 3 500 000 vigili del fuoco e delle loro famiglie, anche perché tutti loro saranno ancora più esposti in ragione delle misure imposte anche dal Green Deal.

**Carmen Avram (S&D).** – Doamnă președintă, această dezbateră este și un omagiu adus unor oameni neînfricați, generoși și care rareori cer ceva doar pentru ei. Oameni de care în noua realitate climatică va depinde viața noastră, așa cum în pandemie a depins de cadrele medicale. Oameni care reaprind sentimentul solidarității atunci când noi, ceilalți, mai uităm.

Anul acesta, de exemplu, pompierii români și-au împărțit misiunile între țări cu seisme catastrofale, țări cu inundații devastatoare, țări cu incendii de proporții istorice și propria lor țară la intervenții foarte periculoase. Zeci au fost răniți la datorie. E rândul nostru să ne facem exemplar datorită față de ei și colegii lor din toată Uniunea Europeană.

De aceea, salut inițierea acestei dezbateri și sper că în Comisia pentru muncă și în acest Parlament se vor pune curând bazele unui nou viitor pentru pompierii Europei: să le recunoaștem riscurile la care se supun, să le oferim facilități de decontaminare, controale medicale regulate, reglementări ale voluntariatului, bani pentru echipamente și o strategie europeană care să le dea respectul și siguranța cuvenite. Europa trebuie să fie și ea solidară cu eroii ei.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Franc Bogovič (PPE).** – Gospa predsednica! Prihajam iz Slovenije, kjer je gasilec najbolj spoštovan poklic. V Sloveniji imamo slabih 900 poklicnih gasilcev, 160.000 članov prostovoljnih gasilskih društev, tudi sam sem že 40 let gasilec, med katerimi je približno 60.000 gasilcev, ki gredo lahko v akcijo.

Nujno je, da poklicni in prostovoljni gasilci med sabo odlično sodelujejo. Nikakor si pa ne moremo predstavljati reševanja požarov, poplav, kot so se zgodili lani in letos v Sloveniji, pa marsikje po Evropi, brez te armade prostovoljnih gasilskih društev in gasilcev. Tem gasilcem moramo najprej zagotoviti kvalitetno opremo, da se lahko dobro zaščitijo. Pri nas država pomaga tudi s tem, da plačuje zavarovanje za njih. Po drugi strani so davčne olajšave pri dohodnini in na ta način spodbujajo gasilce.

V Sloveniji nimamo problemov z vključevanjem v gasilska društva, mladi se vključujejo. Vsekakor pa jim moramo zagotoviti normalne pogoje in pri tem uporabiti tudi evropska sredstva, kar v Sloveniji tudi počnemo.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Doamnă președintă, doamnă comisar, stimați colegi, dezbaterem astăzi condițiile de lucru ale pompierilor și ale voluntarilor, care fac același lucru cu pompierii calificați. Eu vreau să îi felicit pe toți pompierii și să vă spun că sunt mândră de pompierii din țara mea, din România. Noi am sărbătorit în 13 septembrie Ziua Pompierilor în România.

Pompierii din țara mea au participat la foarte multe acțiuni în alte state și în țara mea, dar pe lângă aceste felicitări, este nevoie să avem măsuri concrete, de exemplu: standarde europene pentru echipamente – să nu li se mai topească casca pe cap, doamna comisară, în acțiunile lor de stingere a incendiilor.

Avem nevoie, de asemenea, de un tratament al voluntarilor pentru a-i atrage, pentru a deveni după aceea pompieri calificați, pentru că există un minus. Avem, de asemenea, nevoie de asigurări de sănătate egale în spațiul Uniunii Europene, pentru că echipele de pompieri merg dintr-o țară în alta.

Și, nu în ultimul rând, avem nevoie de un regim egal în cele 27 de state privind pensionarea pompierilor. Sigur, condițiile de viață ale pompierilor și, așa cum s-a spus aici, riscul este mult mai mare. De aceea trebuie să facem lucruri concrete pentru a fi credibili.

**Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE).** – Doamnă președintă, Ion Buneci, Oprea Marian, Nițeanu Gheorghe – pompierii României sunt eroi care sunt des neglijați, dar toată vara aceasta ei au stins incendii în Grecia, în Italia. Anii trecuți au fost chiar și în Suedia. În timpul pandemiei au intervenit aducând bolnavi și li s-a promis o primă pe care mulți dintre ei nici astăzi nu au primit-o. Ei se expun la riscuri de neimaginat, dar nici măcar o asigurare de sănătate ca lumea nu au. Ca să nu mai vorbim de spitale de arși sau de tratarea bolilor pe care le dezvoltă în misiunile lor.

Am întărit protecția civilă europeană, acum la buget. Dar această protecție civilă europeană nu mai poate servi doar ca un spital de urgență în care intrăm atunci când nu mai putem. Propun azi ca pompierii care participă la acțiuni europene pentru climă sau pentru sănătate să beneficieze în mod constant de o asigurare de sănătate europeană și, în plus, de prime europene pentru misiunile lor. Le mulțumesc tuturor acestor eroi. Cred că merită prețuirea noastră.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Madam President, firefighters operate under extremely difficult working conditions and are three times more likely to get cancer than the general population.

Yet in Ireland, some 2 000 retained firefighters were recently forced to go on strike due to their dire pay and conditions. Last year, a report by the National Directorate for Fire and Emergency Management recommended significant changes to the pay and working conditions of retained firefighters. But the Irish Government failed to act on these recommendations.

In Ireland, we had a situation where a new recruit would not be guaranteed to earn more than 10 000 a year and would have to spend 2 500 of that just getting his C licence qualification.

We have about 3 000 firefighters in total in Ireland and 2 000 of these are retained. When are we going to start treating our frontline workers with the respect they deserve?

**Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, είδαμε μεγάλες πυρκαγιές και μεγάλες καταστροφές με νεκρούς στην Ελλάδα, στον Έβρο, τη μεγαλύτερη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση πυρκαγιά, στη Ρόδο, στην Αττική και αλλού. Πλημμύρα στη Θεσσαλία που βιώνει μεγάλη τραγωδία με νεκρούς και αγνοούμενους. Οι πυροσβέστες μένουν άπνοι για μέρες, εξουθενωμένοι, αναπνέοντας καρκίνο, κακοπληρωμένοι και πολλοί από αυτούς εποχικοί, εξαιτίας των ελλείψεων προσωπικού και γι' αυτό δεν ανοίγονται και αντιπυρικές ζώνες που είναι καθοριστικές. Είναι μεγάλες οι ευθύνες της ευρωπαϊκής στρατηγικής που αντιμετωπίζει την πολιτική προστασία ως κόστος και κριτήριο των αντιπυρικών, των αντιπλημμυρικών, αντισεισμικών μέτρων.

Αυτό είναι το κριτήριο. Η κερδοφορία των ομίλων, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και οι κυβερνήσεις που πετσοκόβουν τον αριθμό των πυροσβεστών, των υποδομών, των αεροσκαφών. Σε επίπεδο Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης λείπουν 40.000 πυροσβέστες, ενώ στην Ελλάδα 4.500. Ο RescEU διαγωνίζει τη γύμνια και τις εγκληματικές ελλείψεις σε κάθε κράτος, ανακυκλώνοντας από χώρα σε χώρα, συνήθως κατόπιν τραγωδίας, μόλις 24 αεροπλάνα και 450 πυροσβέστες. Απέναντι σε όλα αυτά ο ελληνικός λαός, οι πληγέντες, απαιτούν αποζημιώσεις 100 %, καθολικά μέτρα αντιπυρικής, αντιπλημμυρικής προστασίας και κάλυψη όλων των κενών οργανικών θέσεων.

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – *A Uachtaráin*, improving firefighters' working conditions is a very noble, and indeed necessary, thing to do and it must be done not just at Member State level, but we should have at least minimum standards in relation to personal equipment, in relation to remuneration that apply right across the European Union, so that they can feel that they are appreciated by all Europeans.

As the Commissioner pointed out, firefighters protect us all, so we all have a duty to show appreciation and help them in every way to do their job. And I also welcome the commitments and the desire of both MEPs and the Commission to limit their exposure to cancer, particularly in relation to asbestos and carcinogenic materials.

But also as rapporteur for the EPBD, I hope we'll be able to incorporate fire safety measures in all new builds and in retrofitting residential houses, public buildings, commercial and business properties. That too would be a good help.

**Ignazio Corrao (Verts/ALE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ribadendo e sottoscrivendo quanto detto da molti colleghi sulle condizioni di lavoro dei vigili del fuoco e sulla loro esposizione a malattie mortali, vorrei sottolineare come la violazione della direttiva 1999/70/CE sul lavoro a tempo determinato continui a minare anche i diritti dei vigili del fuoco discontinui – che sono 9 000 in Italia – costantemente relegati in uno stato di precarietà e classificati impropriamente come volontari, nonostante ricevano una regolare busta paga e contribuiscano al sistema previdenziale. Questa è una chiara violazione dei loro diritti, una situazione inaccettabile che deve essere affrontata con urgenza.

Non possiamo ignorare il fatto che da dicembre 2020 non si sono registrate significative evoluzioni in questa materia, il che è in netto contrasto con l'impegno della Commissione europea a garantire il rispetto tempestivo del diritto dell'Unione da parte degli Stati membri.

Alla data odierna, e in risposta alle numerose petizioni ricevute da questo Parlamento, la Commissione ha dichiarato di essere al lavoro per la valutazione delle informazioni presentate dalle autorità italiane. Chiedo quindi a tutti i membri del Parlamento europeo e alla Commissaria di prendere atto di questa situazione preoccupante e di agire con determinazione per porre fine a questa violazione sistematica dei diritti dei lavoratori.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Elisa Ferreira, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members, honourable rapporteur Pîslaru, I want to thank you personally, but also and in particular on behalf of my colleague, Commissioner Nicolas Schmit, for this very important debate.

This summer, the essential role of firefighters and emergency services has been absolutely notable in addressing wildfires, then floods, in several places, particularly in the Mediterranean area, in Italy, in Slovenia, in Greece and in many other places. As the impact of climate change manifests more and more, it is crucial that we protect those who risk their lives to protect ours.

The discussion today reflects, in fact, our joint commitment to continue improving firefighters' working conditions and ensuring their health and their safety.

The Commission will continue to put forward measures to address the exposure of firefighters to dangerous substances – and a lot of you have spoken about it – to support the work of the European Agency for Occupational Safety and Health, aimed at a better information exchange and the implementation of protective measures, and to help Member States to collect better data and also to direct funds to research for the benefit of our emergency services. Also to ensure adequate workers' protection – and I would like to note that all the structural funds are there and can be used.

Commissioner Schmit and the Commission look forward to our continued cooperation and be aware that everything that you are suggesting, all the information that we shared, is being listened to, registered and taken into account. So thank you once again for raising awareness about this important issue.

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

*(Die Sitzung wird um 11.55 Uhr für kurze Zeit unterbrochen.)*

**VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND**

*Vizepräsident*

## **6. Wznowienie posiedzenia**

*(Die Sitzung wird um 12.00 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)*

**Der Präsident.** – Wir haben zwei Wortmeldungen zur Tagesordnung.

Ich darf zunächst Herrn Kollegen Tertsch das Wort erteilen.

**Hermann Tertsch (ECR).** – Señor presidente, ayer pasó algo muy grave en este Parlamento. Un socialista español, Javi López, abusó de un falso punto de orden para agredirme personalmente y pedir mordazas. Ese socialista pedía, nada menos, que medidas legales contra mí por unas frases, todas ciertas y defendibles: Allende no fue asesinado por los militares. Allende preparaba una dictadura comunista. Y a Allende se le frenó cuando había destruido la democracia.

Lo grave no es que la izquierda odie la verdad. Esto es de *El País*, esto es de *El País*, que ahora es un panfleto suyo: «La justicia chilena ratifica que Salvador Allende se suicidó. La Corte Suprema ratifica que el expresidente se suicidó durante el golpe de Estado de 1973». *El País. El País.* Ni que mienta López. Lo grave... *(el presidente retira la palabra al orador).*

**President.** – Thank you, Mr Tertsch. You have not the floor any more. Mr Tertsch, calm down. Mind your blood pressure. Colleague, you have not the floor any more, please sit down. Intervention for Rules of Procedure is one minute, you made your point, but it should not go into a political statement. So you made your point, thank you.

Herr Kollege Gahler hat das Wort. Und wenn Sie sich nicht hinsetzen, werde ich Sie aus dem Saal entfernen lassen.

Eine Minute zur Geschäftsordnung. Setzen Sie sich bitte hin!

*(Unruhe im Saal)*

Herr Kollege Gahler.

Und Sie haben auch nur eine Minute, Herr Kollege Gahler.

*(Unruhe im Saal)*

Herr Kollege Tertsch! Ich rufe Sie zum zweiten Mal zur Ordnung! Ich weise Sie darauf hin, dass ich Sie anschließend aus dem Saal entfernen lassen werde. Setzen Sie sich bitte auf Ihren Platz. Bitte schön!

*Sit down please.*

Herr Kollege Gahler.

*(Unruhe im Saal)*

Wenn der Herr Kollege Tertsch sich jetzt hinsetzt, gibt es keine Veranlassung, in Triumphgeheul auszubrechen. Das ist auch nicht angemessen!

Herr Kollege Gahler, bitte schön.

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Mr President, it is with deep regret and outrage that I have to inform the plenary of the decision of the Tunisian authorities yesterday evening to refuse entry for a delegation of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee to the country. We should have left today and would have arrived in Tunis this evening. This conduct is unprecedented since the democratic revolution in 2011. We continue to be ready for, and we insist on, a dialogue also on critical issues and remind that this Parliament has always approved the comprehensive cooperation agenda, including the strengthening of democracy and financial support, as agreed in the association agreement.

*(Applause)*

So I ask the President to take appropriate measures. I have also communicated this to the High Representative and to further institutions. I think we should not accept this whole handling by the authorities.

**Der Präsident.** – Herr Kollege Gahler, Sie haben Ihre Beschwerde ja angekündigt. Die Präsidentin hat mich unterrichtet, dass die Sache heute Morgen schon in der Konferenz der Präsidenten besprochen worden ist und zwar ganz in Ihrem Sinne, und dass die Sache auch weiterverfolgt wird.

So, jetzt haben wir noch eine weitere Wortmeldung zur Geschäftsordnung, wie mir gesagt wurde, aus der Fauna-Abteilung. Frau Kollegin Pereira, bitte.

**Sandra Pereira (The Left).** – Senhor Presidente, invoco o artigo 195.º do Regimento para, mais uma vez, reportar a presença de ratos e ratazanas nos nossos gabinetes.

É a segunda vez no espaço de um ano que encontramos ratos e ratazanas e os seus excrementos nos nossos gabinetes. Não é só nos nossos, mas no nosso piso também há ratos e ratazanas e até noutros pisos, até ao novo andar do edifício Madariaga, já foi relatada a presença destes animais.

Achamos que é um problema de saúde pública, que não se resolve com a colocação de ratoeiras e, portanto, apelamos a medidas adequadas, nomeadamente a desratização daquele edifício, que deveria ter ocorrido em agosto e, lamentavelmente, não ocorreu.

Portanto, apelamos a medidas adequadas.

*(Fortes aplausos)*

*(Exclamações de aprovação)*

**Der Präsident.** – Vielen Dank, Frau Kollegin Pereira. Ich werde darauf achten, dass die zuständige Generaldirektion dieser Sache nachgeht. Das haben wir auch in Brüssel schon erfolgreich getan.

## 7. Głosowanie

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Abstimmung. Zunächst der Bericht von Nicolás González Casares. Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, da will ich Sie jetzt, damit es da nicht auch wieder Ärger gibt – ich habe Nachfragen bekommen –, ... Wir haben ein Verfahren nach Artikel 71 der Geschäftsordnung, und danach wird ein Kollege oder eine Kollegin für und gegen den Beschluss sprechen. Und es ist ständige Praxis hier im Haus, dass jemand von der Fraktion mit der Wortmeldung berücksichtigt wird, die das Verfahren als erste angestoßen hat. Deshalb darf ich Frau Kollegin Mesure das Wort erteilen.

### 7.1. Zmiana rozporządzeń (UE) 2019/943 i (UE) 2019/942 oraz dyrektyw (UE) 2018/2001 i (UE) 2019/944 w celu udoskonalenia struktury unijnego rynku energii elektrycznej (A9-0255/2023 - Nicolás González Casares) (głosowanie)

— *Vor der Abstimmung:*

**Marina Mesure (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, l'électricité est un bien essentiel. Il est probablement l'un de ceux qui intéressent le plus les Européens. Il serait donc choquant que le Parlement européen ne puisse pas se prononcer sur un sujet aussi fondamental, alors même que la crise des prix de l'énergie fait basculer des millions de ménages dans la précarité, les privant souvent de besoins vitaux comme se chauffer et s'éclairer. Une crise qui mène des milliers de TPE, de PME, d'artisans, de boulangers à la faillite, asphyxiés par des factures d'électricité qui ont été multipliées par dix ou vingt. Et, ironie du calendrier, on annonce ce matin en France une hausse de 20 % des tarifs de l'électricité d'ici 2024.

Dans ce contexte, cette réforme du marché de l'électricité est probablement l'une des réformes les plus importantes de la mandature. Les ménages, les collectivités, les entreprises, les industries ont les yeux rivés sur nous et nous devons leur rendre des comptes. C'est ce que nous avons fait en débattant dans cet hémicycle de toutes les législations sur le climat. Faisons de même pour l'avenir du secteur de l'électricité.

Cette objection que nous formulons aujourd'hui pour pouvoir débattre en plénière est soutenue par des députés de plusieurs groupes pour des raisons différentes. Certains voudront, comme l'extrême droite, approfondir le marché, d'autres y voient un moyen de renforcer le nucléaire et inclure le charbon. Ce n'est pas notre position. Pour nous, c'est la conviction profonde que l'énergie n'a pas vocation à être gérée par le marché et que les prix de l'électricité doivent correspondre au coût moyen de production.

Chers collègues, ce dont ont besoin les ménages et les entreprises, c'est de la prévisibilité sur leur facture d'électricité et cela passe nécessairement par des tarifs réglementés. Mais au fond, quelles que soient nos divergences, débattons-en ici. À l'heure où tous les baromètres témoignent de la défiance grandissante des Européens vis-à-vis des institutions, montrons-leur que les sujets qui les préoccupent au quotidien sont au cœur de nos préoccupations.

**Nicolás González Casares (S&D).** – Señor presidente, señorías, les pido que voten a favor de este mandato. Gracias a la buena colaboración de los ponentes hemos logrado fijar una posición equilibrada y con amplio respaldo de los cuatro principales grupos de esta Cámara ante una reforma compleja y de gran alcance.

Esta propuesta da respuesta a la demanda de los ciudadanos expresada durante la crisis. Va a permitir reducir la volatilidad de los precios de la electricidad y, por tanto, las facturas. Amplía fuertemente la protección de los consumidores, sobre todo de los más vulnerables, con la nueva prohibición de desconexión. ¿Quién puede estar en contra de eso? Refuerza nuevos derechos, como el derecho a compartir energía. Aumenta la transparencia y el control sobre el funcionamiento de los mercados. Respeta el *mix* energético de cada país, sin excepciones.

Apostamos por un esfuerzo común para una energía más limpia y producida en Europa —megavatios limpios producidos en Europa—, lo que nos hace más autónomos. Es un acuerdo por un mercado europeo de la electricidad, no propuestas parciales que solo responden a intereses nacionales.

Señorías, tenemos la oportunidad de dar un mensaje rotundo al Consejo y a la Comisión: en el Parlamento sabemos trabajar y acordar rápido. Votar sí es decir «nunca más» a dejar de lado al Parlamento con reglamentos de emergencia. Entablar diálogos tripartitos es una decisión totalmente democrática. Y retrasar este mandato supondría mayor volatilidad y mayor inestabilidad si no lo rematamos en esta legislatura.

Colleagues, vote «yes»! Vote in favour for more protection to European citizens. Vote in favour for cleaner electricity produced in Europe. Vote in favour to support the role of this Parliament. Vote «yes», «plus», «ja», «da»! Push the green button for Europe, please.

**7.2. Gwatemala – sytuacja po wyborach, praworządność i niezawisłość sądów (RC-B9-0367/2023, B9-0367/2023, B9-0368/2023, B9-0372/2023, B9-0375/2023, B9-0377/2023, B9-0379/2023) (głosowanie)**

**7.3. Sprawa uwięzionego w Azerbejdżanie dr. Gubada Ibadoghlu (RC-B9-0369/2023, B9-0369/2023, B9-0370/2023, B9-0371/2023, B9-0373/2023, B9-0374/2023, B9-0376/2023) (głosowanie)**

**7.4. Sytuacja w zakresie praw człowieka w Bangladeszu, w szczególności sprawa organizacji Odhikar (RC-B9-0378/2023, B9-0378/2023, B9-0380/2023, B9-0381/2023, B9-0382/2023, B9-0383/2023, B9-0384/2023) (głosowanie)**

— *Vor der Abstimmung über Änderungsantrag zu Ziffer 2:*

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, we have been informed an hour ago that Odhikar's leaders have been sentenced to a two years' prison sentence after a decade of legal harassment. That is why the authors and shadow rapporteurs have proposed an oral amendment to come to terms with this sad reality that we deplore. So, on paragraph two, I have an oral amendment. We wrote the following in the joint motion for resolution:

'Urges the GoB (government of Bangladesh) to immediately and unconditionally drop all charges against Odhikar's representatives and reinstate its registration, ...'

That was the first part. We would like to replace this with the following:

'Deplores the prison sentence handed down on 14 September by the Cyber Tribunal of Dhaka against Odhikar's secretary, Adilur Rahman Khan, and director, ASM Nasiruddin Elan; urges the government of Bangladesh to immediately and unconditionally quash this sentence.'

Then the last part stays as it follows. So, President, this is the proposal by the six political groups that have authored this resolution.

*(Der mündliche Änderungsantrag wird übernommen.)*

**7.5. Zapewnienie bezpiecznych i zrównoważonych dostaw surowców krytycznych (A9-0260/2023 - Nicola Beer) (głosowanie)**

— *Nach der Abstimmung über den Vorschlag der Kommission:*

**Nicola Beer (Renew).** – Mr President, thank you, colleagues, for this strong mandate for the trilogue. I now ask for the referral back to committee for interinstitutional negotiation based on Rule 59(4).

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



- 7.6. Podjęcie rokowań w sprawie umowy ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi Ameryki w sprawie wzmocnienia międzynarodowych łańcuchów dostaw minerałów krytycznych (B9-0366/2023) (głosowanie)**
- 7.7. Zmiana proponowanego mechanizmu eliminowania barier prawnych i administracyjnych w kontekście transgranicznym (A9-0252/2023 - Sandro Gozi) (głosowanie)**
- 7.8. Regulacja prostytucji w UE – jej skutki transgraniczne oraz wpływ na równouprawienie płci i prawa kobiet (A9-0240/2023 - Maria Noichl) (głosowanie)**
- 7.9. Przyszłość europejskiej branży księgarskiej (A9-0257/2023 - Tomasz Frankowski) (głosowanie)**
- 7.10. Parlamentaryzm, obywatelstwo europejskie i demokracja (A9-0249/2023 - Alin Mițuța, Niklas Nienass) (głosowanie)**

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

*(Die Sitzung wird um 12.36 Uhr unterbrochen.)*

**PŘEDSEDNICTVÍ: DITA CHARANZOVÁ**

*místopředsedkyně*

## **8. Wznowienie posiedzenia**

*(The sitting resumed at 15.00)*

## **9. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia**

**President.** – The minutes of yesterday's sitting and the texts adopted are available. Are there any comments? If not, the minutes are approved.

## **10. Skład komisji i delegacji**

**President.** – The EPP Group has notified the President of decisions relating to changes to appointments within committees and delegations. These decisions will be set out in the minutes of today's sitting and take effect on the date of this announcement.

## **11. Segregacja i dyskryminacja dzieci romskich w edukacji (debata)**

**President.** – The next item is the debate on the oral question to the Commission on Segregation and discrimination of Roma children in education by Peter Pollák

on behalf of the PPE Group (O-000039/2023 (B9-0026/2023)).

**Peter Pollák**, *autor*. – Pani predsedajúca, Pani komisárka, napriek tomu, že ústavy členských krajín Únie zakazujú diskrimináciu, napriek tomu, že máme miliardy eur, ako aj množstvo stratégií na riešenie rómskej témy, napriek tomu máme milióny európskych detí, ktoré sú v Európe diskriminované. Potvrdzujú to dáta, správy či dokonca aj rozhodnutia súdov.

Narodiť sa ako rómske dieťa nie je nič príjemné. Ničím sa neprevinilo. Avšak celé detstvo je sprevádzané chudobou, zlými životnými podmienkami, bez vody či bez kanalizácie.

A aby toho nebolo málo, tak pri vstupe do základnej školy je potrestané umiestnením do segregovanej triedy.

Ako je možné, že Európa odvracia tvár od rómskych detí? Chráni sa tu vlk, medveď, lesy či stromy, no rómskym deťom kradneme ich budúcnosť.

Na jednej strane vidíme humánnu Európu, ktorá prijíma rezolúcie voči cudzím krajinám za porušovanie práv žien, LGBT či novinárskej slobody. A na druhej strane vidíme Európu, ktorá segreguje, vyčleňuje a odsudzuje rómske deti za farbu ich pleti, za ich etnicitu, za ich chudobu.

Ako je možné, že sa Európa dokáže za pár dní zjednotiť vo veci pandémie, energií či pomoci Ukrajine? No v prípade rómskych detí ukazujeme bezmocnosť a slabosť? Vážení priatelia, choďte sa pozrieť do ktorejkoľvek školy v blízkosti geta či rómskej osady na Slovensku, v Čechách, Maďarsku či v iných krajinách a zistíte, že sú tam segregované triedy, školy a dokonca na to dostanú viac peňazí.

Nedovoľme, aby hociktoré dieťa v Európe trpelo za to, že sa narodilo do chudoby alebo do ktorejkoľvek etnickej skupiny.

Rómske deti v Európe sú nevyužitým potenciálom celej Európy. Z rómskych detí môžu raz vyrásť odborníci, ktorí nám dnes na pracovnom trhu chýbajú a ktorí budú platiť dane.

Je absurdné, že my dovážame pracovnú silu z tretích krajín a pritom nevidíme, čo máme v rómskych osadách. Je to potenciál Európy, ktorý dnes nevyužívame, a som presvedčený o tom, že ak investujeme do ich vzdelania, tak sa nám to niekoľkonásobne vráti v podobe teda toho, že raz budú tieto deti platiť dane.

Ako som už povedal, z rómskych detí môžu vyrásť odborníci, ktorí nám dnes na pracovnom trhu chýbajú a ktorí budú, ako som už povedal, platiť dane.

Prestaňme, vážení kolegovia a kolegyne, o tom rozprávať. Prestaňme vymýšľať stratégie. Prestaňme teda naozaj realizovať rôzne pilotné projekty a začnime naozaj vplývať na členské krajiny, aby s touto témou niečo urobili.

Je absurdné, že sa tu tvárime v podstate ako najväčší ľudsko-právni aktivisti smerom k iným tretím krajinám. Prijímame tu rezolúcie ako na bežiacom páse a pritom tu vo vlastnej kuchyni máme rómske deti, ktorých segregujeme a jednoducho im kradneme ich budúcnosť. Majme na pamäti, kolegovia a kolegyne, že aj rómske deti sú rovnaké ako ostatné deti v Európe a majú právo plniť si svoje sny.

**Elisa Ferreira**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, dear honourable Member Pollák, I'm speaking here now on behalf of Commissioner Dalli, and I must start by thanking MEP Peter Pollák for bringing the issue of educational segregation and discrimination of Roma children to today's plenary agenda.

As you know, many Roma throughout Europe continue to suffer from exclusion and discrimination, and I had the chance to visit personally some of these settlements.

Regarding educational segregation, the situation has worsened in recent years. It is unacceptable that more than one out of two Roma children attends a school where all or most pupils are Roma.

The European Commission strongly condemns all sorts and forms of discrimination, racism and xenophobia, including anti-Gypsyism. We are committed to eradicating segregation and combating discrimination and exclusion.

While the main competence for education lies with the Member States, the Commission addresses school segregation and discrimination through a comprehensive set of policy funding and substantial funding and legal instruments.

Our actions to fight discrimination build on an established legal framework. This includes the non-discrimination and equality principles enshrined in the Treaties and the Racial Equality Directive, which prohibits segregation in education.

The European Union Roma strategic framework for 2020-2030, sets out the objective of increasing effective equal access to quality, inclusive, mainstream education. This objective is linked to European Union quantitative headline targets, such as cutting the proportion of Roma children attending segregated schools at least in half by 2030.

The Member States confirmed their commitment to fostering Roma inclusion, equality and participation by unanimously adopting a Council recommendation in 2021. This recommendation sets out concrete measures to improve access to education and prevent segregation.

In their national Roma strategic frameworks, all Member States with larger Roma populations have developed the measures to prevent segregation, and these are incorporated in their proposal for multi-annual funding. So they have the financial instruments also to do it and also to help transition Roma pupils from segregated schools into mainstream education.

We have acknowledged these efforts also in reports, in our assessment report adopted in January, but we also consider that in some cases the measures still appear insufficient. Therefore, we call on the Member States to step up their efforts to eradicate segregation. We ask Member States to make full use of European funding – and a lot of pressure has been put exactly on this dimension – to support Roma equality and inclusion, in particular under the European Social Fund Plus (ESF+), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Recovery and Resilience Facility.

To ensure that this funding achieves the greatest possible benefits for Roma, the relevant partnership agreements and programmes include provisions on the segregation and non-discrimination, not only at a strategic level, but also in designing concrete measures, calls and selection criteria.

Under the 2021-2027 cohesion policy, Member States can use the ESF+ and ERDF to promote the socioeconomic inclusion of marginalised communities and disadvantaged groups, including Roma communities. Under the ESF+, more than EUR 1.7 billion are programmed for Roma inclusion under a specific objective or through mainstream measures benefiting vulnerable groups.

Actions under the ESF+, including teacher training and support for pupils moving to mainstream settings, are complementing and complemented by regional funded measures, such as building non-segregated schools and providing access to school transport.

The Commission addresses the discrimination and segregation of Roma children as part of the European Semester. Under the Recovery and Resilience Facility, several national plans include reforms and investments supporting desegregation and inclusion.

The Commission assesses the satisfactory fulfilment of related milestones and targets once it receives the respective requests for payment. In those cases where the prohibition of educational segregation is not respected, the Commission is ready to use all available tools to help remedy the situation.

This can include the launch of infringement procedures. The Commission has launched infringement procedures against three Member States. On 19 April, it referred Slovakia to the Court of Justice of the European Union for failing to tackle the issue of school segregation.

Looking at the broader context of the European education area, equity remains one of the long-lasting challenges across Member States. Hence, we have introduced a specific indicator on equity in the 2022 Education and Training Monitor.

We need to put a strong focus on improving equity, inclusion and success for all. This all also confirmed by the 2023 Council resolution on the European Education Area.

In 2025, the Commission will publish a report to contribute to the update and improvement of the European Education Area and prepare for the Council's review of strategic framework for 2026-2030.

In closing, let me reiterate that we are committed to supporting Member States in eradicating the segregation and discrimination of Roma children through all tools at our disposal.

**Ivan Štefanec**, za skupinu PPE. – Pani predsedajúca, Pani komisárka, viaceré členské štáty dlhodobo čelia problémom vo vzdelávaní rómskych detí. Uplynulo už niekoľko rokov, odkedy Európska komisia začala *infringement* pre porušenie smernice o rasovej rovnosti voči niekoľkým členským štátom vrátane Slovenska, ako to spomenula pani komisárka. To, že k segregácii rómskych detí naozaj dochádzalo, potvrdili aj rozhodnutia národných súdov.

Musí byť naším spoločným cieľom vyvinúť väčšie úsilie na riešenie pretrvávajúcej diskriminácie vrátane protirómskeho zmýšľania a na zlepšenie začlenenia Rómov do vzdelávania.

Často sú však rómske deti umiestňované do špeciálnych škôl pre žiakov s miernym mentálnym postihnutím. Členské štáty sú nedôsledné aj v uplatnení predprimárneho vzdelávania päťročných detí, ktoré deťom naprieč sociálnymi vrstvami zabezpečí rovnakú štartovaciu čiaru na základnej škole.

Výborným nástrojom vo vzdelávacom procese sú aj školské kluby detí plné rozmanitých aktivít a školské centrá voľného času. Deti tam dostanú šancu ešte viac sa rozvíjať či pripraviť sa dobre na nasledujúci školský deň.

Téma desegregácie vo vzdelávaní je zároveň súčasťou plánu obnovy, ako už bolo spomínané, ktorý obsahuje aj historicky prvý metodický materiál prinášajúci konkrétne riešenia bez segregácie škôl. Tento materiál bol vypracovaný aj so zástupcami Európskej komisie a je dôležité, aby každé dieťa dostalo rovnakú šancu na úspech v škole aj v živote. Je dôležité, aby sa tieto ciele z tohto plánu naozaj naplnili.

Novou cestou pre žiakov z marginalizovaných rómskych komunit je digitalizácia, ktorá im otvára brány do budúcnosti. Práca s digitálnymi technológiami je v dnešnej dobe nevyhnutnosťou a rovnako ponúka príležitosť využiť či objaviť potenciál mladých ľudí bez ohľadu na ich sociálne pomery.

Ak má byť digitálna transformácia úspešná, musí byť aj spravodlivá a k jej výhodám musia mať rovnaký prístup všetci.

Od kvality vzdelania závisí naša budúcnosť, ktorá musí byť založená na rovnosti šancí bez výnimky. Ďakujem vám všetkým za podporu riešení v tejto téme, a osobitne kolegovi Petrovi Pollákovi za iniciatívu, že tu môžeme o tom hovoriť.

**Marcos Ros Sempere**, en nombre del Grupo S&D. – Señora presidenta, igualdad. La igualdad es uno de los pilares sobre los que se asienta nuestro proyecto europeo y no podemos consentir que este principio se quebrante, menos en un ámbito tan crucial como en el de la educación. No nos cansaremos de repetirlo. Todas las personas tienen derecho a una educación y formación de calidad, independientemente de su origen, raza, sexo o cualquier otro rasgo. No podemos consentir que colectivos como los niños romanes sufran discriminación sistémica en un espacio de desarrollo personal tan importante como es el ámbito escolar. Y, aun así, sigue ocurriendo.

Desde el Parlamento Europeo tenemos que actuar con firmeza. La educación es la mejor arma para garantizar la igualdad de oportunidades y tiene que estar libre de discriminaciones. El Espacio Europeo de Educación es la iniciativa con la que podemos mejorar, ahora, la calidad, la equidad y la inclusión en las aulas. Y recuerden: debemos alcanzarlo en 2025. Este proyecto debe llevarnos a una educación más igualitaria, de más calidad y con más movilidad, que promueva los valores y la ciudadanía europeos, el Pacto Verde y la lucha contra el acoso y el ciberacoso.

Comisaria, aprovechemos estas políticas educativas para construir una sociedad más justa, más inclusiva, más igualitaria. Actuemos para evitar estas situaciones de marginación. Actuemos para estar seguros de que no dejamos a ningún niño ni a ninguna niña atrás. Se lo debemos a los que cada día sufren discriminación.

**Valter Flego**, u ime kluba *Renew*. – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, dijete je dijete i svako dijete ima ista dječja prava, pravo na obrazovanje, zdravstvenu skrb, hranu, igru itd., ma nevažno gdje dijete živi, tko su mu roditelji i koje je nacionalnosti.

O tome, uostalom, jasno govori i Konvencija o pravima djeteta koju je 1989. usvojila Generalna skupština Ujedinjenih naroda, a naglašavam da je više od 23 godine na snazi i Direktiva o rasnoj jednakosti. S druge pak strane, nažalost, na terenu postoje različite situacije i jako me žalosti što danas u 2023. godini raspravljamo o segregaciji i diskriminaciji romske djece u obrazovnom sustavu. I to znači da mi kao društvo još, nažalost, nismo položili ispit, a cilj svih nas, a posebno javnog sektora, nevažno da li Europske komisije, ministarstva, škole, grada, općine treba biti zajedničko učenje i druženje u razredu i školi sve djece. Ponavljam, sve djece, bez obzira na nacionalnost ili mjesto rođenja, jer djeca ne mogu birati ni nacionalnost ni mjesto rođenja.

Dakle, poštovane kolege i kolegice, protiv školske segregacije trebamo se najodlučnije boriti i nikako ne okretati glavu ili šutjeti, jer nažalost, ona često vodi k tome da takva djeca odustaju od daljnjeg školovanja, što jasno dovodi do teškoća u zapošljavanju, a romska zajednica, poštovane kolege, najveća je etnička manjina u Europskoj uniji. Poštovana povjerenice, školska segregacija jedan je od najgorih oblika diskriminacije gdje se ozbiljno narušavaju osnovna prava djeteta. I zato pozdravljam i podržavam izdvajanje svakog eura iz EU proračuna koji se stavlja na raspolaganje državama članicama za potporu uključivom i kvalitetnom obrazovanju, bez segregacije. I ta izdvajanja trebaju biti još i veća, ali smatram da Komisija treba više nadzirati trošenje tih sredstava i pratiti stanje na terenu, stanje u školama, jer samo na taj način, uz hitne intervencije, tamo gdje to je i potrebno, možemo smanjiti segregaciju i poboljšati pravednost i u području obrazovanja biti svijetli primjer na putu k promicanju temeljnih sloboda, tolerancije i nediskriminacije. I kao što je predsjednik Nelson Mandela jednom sjajno rekao: „Nema jasnijeg prikaza duše jednog društva od načina na koji tretira svoju djecu“. I zbilja je to tako.

Zato, molim vas, pokažimo da mi Europljani imamo dušu, imamo odgovornost prema svakome djetetu i samim time imamo odgovornost prema sadašnjosti i budućnosti jer djeca su naš najvažniji resurs.

**Romeo Franz**, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist traurig, wenn Geschwister und Kinder in der Schule ausgeschlossen werden. Und wir – wir müssen gegen solche Ungerechtigkeiten und Ausgrenzung kämpfen. Ausgrenzung beginnt oft durch Worte.

In der Politik wird oft der Begriff Roma als Oberbegriff für alle Romanes-sprachigen Menschen benutzt, wie Caló, Manuš, Lovara, Resande, Bojash, Domari, Caldera, Romani, Kale und Sinti. Das ist grundsätzlich falsch.

Ich, zum Beispiel, ich bin Sinto und falle nicht unter den Überbegriff Roma. Genauso wie ein Franzose kein Deutscher ist, ein Pole kein Spanier. Aber wir alle – wir alle sind Europäer. Europäer zu sein, bedeutet Teil eines vielfältigen Kontinents mit verschiedenen Kulturen, Sprachen und Traditionen zu sein. Genauso ist es bei den Romanes-sprachigen Menschen. Der Begriff Romanes-sprachige Menschen respektiert die Vielfalt in dieser Gemeinschaft und fördert ein besseres Verständnis für ihre Kultur und Geschichte.

Die Verwendung des Oberbegriffs Roma kann Unterschiede innerhalb der Gruppe übersehen lassen. Wenn wir stattdessen den Begriff Romanes-sprachige Menschen verwenden, erkennen wir die Einheit und Vielfalt mit über 200 Romanes-Dialekten gleichermaßen an und fördern einen respektvollen Dialog über ihre Rechte in Europa. Dadurch wenden wir uns auch gegen einen paternalistischen Ansatz und fordern unser Recht auf Selbstbestimmung und Selbstbezeichnung ein.

Neben der Bekämpfung von Antiziganismus ist es jedoch auch wichtig zu betonen, dass Umweltrassismus nicht nur die Lebensumstände, sondern auch die Schulerfahrung und die Schulleistungen Romanes-sprachiger Kinder beeinflusst. Die Umstände, die durch Umweltverschmutzung, Gesundheitsbelastung und unzureichende Wohnverhältnisse entstehen, können ihre Bildungschancen erheblich beeinträchtigen. Wir müssen uns bewusst sein, wie Umweltrassismus in der Schule wirkt, und uns für eine gerechte Bildungsumgebung einsetzen.

Nur durch eine ganzheitliche Betrachtung der Herausforderungen, mit denen Romanes-sprachige Kinder konfrontiert sind, können wir echte Veränderungen bewirken und eine inklusive Gesellschaft schaffen.

**Ангел Джамбазки**, *от името на групата ECR*. – Г-жо Председател, нещо не разбирам как така всяка година се дават все повече и повече милиарди за борба със сегрегацията и дискриминацията, и всяка година тази сегрегация и дискриминация се увеличава повече и повече. Процесът би трябвало да е обратен. Когато харчиш парите на данъкоплатеца за нещо, то би трябвало да се поправя и да се премахва, а не да се увеличава. Тоест тук има нещо сбъркано. Или парите се харчат некадърно и неумело, или не както трябва, или отиват за това посредниците да могат да защитават една и съща теза, и да искат повече и повече пари от данъкоплатците, да ги харчат по начин, който не е ефективен. Ето това е големият проблем.

Насочени средства към борба със сегрегация и дискриминация отиват в посредници, неправителствени организации, които се издържат от това да работят пропаганда и да работят, сигнализирайки, алармирайки за проблеми, които, разбира се, са важни, но не се решават. И тези хора продължават да искат все повече и повече пари и да вървят по тази тема. Нито в изказването досега не чух, нито едно, къде е отговорността на родителите? Къде вносителят, къде Комисията, къде неправителствените организации питат родителите защо не пускат децата си на училище? Къде Комисията, къде уважаемите депутати се борят с ранните бракове? Как искате да се поддържа така наречената традиция да се женят деца на по 13, 14, 15 години и те да ходят на училище? Едното противоречи на другото.

И понеже тук се говори за насърчаване на тези традиции и практики, това става точно обратното. Ако искате да се борите с тази тема, тя е важна, всички средства трябва се насочат в училищата, в обществата, а не в неправителствени организации, които от това печелят и това работят, и да не се насърчава традиция, която вреди – ранни бракове и други такива. Това е, г-жо Комисар.

**Joachim Kuhs**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, werte Kollegen! Wir müssen Segregation und Diskriminierung bekämpfen – natürlich.

Aber ich möchte etwas den Finger in eine andere Wunde legen, die sich hier auftut. Wenn es um Roma geht, insbesondere um ihre Kinder, dann öffnet sich mein Herz. Denn seit über 30 Jahren engagiere ich mich für Kinder in Rumänien. „Hoffnung für eine neue Generation“ heißt dieser Verein. Und Hoffnung ist das, was ich gerade bei diesem Thema auch vermitteln möchte.

Doch ich weiß aus eigener Anschauung, wie schwer, ja nahezu unmöglich es ist, den Kindern eine gute Bildung zukommen zu lassen und sie in die Gesellschaft zu integrieren: Sie bleiben zu sehr in ihrer eigenen Gemeinschaft. Sie gehen nicht regelmäßig zur Schule. Sie sind daher kaum auf dem Arbeitsmarkt vermittelbar. Hinzu kommt, viele Roma-Kinder werden gezwungen, auf die Straße zu gehen und zu betteln. Und offensichtlich wird das auch perfekt organisiert. Denn ich habe persönlich in Freiburg, in Karlsruhe, in Mannheim, in Köln – in meiner Heimat –, immer wieder die gleichen Roma-Kinder mit denselben Zetteln in der Hand betteln gesehen. Und in Rumänien wurde mir manche Villa gezeigt, die einem sogenannten Roma-Fürsten gehört.

Deshalb appelliere ich jetzt nicht an die Kommission oder an die Mitgliedstaaten, ich appelliere an alle Roma: Sie lieben doch ihre Kinder? Dann schicken Sie sie doch regelmäßig zur Schule. Durchbrechen Sie diesen furchtbaren Kreislauf und schaffen Sie eine bessere Zukunft für sich und Ihre Kinder. Wir sind gerne bereit, Ihnen dabei zu helfen. Aber: Sie müssen es auch wollen.

**Seán Kelly (PPE)**. – *A Uachtaráin*, education is a great equaliser, regardless of social background or economic status. Access to the right education opens doors for children. Education equips us with the knowledge and skills to understand different perspectives and the confidence necessary to pursue our goals.

As a former teacher, I have seen clearly the transformative impact that education can have on students' lives. It is for this reason that the segregation and discrimination of Roma children from access to education in some parts of the EU is particularly troubling.

Despite the allocation of significant EU funds towards combating such forms of exclusion, the problem persists and has only been exaggerated and aggravated by COVID-19, during which time the digitalisation of education made access to education for Roma children more complicated.

If you can ensure better inclusion of Roma children in education, we can address stereotypes and prejudices against Roma and Travellers through exchange in the classroom and friendships on the playground. We can promote better understanding in the next generation of Traveller and Romani culture and history.

At the same time, we must provide schools and teachers with adequate resources to deliver these outcomes. Give teachers proper funding, teacher training, capacity building and they will deliver for Roma and Traveller children.

**Milan Brglez (S&D).** – Gospa predsednica! Hvala za besedo. Spoštovana komisarka, kolegice in kolegi. Pozdravljam politično voljo Komisije in Parlamenta, da skupaj naredimo več za izkoreninjenje segregacije in diskriminacije romskih otrok v izobraževanju, sočasno pa zagotovimo dejanski napredek z uporabo evropskih sredstev za vključevanje Romov v vseh državah članicah.

Izobraževanje, začenši s predšolsko vzgojo, je glavno sredstvo, s katerim lahko romskim otrokom zagotovimo enake možnosti za poznejšo dostojno zaposlitev, dostojno življenje in uresničitev njihovega potenciala. Izkoreninjenje diskriminacije, ne pa zgolj razpolovitev obsega diskriminacije, kot predvideva strateški okvir EU za vključevanje Romov do leta 2030, in spodbujanje vključevanja romskih otrok v izobraževanje morata iti z roko v roki z bojem proti prostorski segregaciji Romov in človeka ne vrednim bivanjskim razmeram v marginaliziranih romskih naseljih.

Otrokom in njihovim družinam moramo zagotoviti pomoč in podporo, da bodo presekali vozal medgeneracijske revščine in socialne izključenosti ter s svojim potencialom prispevali k družbi. Zato vse države članice pozivam k doslednemu uresničevanju strateškega okvira EU za enakost, vključevanje in udeležbo Romov, nacionalnih strategij za vključevanje Romov, predvsem pa jamstva za otroke.

Komisija mora še bolj pozorno bdeti nad njegovim izvajanjem in poskrbeti, da bodo romski otroci dobili enak dostop do izobraževanja in ključnih storitev zanje, sicer bodo, ker se ne bodo skupaj družili in socializirali, na slabšem tako romski kot neromski otroci.

**Guido Reil (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Nur 28 % der Roma-Jugendlichen schaffen die Sekundarstufe II, im europäischen Durchschnitt sind es 83 %.

Warum ist das so? Roma-Kinder werden diskriminiert. Das sagen die Roma, und das glaubt die Mehrheit in diesem Parlament hier. Deswegen wurde in der Vergangenheit sehr viel Geld investiert, um dieses Problem zu lösen. Haben wir es gelöst? Nein. Wir haben völlig versagt. Wie sieht es im woken Regenbogenland Deutschland aus? Man wird es kaum glauben – auch dort fühlen sich die Roma diskriminiert.

Und ich habe jetzt mal einen Bericht gefunden aus der „Zeit“, einer sehr linken deutschen Zeitung, in dem Grundschullehrer zu Wort kommen an Brennpunktschulen, zum Beispiel in meiner Heimat, in Gelsenkirchen, die berichten über die Probleme. Also diese Schüler kommen in die Schule, können kein Wort Deutsch, weil sie nicht im Kindergarten waren, sind sehr verhaltensauffällig und kommen einfach sehr, sehr selten. So kann Bildung nicht funktionieren und die Eltern spielen einfach nicht mit.

Das Problem ist nicht zu wenig Geld und das Problem sind nicht warme Worte. Das Problem ist diese 1 000 Jahre alte hochkriminelle Kultur, und wir müssen hier Druck ausüben, Druck zum Wohle dieser Kinder, sonst werden wir dieses Problem niemals lösen.

#### *Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, já zde chci jednoznačně odsoudit, co řekl na konci svého vystoupení pan Reil, který hovořil o tom, že romskou kulturu provází tisíciletá kriminalita. To si myslím, že na tuto půdu opravdu nepatří.

Jakákoliv diskriminace a segregace je v Evropské unii nepřijatelná. Státy jsou povinny nejen tyto závazky dodržovat, ale v případě, kdy se objeví určitý problém, musí na něj pozitivně reagovat. A my zde máme, zdá se, určitý systémový problém, protože několik členských států tyto závazky ve vztahu k romským dětem na poli vzdělávání, což já považuji za nejtragičtější chybu, skutečně nedodržuje.

Konečně zde máme i návrh usnesení. Už si o tomto problému nebudeme pouze povídat, ale můžeme se k němu vyjádřit i hlasováním. Já pevně věřím, že tento návrh usnesení projde. Je třeba skutečně ukončit tento začarovaný kruh. S tím souhlasím. Odpovědnost zde mají nejen státní orgány a společnost, ale také rodiče. Samozřejmě na to není možno zapomenout.

Co já vidím za důležité? Nesmíme ztratit další generaci. Musíme ji z té trajektorie, která asi zjevně možná u některých míří jinam, dostat zpět do společnosti. A to je náš všeobecný společný závazek. A poslední věc, myslím si, že bychom měli zavést také úřad společného zmocněnce pro otázky romských dětí. Máme jej mít i pro malé a střední podniky, udělejme jej, prosím, i pro romské děti, přímo pod paní předsedkyni.

**President.** – Mr Dzhambazki, if you have a point of order, you cannot react to the content that has been mentioned by Mr Polčák.

No, you cannot react, as it's a 'catch-the-eye'.

No, yours is not a point of order.

**Mónica Silvana González (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, gracias señora comisaria por estar en este importante debate en un momento oportuno que es el comienzo, justamente, del curso escolar.

Lo dice la Agencia de los Derechos Fundamentales: el 71 % de la población gitana romaní entre 18 y 24 años abandonó prematuramente el sistema de educación y no ha continuado ningún otro tipo. También son víctimas de acoso.

En España, afortunadamente, a nivel nacional los datos son alentadores. Se ha reducido de 13 a 6,5 el porcentaje de población gitana que ha abandonado y ha aumentado el porcentaje de quienes han completado la secundaria en estos últimos años.

Pero hay un problema de desigualdad intraterritorial que usted, como comisaria, conoce muy bien: la Comunidad de Madrid, una de las comunidades más ricas de toda Europa y de las más desiguales. Solo a 20 minutos del centro de Madrid, en el área metropolitana, viven más de 1 800 niños que no tienen educación, niños que están en uno de los mayores asentamientos de población gitana de Europa, sin acceso a la luz, sin acceso al agua potable y, por lo tanto, esto es un problema que les impide también seguir una educación en condiciones, por las políticas de la Comunidad de Madrid, políticas que segregan, no solamente a la población gitana. Una Comunidad que, una vez más, es una de las comunidades más desiguales de toda Europa.

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, like everything to do with Travellers in Ireland, Traveller education just isn't a government priority. Ireland's last Traveller education strategy was published in 2006. That's 17 years ago! We've been waiting for an updated version ever since. A review was supposed to be published six years ago and it was only started last July.

Now it really is a lack of respect for Traveller rights by successive governments that has got us to this situation. Our policy has been characterised by promises, delays, half measures, half implementation. There are no ring-fenced funds for primary or post-primary education for Travellers. Why? Because the government really doesn't care about it. It's been left to local Traveller organisations to pick up the pieces.

Traveller education funds were gutted in 2008 and they have never recovered. Added to that is Ireland's system of privatised early childcare years, which means that Traveller children are more particularly excluded thanks to simple racism. It's hard enough for Traveller children to overcome discrimination and marginalisation without this on top of it. We really have to do better.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Madam President, like the Roma community across Europe, in Ireland, children from the Traveller community have been systematically failed by the education system. On paper each child has the same right to access education, but in practice it's a very different story.

Racist policies of segregation have created extremely discouraging conditions for Travellers to attend school. According to one report by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, only 70% of Travellers aged between 18 and 24 finish the Junior Certificate at home, and are not in further education or training, compared to 5% of young Irish people generally.



Discrimination from school authorities and bullying from settled students is a major factor in the discouragement of Travellers to continue schooling. This problem is not exclusive to Ireland and is prolific across Europe. We need to do better to deconstruct racism towards this marginalised community that is so often not represented in political debate. MEPs are very good at highlighting the poor treatment of minorities in far-off countries, but we love to turn a blind eye to it in our own countries.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Elisa Ferreira**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, thank you very much to all those that participated in the debate. Dear honourable Members, in fact, it is a most important target to eradicate segregation and discrimination of Roma children. Education is the vehicle that can bring them and homogenise and give them an opportunity to have a proper and decent life in the future.

Yes, we have put in place an ambitious European Union Roma Strategic Framework, but more than this, we support the Member States and we help them in implementing national strategies. In fact, the money is programmed for that purpose. Often in the past times it has been reprogrammed, removed, because the conditions for the execution and application of those funds are not there. Why are they not there? First of all, because it needs to be taken as a national priority, as well as a European priority, the integration of those children. But on top of this, sometimes very often the approach to the issue requires that a coherent approach includes different dimensions. This is very demanding in terms of technical and governance work, because you need really to combine housing, health, infrastructure, hygiene, or otherwise the integration cannot occur as we are wishing that it would occur.

So, of course, we are putting a strong focus on equity, inclusion in our mainstream policies, such as the European education area. But more than anything else, I think we have the conditions now historically to solve this issue. The negotiations of the partnership agreements with Member States have included a special allocation and a special concern, as I mentioned before, in relation to solving this issue. But of course we have got to overcome some barriers that still exist, and that really consolidate this difficulty in assuming politically that it is for the benefit of the whole society that we completely finish with the present situation.

The present situation, just to close up, shows that 83% of Roma children, compared with 20% in the general population, are in this moment at risk of poverty. So, if you have such a situation, this requires our joint attention. Thank you very much indeed. And also thanks from Commissioner Dalli.

**President**. – The debate is closed. The vote will be held at the next part-session.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Livia Járóka (NI)**, *írásban*. – Kétségtelen, hogy Európa helyzete az elmúlt néhány évben megváltozott – a COVID-válság, az orosz-ukrán háború, az infláció és a megélhetési válság is elmélyítette a társadalmi és gazdasági különbségeket az európai polgárok között. Európa kisebbségeit, így a romákat is különösen hátrányosan érintette a válságok sorozata. A válságok költségeit leginkább a gyermekeink viselik, a társadalmi elszigeteltség és a háztartás helyzetének romlása nagymértékben befolyásolja gyermekeink mentális és fizikai jólétét. Az Uniónak választ kell adnia a roma közösségeket érintő új kihívásokra, és a növekvő anticiganizmusra. Kötelességünk, hogy az eddig elkészült antidiszkriminációs és roma stratégiánkat és gyermekjogi anyagainkat átdolgozzuk. Frissítenünk kell a Bizottság 2020-as uniós roma stratégiáját, és iránymutatást kell adnunk a nemzeti integrációs stratégiák végrehajtásához. Az oktatás javítása és a szegregáció elleni küzdelem ennek egyik kulcspontja lenne. Mindehhez viszont hatékony módon és célirányosan kell felhasználnunk az integrációt célzó európai uniós forrásokat, hogy azok célt érve valós eredményeket produkáljanak. A hatékony fellépéshez azonban elengedhetetlen, hogy az uniós finanszírozások minden tagállam számára egyenlő alapon kerüljenek folyósításra. Megengedhetetlen, hogy bizonyos tagállamokat ideológia által vezérelt módon büntessenek a szociális források megvonásával, hiszen így csak a leginkább kitett, legszegényebb társadalmi csoportokat büntetik.

## 12. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania

**President.** – The next item is the explanations of vote.

### 12.1. Zapewnienie bezpiecznych i zrównoważonych dostaw surowców krytycznych (A9-0260/2023 - Nicola Beer)

#### Oral explanations of vote

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, гласувах в подкрепа на предложението на Европейския парламент за Регламент за рамка за гарантиране и устойчиви доставки на суровини от критично значение и изменение на регламента, защото вярвам, че Европа трябва да има възможността да има тези доставки, а не да зависи от външни фактори.

Но това, което не разбирам и това, което не харесвам, и това, което няма да се уморя да повтарям е, че политиката, водена от Европейската комисия, която сега напуска залата и от Европейския парламент, голяма степен наречена Зелена сделка, ще обрече Европейският парламент, Европейския съюз на зависимост така, както тази политика направи Европа зависима от доставки на природен газ, например извън европейския континент, така ще направи Европа зависима от, например, Китай.

В голямата си част, в огромната си част тези критични материали, за които се говори в доклада, се добиват от Китайската народна република и в Китайската народна република. И така, както Европейският съюз беше зависим по време на пандемията от Китай заради производството, това ще се случи още веднъж. Късогледа, непоследователна, нелогична, антиевропейска политика. Това е.

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, I was happy to answer the call of the civil societies organising the coalition for a global and just transition, and vote against this file because, as they say, mining is an act of war; extraction is an act of war. It always means human rights violations. It always means poisoning the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink. Mostly the poison stays in the ground and water forever.

We are in a hunt for critical raw materials, trying to decarbonise, but we have to realise that endless and continued growth is not the solution. Some of the proposals in this text are absolutely outrageous, such as the idea that if extraction projects are located in protected areas such as *Natura 2000*, which involves about 40% of them, then a derogation applies. This is absolute madness.

We need to take precautions regarding the environmental, social and economic aspects of extraction, and we absolutely have to tackle the abusive practices of our mining companies outside of the European Union.

### 12.2. Regulacja prostytucji w UE – jej skutki transgraniczne oraz wpływ na równouprawienie płci i prawa kobiet (A9-0240/2023 - Maria Noichl)

#### Oral explanations of vote

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, убедено гласувах против този доклад. Както биха казали някои мои съмишленици и приятели, жестока история. Доклад за легализация на проституцията се разглежда от Европейския парламент. Други зевзеци биха казали, че Европейският парламент в една част може би е в конфликт на интереси, гласувайки по тази тема.

Категорично всеки разговор, който би превърнал проституцията в професия, е неприемлив, недопустим и наврежда на поколения и наврежда на общества, наврежда на семейства. Подобно отношение и подобно поведение са напълно неприемливи и необясними. Да не говорим, че отново в доклада любимите ЛГБТИ, К, плюс, минус, 3,14, които се вкарват във всеки един такъв доклад, изобщо категорично ...

Да не говорим, че темата би трябвало да бъде част от вътрешното законодателство. Такава тема е свързана с какво? Свързана е с наказателното право, което е вътрешен въпрос, свързана е със семейното право, свързана с образованието. Това са изцяло национални въпроси и желанието на докладчици в Европейския парламент да легализират и да узаконяват проституцията на европейско ниво е втрещяващо. Ако заменят думата проституция със сексуален работник, ще решат този проблем. Категорично не! Безумие, просто безумие.

### 12.3. Parliamentaryism, obywatelstwo europejskie i demokracja (A9-0249/2023 - Alin Mituța, Niklas Nienass)

#### Oral explanations of vote

**Rainer Wieland**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, on behalf of the EPP Group and its Vice-President responsible, Paolo Rangel, I want to give this explanation.

The EPP Group recognises the importance of the proposals to strengthen parliamentary democracy and citizens' participation contained in this report. However, we also underline our reservations, mainly with the two following proposals.

First, granting the European Parliament scrutiny powers over the European Council as this represents a questionable understanding of the institutional role of both institutions, insufficiently taking into account the democratic legitimacy of elected representatives of Member States.

Second, the proposals for establishing a permanent European agora and EU-wide referendums, as we believe strengthening citizens participation cannot overthrow the principle of representative democracy.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ЕСР)**. – Г-жо Председател, без никаква изненада, отново против, убедено против този доклад. Цялото ми уважение към колегата Виланд, защото отново този доклад призовава за това да се премахне единодушието на Съвета, да се гласува с квалифицирани мнозинства, изобщо налага отново федералистката наднационална рамка, която да замества Европа такава, каквато е замислена от нейните бащи основатели. Такава, каквато е трябвало да бъде, Европа на свободните, суверенни отечества, която споделя единствено общ пазар и която работи за просперитет на своите граждани.

Няма как решенията да се вземат в Брюксел. Хората в този балон, в този стъклен балон в Брюксел, живеят извън живия живот. Те не виждат инфлацията, те налагат политики, които вдигат цените, те унищожават малкия и средния бизнес, те ликвидират средната класа в европейските държави и за всичко това се очаква да се реши, през това да се направи едно европейско наднационално правителство, излъчено от избрани от никой хора, налагащо лобистки политики, каквито са в ущърб на гражданите.

Категорично против! Това е вредно и това не трябва да се случва, защото противоречи на интереса на гражданите и на държавите – членки на Европейския съюз.

**Clare Daly (The Left)**. – Madam President, I too voted against this file because while there are a lot of general aspirations about making the EU more democratic, they were absolutely cancelled out by the call to get rid of consensus decision-making and to put in place a system of qualified majority voting, which is ruled by the big boys and is inherently anti-democratic.

You can dress it up all you like, but nothing really in this proposal is going to deal with the fundamental absence of democracy at EU level. How is it democratic that the current EU was roundly rejected in democratic referendums on an EU Constitution in 2005, but then repackaged and rammed through by EU elites in the Lisbon Treaty? Three years later, only Ireland got another referendum. But again, wrong answer, so do it all again! That's so-called 'democracy'.

Nobody voted for Ursula von der Leyen, yet she is supposedly the head of the EU. Elections or not, the truth is that actual democracy would require a hell of a lot more than its offered in this package.

**Mick Wallace (The Left)**. – Madam President, I too voted against it as giving the big boys more power than they have already is a disaster. The reforms proposed in this report are only scratching at the surface of the problem.

Is the EU a democracy? What started as an ideal has, through the decades, been muddled and garbled by right-wing neoliberal reforms and undemocratic Treaty change. We have deeply flawed institutions that are unanswerable, opaque and endlessly bureaucratic.

The place is run by lobbyists. We have 705 MEPs with 60 000 lobbyists in Brussels. My God! Most of them are hired by big industry trying to influence the decision making.

But what is democracy anyway? Do we ever ask ourselves that? Is it having a vote every five years? I don't think so. Democracy is where the ordinary citizen would have a say in how his country, how his community is run. They don't have it. We don't even have local government. You couldn't have it without local government.

Democracy is overrated as we know it, and we pretend we have it, but a really good example of that is that today 80% of the people have made clear in Europe that they want the war in Ukraine to end and they want peace rather than continuing to punish Russia, but 80% of the politicians across Europe want the war to continue and they want to continue to fuel it.

So who represents who? The politicians do not represent the citizens of Europe!

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

### **13. Zatwierdzenie protokołu bieżącego posiedzenia i przekazanie przyjętych tekstów**

**President.** – The minutes of this sitting will be submitted to Parliament for its approval at the beginning of the next sitting. If there are no objections, I shall forward forthwith the resolutions adopted at today's sitting to the persons and bodies named in the resolutions.

### **14. Kalendarz następnych posiedzeń**

**President.** – The next part-session will take place from 2-5 October 2023.

### **15. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(The sitting closed at 15.52)*

### **16. Przerwa w obradach**

**President.** – I declare adjourned the session of the European Parliament.

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*Skróty i symbole*

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

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

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych*

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

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych*

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