



**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 9 CZERWCA 2021 R.**

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Posiedzenia od 7 do 10 czerwca 2021 r.

STRASBURG

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 9 CZERWCA 2021 R.

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. DAVID MARIA SASSOLI

*Presidente*

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è aperta alle 9.03)*

### 2. Negocjacje przed pierwszym czytaniem w Parlamencie (art. 71 Regulaminu) (działania następcze): patrz protokół

### 3. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania: patrz protokół

### 4. Konkluzje z nadzwyczajnego posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej, które odbyło się 24–25 maja 2021 r. (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulle dichiarazioni del Consiglio europeo e della Commissione sulle conclusioni della riunione straordinaria del Consiglio europeo del 24 e 25 maggio 2021 (2021/2743(RSP)).

Ricordo agli onorevoli deputati che per tutte le discussioni di questa tornata non è prevista la procedura «catch-the-eye», né saranno accettate domande «cartellino blu».

Inoltre, come è avvenuto nelle ultime tornate, sono previsti interventi a distanza dagli Uffici di collegamento nazionali del Parlamento europeo.

Do il benvenuto alla Presidente della Commissione von der Leyen e al Presidente Charles Michel, a cui do subito la parola per cominciare la nostra discussione.

**Charles Michel, President of the European Council.** – Mr President, hijacking a plane is piracy. With 171 passengers on board, it's kidnapping. When these acts are carried out by a State, it is hostage-taking and state piracy. Why? To get hold of a young journalist and his partner whose free speech is intolerable to Mr Lukashenko. We had to react quickly and strongly, and we did. We quickly agreed to adopt sanctions against the Belarusian regime, commensurate with the gravity of the event. These include additional individual sanctions, targeted economic measures and a ban on Belarusian airlines. We also called on European airlines to avoid Belarusian airspace – a recommendation that was immediately followed. In the wake of this decision, the United Kingdom and the United States took similar measures.

I would like to emphasise three clear messages. The first is for Raman Pratasevich and all political prisoners: the EU will not rest until you are released. The second is for Mr Lukashenko: Mr Pratasevich must be released immediately. Until then, we hold you responsible for his physical and mental health. Our third message is to the Belarusian people, especially to those fighting for democracy, freedom of expression and media freedom: the EU stands by you and we will continue our direct support for your struggle to choose your destiny.

Dear colleagues, as we did last year on China, we had a strategic debate on our relationship with Russia and we were unanimous in condemning Russia's illegal, provocative and disruptive activities. But above all, we have given ourselves time for a high-quality debate and I would like to explain the method, the objectives and the first resolutions.

First, the method. The relationship between the EU and Russia is complex, and every complex and strategic choice must begin with building our collective intelligence. This takes time, but saves time in the long run. Once we share a common analysis, it's easier to take a collective decision. We are then stronger because we are more united. During our strategic discussion, the leaders shared their views and experience with Russia without reservation. Russia has created a string of conflicts in its neighbourhood and beyond; faced with that, we have often reacted, rather than acted proactively. Rather than reacting to what we do not want, we must first decide what we do want from Russia. We need to better define our strategic objectives and how best to achieve them, and this must be done in accordance with the five guiding principles on which we have already agreed. They remain as valid as ever: implementation of the Minsk Agreements, strengthening relations with Eastern partners, strengthening the Union's resilience, selective cooperation with Russia on issues of interest to the Union, and the need for people-to-people contact and support for Russian civil society. We will continue this work at our next meeting based on the report we have requested from the Commission and the High Representative, which will contain concrete options and scenarios.

Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, nous avons aussi eu l'occasion à nouveau d'aborder la crise sanitaire, cette pandémie qui nous frappe. Et je résumerai le sentiment autour de la table du Conseil européen de la manière suivante: c'est un optimisme prudent qui nous habite. D'une part, nous voyons bien que nous avons réussi à augmenter la capacité de production de vaccins et la délivrance de vaccins. C'est un pas dans la bonne direction. Mais, d'autre part, nous comprenons qu'il faut rester vigilants et suivre la situation, notamment en lien avec le risque de mutants et de variants.

Des progrès ont également été réalisés en lien avec le certificat COVID. Nous avons salué les accords qui ont été enregistrés sur le sujet, notamment avec le Parlement européen. Nous allons continuer à travailler, à faire en sorte que l'on puisse progressivement restaurer la libre circulation des personnes, avec une attention particulière pour les impacts économiques qui y sont liés, notamment dans certains pays qui sont directement concernés par le secteur touristique. Optimisme prudent: c'est évidemment le sentiment largement partagé autour de la table.

Il y a un autre point qui a été longuement abordé durant ce Conseil européen, c'est l'engagement international de l'Union européenne. C'est du bon sens, nous savons que nous ne serons pas en sécurité tant que le monde entier ne sera pas en sécurité face à cette crise. Et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous sommes totalement convaincus que l'Union européenne ne doit pas rougir des choix qui ont été opérés depuis le début. C'est l'Union européenne, sur le plan international, qui, en premier lieu, a décidé de mobiliser des moyens pour la recherche de façon massive et sans précédent pour réussir en moins d'un an à produire des vaccins. C'est l'Union européenne qui a fait le choix de maintenir des exportations de vaccins, et en moyenne c'est 50 % des vaccins produits sur le sol européen qui ont été exportés. Vous vous souvenez que nous avons parfois été critiqués par certains observateurs et par les citoyens, qui ont eu le sentiment que nous ne progressions pas suffisamment vite sur le terrain de l'administration des vaccins. C'est l'Union européenne qui a initié l'initiative COVAX pour faire en sorte qu'il y ait une capacité de solidarité financière pour commander des vaccins.

Mais il y a un enjeu central maintenant sur lequel nous voulons travailler, avec un engagement très fort marqué par la Commission européenne: c'est augmenter les capacités de production, augmenter les capacités de résilience, y compris dans le cadre de partenariats concrets, spécialement avec le continent africain et particulièrement avec certains pays qui sont engagés sur le continent africain. Je n'oublie pas l'importance de prendre en compte l'Amérique latine, qui est aussi une région pour laquelle il est important de travailler sur des capacités pharmaceutiques plus fortes à moyen terme et à long terme. Cela inclut bien sûr des débats en lien avec la propriété intellectuelle, mais aussi des débats en lien avec les transferts de savoir-faire et les transferts de technologie. Nous allons continuer à être engagés sur ce sujet, qui est évidemment un sujet important.

Nous avons aussi eu l'occasion d'aborder la question du climat. Vous vous souviendrez que, après cette décision forte qui a été prise il y a 18 mois, sur la neutralité climat en 2050, la diplomatie climatique que nous activons au quotidien pour convaincre d'autres partenaires d'avoir une ambition forte en matière climatique, nous avons pris la décision il y a quelques mois de renforcer aussi nos objectifs à l'horizon 2030. Nous mesurons bien qu'au-delà de l'objectif, qui est partagé, un enjeu important était de savoir comment on va réussir à atteindre cet objectif ambitieux. C'est la raison pour laquelle le Conseil européen a souhaité avoir ce débat intense afin de sensibiliser la Commission européenne quant aux différentes préoccupations, aux différents points de vue, aux différents points de départ au sein de l'Union européenne

en lien avec cet objectif ambitieux. Nous faisons confiance à la Commission pour déposer prochainement des propositions qui seront traitées dans le cadre législatif et nous avons considéré que, dans un moment approprié, le Conseil européen reviendrait sur le débat politique en lien avec cette ambition de progresser afin de faire reculer cette menace climatique.

Nous avons aussi eu l'occasion d'aborder brièvement, et pour la première fois depuis le Brexit, la relation entre l'Union européenne et le Royaume-Uni. Je voudrais résumer en quelques mots le sentiment et la position exprimés par le Conseil européen. Nous croyons profondément à l'état de droit. 'Pacta sunt servanda': quand des accords sont conclus, ils doivent être mis en œuvre de bonne foi. Et le message, c'est l'expression d'une force tranquille européenne: nous souhaitons être un partenaire loyal, engagé pour une relation positive, fructueuse, constructive avec le Royaume-Uni. C'est le souhait qui nous a toujours habité, tout au long de cette négociation au cours de laquelle nous avons été capables de démontrer notre ferme unité. Mais nous sommes aussi prêts à utiliser les différents moyens à notre disposition pour protéger nos intérêts, pour garantir l'intégrité du marché intérieur, pour faire en sorte que les accords soient respectés et pour protéger aussi, bien sûr, le 'Good Friday Agreement', et nous avons répété notre solidarité vis-à-vis de l'Irlande.

Enfin, si vous le permettez, en quelques instants – et je ne veux pas abuser du temps de parole, Monsieur le Président –, je sais que vous aurez tout à l'heure un débat sur le G7 et les sommets internationaux et je voudrais en quelques mots tracer les perspectives pour ces réunions dans les prochains jours.

Il y a, à mon avis, un paradoxe auquel nous avons été confrontés les derniers mois. D'une part, le monde a été pratiquement mis à l'arrêt sur le plan économique, sur le plan de nos capacités de mobilité. Mais dans le même temps, cette pandémie a montré, avec une force rarement atteinte, l'importance de la coopération internationale, et nous avons observé ces derniers mois un renforcement des dynamiques de coopération internationale. Cette coopération internationale, cet engagement multilatéral sont en fait l'ADN de ce projet européen, et ce sera encore le cas dans les prochains jours et les prochaines semaines, avec cette activité intense.

Trois points me semblent importants dans le cadre de la réunion du G7, dans le cadre du sommet avec le Canada ou encore avec les États-Unis, la semaine prochaine.

Le premier point, ce sont nos valeurs fondamentales. Nous le voyons bien, on en débat aujourd'hui, vous en débattiez régulièrement dans cette assemblée: nos modèles de sociétés libérales sont mis sous pression. Il y a des tentatives permanentes, et décuplées ces dernières années, de démontrer la fragilité, la faiblesse, l'inefficacité de ce modèle de démocratie libérale, qui, pourtant, a démontré dans l'histoire sa capacité de donner de la liberté, de donner de l'innovation, de donner de la capacité de prospérité. Nous devons, comme je le disais pour la Russie, non pas simplement subir les chocs, les attaques et les coups portés par ceux qui n'aiment pas ce modèle fondé sur la liberté, l'émancipation et la non-discrimination, mais nous devons porter avec plus d'engagement, de manière plus stratégique, plus proactive, cette promotion de nos valeurs de liberté et de démocratie. Ces points seront évidemment au cœur de ces réunions internationales.

Le deuxième point qui me paraît important, c'est la prospérité. Comment peut-on améliorer les conditions de vie? C'est le débat sur les transitions climatiques, digitales, c'est le débat sur la fiscalité internationale, et l'Union européenne a été à l'avant-garde sur ces sujets-là. C'est l'Union européenne – souvent le Parlement européen, d'ailleurs – qui a mis à l'agenda, d'abord européen et puis international, cette question d'équité dans les échanges économiques, dans les échanges commerciaux, dans la question de la fiscalité internationale. Ce thème progresse, on le voit, avec un premier pas au travers de cette réunion ministérielle dans le cadre du G7 et la capacité de faire progresser un certain nombre d'idées pour amener plus d'équité dans la fiscalité des entreprises sur le plan international.

Le troisième point, c'est bien sûr la sécurité et la stabilité. Comment peut-on travailler pour prévenir les conflits, pour réduire les risques de conflits et pour anticiper les risques d'escalade? Comment peut-on, quand il y a un conflit, coopérer pour tenter de résoudre les difficultés et tenter de dégager des solutions durables? Nous connaissons les différents foyers dans le monde pour lesquels nous, Union européenne, avons intérêt à ramener la stabilité et à coopérer avec nos partenaires afin de pouvoir engranger des résultats.

Voilà, Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, Mesdames et Messieurs les parlementaires, les quelques messages que je souhaitais partager avec vous. Je suis bien sûr dans l'attente de vos réactions, de vos remarques et observations et prêt à réagir ensuite.

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *Präsidentin der Kommission*. – Herr Präsident Sassoli, lieber Herr Präsident Michel, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren Abgeordnete! Wir haben gestern ja gemeinsam hier im Europäischen Parlament darüber diskutiert, wie wir mit NextGenerationEU stärker aus der Krise in Europa kommen können.

Heute möchte ich Ihnen einen Überblick geben über die nächsten Schritte, die wir global gehen, um diese Krise endlich hinter uns zu lassen. Dabei möchte ich insbesondere über Ergebnisse informieren. Zunächst einmal die Ergebnisse unseres G20-Gesundheitsgipfels in Rom und dann natürlich des EU-Sondergipfels einige Tage später. Und ich möchte über die Initiativen sprechen, die wir mit unseren Freunden beim G7-Gipfel Ende der Woche in Cornwall planen und dann auch nächsten Dienstag, wenn Charles Michel und ich den amerikanischen Präsidenten Joe Biden zum Gipfel in Brüssel empfangen.

Diese Treffen unterstreichen nicht nur den multilateralen Ansatz, den wir immer in der Krise durchgehalten haben – das war nicht einfach, aber wir haben ihn durchgehalten –, aber diese Treffen sind natürlich auch eine sehr, sehr gute Gelegenheit, um zu zeigen, dass unser transatlantisches Bündnis erneuert ist, dass es stark ist und dass es gut ist für die Menschen sowohl in den USA als auch in Europa.

Our immediate focus in all these meetings is, of course, on beating COVID-19 everywhere, ending the pandemic and rebuilding our economies. The dominant topic in all the meetings and summits we've had together, and also in those ahead of us, is vaccines and equal and fair access to vaccines globally.

That is why Mario Draghi and I convened the G20 Global Health Summit –on the one hand, for the lessons learned, and on the other hand, for concrete pledges. In their own declaration, the leaders gave a very strong signal. They had three main points in the G20 Rome Declaration. First of all, they committed to boosting production capacity in low- and middle-income countries, and I will come back to this later. Then, of course, the second topic was tackling bottlenecks in the supply chains. Indeed, if you look at the Rome Declaration, you'll see it's a plaidoyer for seamless flows of vaccines and components. We know that we're not there yet, but the Rome Declaration marked the very first time that there was a commitment towards that, and we committed to investing in a global surveillance and early warning system, knowing that we had failed in this regard at the beginning of the pandemic.

But, as I've said, in the short term the dominant topic is vaccine supply in low- and middle-income countries, and there are three strands we are following up. The first one is indeed COVAX. It's good that we have COVAX. As Charles Michel said, the European Union was one of the main founders of COVAX. Up to EUR 3 billion has been invested in COVAX by pledge from Team Europe so far. But, at the moment, money is not so much the problem with COVAX; it's more access to vaccines in kind. Therefore, in addition, Team Europe has pledged to donate at least 100 million doses of vaccines by the end of the year.

Moving to the second strand, I'm convinced we have to engage the private sector more in this regard. At the health summit, we worked with our industrial partners and it was good to see that the industrial partners committed publicly to delivering 1.3 billion doses of vaccines by the end of the year to low- and middle-income countries – at non-profit to low-income countries and at low cost to middle-income countries. So it's good to see that public announcement. We can keep track and we can make sure with scrutiny that 1.3 billion doses are delivered in these circumstances by the end of the year.

Indeed, the third pillar is the export of vaccines. We cannot just keep the whole production for ourselves, and Europe has proven that it is possible to vaccinate your own people and to allow for export. Since January, we have been exporting almost half of our production. To put that in numbers, out of 600 million doses of vaccine produced here in Europe, around 300 million doses have been exported to over 90 countries so far. If all the other vaccine producers had followed our example, the world would be a different place today.

In the course of this discussion, of course the question of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) has been raised recently. When the US administration put forward its thoughts, we said we were open to discussion. Now, just four weeks later, we have put forward a new global trade initiative at the WTO, aiming to deliver more equitable access to vaccines and therapeutics.

This initiative has three elements. The first is we want clear rules to keep supply chains open and to eliminate export restrictions on vaccines and, of course, all the components that are necessary to produce these vaccines. So clear rules in the WTO to introduce discipline if there are exports obstacles.

Secondly, we want to help ramp up production not only in Europe, but also in Africa and elsewhere. For that, we need to ensure, again in the WTO, clear rules to ensure the necessary transfer of technologies and know-how in emergencies. Here I want to be very clear: I think intellectual property has to be protected, because it is the idea behind the breakthrough and retains the incentives for innovation in research and development. Voluntary licences are, of course, the most effective way to facilitate expanding production, and at the G20 Global Health Summit in Rome, leaders reaffirmed this assessment. However – and this is a big „however“ – in a global emergency like this pandemic, if voluntary licensing fails, compulsory licensing has to be, and is, the legitimate tool to scale up production.

This is why, together with the WTO, we want to clarify and simplify the use of compulsory licensing in times of national emergency. We discussed this proposal yesterday in the WTO. Vaccine production of course requires a lot of know-how. We all know that. These are very complicated biological processes. They require know-how, technology, skilled personnel and, of course, infrastructure. I do not think that you get there by simply waiving intellectual property rights. It is actually by collaboration and, if need be, compulsory licensing that you enhance technology transfer. The patent does not tell the whole story. A patent explains part of the production process and – don't get me wrong – it should not stand in the way. So there are also provisions for that in our proposal in the WTO. But you need to have more when it comes to these kinds of complex products. This is why Europe started this initiative in the WTO to simplify compulsory licensing. This is also why Europe committed EUR 1 billion to creating, together with our African partners and our industrial partners, manufacturing hubs in different regions in Africa. At a certain point in time, we will certainly come back to this discussion.

La réunion du G7 sera une bonne occasion de réaffirmer nos engagements et d'aller encore plus loin.

Au G7, nous discuterons également de l'impact économique de la crise de la COVID-19, en particulier pour certains des pays les plus pauvres de la planète, parce que notre reprise doit fonctionner pour tous. Selon les Nations unies, à l'heure actuelle, plus de 34 millions de personnes sont au bord de la famine.

Nous devons renforcer les systèmes alimentaires mondiaux. C'est pourquoi l'Union européenne, lors du G7, s'engagera à octroyer une nouvelle aide humanitaire de 250 millions d'euros pour lutter contre la faim. Par exemple, nous voulons donner presque 50 millions d'euros aux pays de la région du Sahel et de l'Afrique de l'Est, des régions durement touchées par les conséquences économiques de la pandémie et par le changement climatique, c'est-à-dire les sécheresses, les inondations, les conditions météorologiques extrêmes. Nous connaissons tous le phénomène.

Le changement climatique a lieu et la science ne laisse aucun doute: il n'y a pas de temps à perdre. Et c'est pourquoi, malgré la pandémie, l'Europe choisit d'accélérer la transition écologique en adoptant un plan de relance durable. Parce que même un réchauffement planétaire ramené à 1,5 °C aurait de graves incidences, en particulier dans les régions les moins développées du monde.

This is why words must now be followed by tangible action across all sectors of our economies and our societies. You know that we are going to present the „Fit for 55“ package in mid-July, and I'm glad that, at the special meeting of the European Council at the end of May, Heads of State and Government, in the first discussion on the overall package, showed broad support, because Europe wants to lead the way in this transition towards an economy that gives more to the planet than it takes away.



We want to broker the same ambition at global level. Clear commitments followed by equally clear action, in particular in alignment with the G7 and the United States in the G7, would be very welcome, and it's time to do that now. With the US, we will not only grow our common trade and investment relationship in support of the green and digital transition of our economies but, together, we will also engage with our international partners for a shared commitment and joint action to reduce emissions by 2030 and to have tangible goals to become climate-neutral economies by 2050.

In this way, we hope, and we are working, to achieve the most ambitious possible outcome at COP26 in Glasgow and at the Biodiversity COP15 in Kunming.

This is the ambition we want to bring to the table when we meet with our partners and friends from all over the world. I know that you, the European Parliament, share this ambition, because we all want to end this pandemic and we all want to leave a healthy planet to future generations. Long live Europe!

(Applause)

**Manfred Weber**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, first of all, let me express that it's a good feeling to be back here in Strasbourg. For me, it is a symbol of coming back to normal. I think that's the atmosphere all over Europe that people feel: we have a chance to come back to the old normal in a new world.

I only want to add one point in the debate about COVID and management of the crisis. In the daily lives of our citizens, I think this week's decision on the certificate is important because people have the chance to win freedom of movement back, especially in front of the summer season. And I want to see strong competition now among our Member States over who will be first in implementing what is currently on the table and will be approved this week.

This European Council meeting was a positive one. I would even say I was proud about the outcome because it was a firm, tough, united response. Yes, this was a modern form of state terrorism, an EU internal flight from Athens to Vilnius, a new level of escalation from Belarus, an attack against us as Europeans. I think the big game-changer was that people felt and saw 'I am affected, I am concerned'. Europeans were in the hands of a Belarussian dictator. That was the reality. That's why, again, President Michel, this was a moment of geopolitical strength, of a strong signal from the European Council, and I want to thank you for this. Now it's about implementation, banning flights, strict travel limitation of the elites. And Lukashenko must know that he must be held accountable for what he did. So, an international tribunal is waiting for Mr Lukashenko. That must be the message.

We all know that there is a bigger question behind this: the question about Russia, about the system of Vladimir Putin. The idea to stop the spreading of freedom and democracy further to the east is in his mind. That is the question he's dealing with. Thirty-five years ago, it was Dresden, it was Budapest, 12 years ago it was Kiev, today it's Minsk, and tomorrow probably Moscow. That's the question which is on the table. And for us as Europeans, one thing must be clear: freedom fighters, especially those in European territory, must feel that we are on their side. We have a role to play in defending and promoting the European way of life, and that is the key message for us. But are we really capable of doing so? Is the European way of life, its voice, really understood at global level? In the Belarus case, it worked because it was so obvious. But already on Russia, President Michel, you told us that there is still a discussion going on. Are we capable of keeping Europe together? And on China, when it is about Hong Kong, about the Uyghurs, do we have a voice as Europeans? I don't see it. I don't see it.

And that's why I was surprised, let me be very frank, that I heard and read in recent days that you, President Michel, said publicly you have no opinion on whether we should switch to the qualified majority decision-making process on foreign affairs. I tell you, I have a clear opinion. I think it's better to vote with a qualified majority making decisions than to be silent and have No European voice. And that's why I think we have to use the future of Europe discussion to take the necessary steps now in making Europe much stronger than it is today.

I also want to pick up on the climate debate as a second issue. We have a strong message with our 55% target for 2030. I want to underline in preparation now for the Fit for 55 package only two guiding principles which are important for my group. The first is that when we know now, when we are aware that travelling and housing will be two issues where we have to focus in the reduction of CO<sub>2</sub>, and when we increase costs with a modern Emissions Trading System (ETS), then it arrives in the pocket of our citizens, it will be very close to our citizens. And I want to underline, having the French experience with the yellow vest movement in mind, we must keep the social dimension in our mind. We must be aware that this is a big challenge to balance things with the social dimension for the poor part of our society.

And the second reflection I want to make is, yes, a border adjustment tax is probably a solution to avoid unfair competition inside of the single market. But what about the rest of the world? Our industry exports a lot of products to the rest of the world. We are a trading continent and we profit a lot from this. That's why I think we have to consider that to increase the costs for our European productions will also harm the competitiveness of our industry. And the EPP Group will never support a strategy which will end up leading us to the deindustrialisation of the European Union. We must create jobs with the climate targets and not destroy jobs. Two points in the preparatory process for the climate package. But overall, and I have the G7 and EU-US Summit in mind, let's show the world that we are leading. Let's show the world that we are ambitious.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, señorías, un año y medio después de la última sesión que celebramos en Estrasburgo, estamos, por fin, de vuelta. Y esa es una buena señal, porque es un paso más hacia la normalidad que tanto ansiamos. Ha sido un año y medio muy difícil. No olvidamos a los fallecidos ni la incertidumbre a la que se enfrentan tantas y tantas personas. Si al inicio la respuesta europea fue lenta y desorganizada, creo que a día de hoy podemos decir que muchos errores se subsanaron y que este verano vamos a iniciar una nueva etapa con optimismo gracias, en gran medida, a la campaña europea de vacunación, que está funcionando con un objetivo muy claro.

Recuerdo que el año pasado, cuando estábamos en el pico de la emergencia sanitaria, había quien consideraba en esta Cámara que era el momento de poner en marcha comisiones de investigación, y evidentemente era una posición respetable, pero nuestro Grupo no apoyó en ese momento esa idea. No era nuestra postura.

En medio de la tormenta, era el momento de arrimar el hombro y de remar todos y todas en la misma dirección. Los socialistas y demócratas hemos querido ser constructivos, leales y responsables con la Comisión y con el Consejo, pero sobre todo con la ciudadanía, porque solo la cooperación institucional nos iba a sacar adelante.

Pero ahora la situación es otra. La emergencia ha quedado atrás, el horizonte se va despejando. Y ahora sí, ahora es el momento de poder echar la vista atrás y aprender. Aprender y mejorar. No para buscar culpables, no para señalar a nadie, sino para evaluar qué ha hecho la Unión Europea en su conjunto, qué instrumentos debemos fortalecer para estar mejor preparados ante una nueva crisis y qué otras capacidades tenemos que desarrollar.

Creo que ha llegado el momento de que en este Parlamento se cree una comisión especial para ver qué lecciones podemos aprender de la pandemia. Esta comisión debe abordar todas las dimensiones de la crisis, desde la salud a la investigación, desde el impacto económico y social a la libre circulación de los ciudadanos.

Y ahora que ha pasado lo peor es también el momento de continuar con las acciones legales contra aquellas farmacéuticas que no han cumplido y no están cumpliendo los contratos.

El esfuerzo colectivo no ha terminado y tenemos que seguir trabajando. En el ámbito económico, para implementar el plan de recuperación. En el ámbito global, para garantizar que las vacunas lleguen a todos los rincones del mundo. En el sanitario, en el social, en el del fortalecimiento de nuestro Estado del bienestar. Por un lado, las instituciones tenemos que hacer ese ejercicio de análisis sobre nuestras políticas y actuaciones y, por otro, tenemos la gran oportunidad de debatir sobre las posibles reformas.

La ciudadanía confiará en nosotros si ven que somos capaces de aprender, de no malgastar el tiempo enfrentándonos unos a otros quienes pensamos diferente, sino de abordar las soluciones de manera conjunta, de dar una respuesta a la ciudadanía. Si lo hacemos, los hombres y mujeres de Europa podrán volver a confiar en el proyecto europeo.

**Presidente**. – Ne approfitto, mentre puliscono il pulpito, per informarvi che ieri sera nel registro delle firme dei deputati sono presenti a Strasburgo 356 parlamentari. Questo è molto importante. Molti naturalmente lavorano dai loro uffici in remoto, come è giusto anche per mantenere il senso della prudenza che abbiamo consigliato.

**Dacian Cioloș**, în numele grupului *Renew*. – Domnule președinte, domnule președinte al Consiliului European, doamnă președintă a Comisiei Europene, dragi colegi, ne întoarcem încet spre normalitate și dovada este că suntem din nou, astăzi, aici, la Strasbourg.

Provocările, însă, cu care ne confruntăm împreună se înmulțesc în fiecare zi și doar dacă o să acționăm uniți, Uniunea Europeană își poate găsi calea pentru a-și proteja cetățenii, pentru a-și consolida influența globală și pentru a apăra democrația.

În timpul ultimului Consiliu European, exact asta s-a petrecut: o acțiune fermă și determinată și vă mulțumesc, domnule președinte, pentru asta, pentru că introducerea rapidă a sancțiunilor în urma a ceea ce putem numi un act de terorism de stat din partea lui Lukașenko, a trimis un semnal puternic că suntem pregătiți să ne apărăm valorile și să acționăm rapid și decis. Dar nu trebuie să ne oprim aici pentru că Raman Pratasevici este, încă, reținut, iar demnitatea și dreptul său la liberă exprimare continuă să-i fie refuzate. E nevoie și de sancțiuni economice și financiare pentru că nu putem continua să susținem financiar prin orice mijloc acest regim în Belarus, ca și cum nimic nu s-ar fi întâmplat.

Un alt exemplu este Certificatul digital comun COVID 19 al Uniunii, care este un instrument necesar pentru deplasările în condiții de siguranță în interiorul Uniunii Europene. Asta ajută milioane de europeni nu doar pentru turism, dar mai ales pe cei care trec zilnic granițele pentru munca lor, pentru activitatea lor profesională și pentru cei care au așteptat cu răbdare, mai bine de un an de zile, în timpul acestei lungi pandemii, să călătorească pentru a-i vedea pe cei dragi.

Ne așteptăm, deci, ca statele membre să pună în aplicare acest certificat, așa cum a fost decis de legislator la nivel european și să o facă un mod responsabil, comun, să nu adauge alte reguli administrative care i-ar submina eficacitatea. Cetățenii trebuie să aibă acces ușor la certificat și să înțeleagă cum funcționează pentru a le disipa temerile și îndoielile asupra acestui document.

Atunci când am strâns rândurile și am lucrat împreună în momente de criză, Uniunea a demonstrat că poate oferi rapid cetățenilor instrumente palpabile care să-i ajute.

Nu în ultimul rând, schimbările climatice rămân una dintre cele mai urgente și importante provocări ale mandatului nostru. Uniunea Europeană este hotărâtă să facă tranziția către neutralitatea climatică și să facă din asta o poveste de succes, așa cum a spus și doamna președintă a Comisiei Europene, să asigure o creștere economică durabilă, cercetare și inovare industrială verde și oportunități de locuri de muncă pentru cetățenii noștri. Și nu trebuie să uităm că această adaptare la schimbările climatice înseamnă și locuri de muncă. Oamenii, familiile și antreprenoriatul trebuie să stea în centrul acestei tranziții și scopul este de a ne asuma responsabilitatea pentru ceea ce rămâne pentru generațiile viitoare. Pachetul *Fit for 2030* - pregătiți pentru 2030, ar trebui să stabilească cadrul pentru această transformare și ar trebui să se bazeze pe legislația climatică și energetică existentă, dar asigurându-se, totodată, că oamenii, precum și companiile, întreprinderile sunt parte a tranziției și o susțin. Și doar în felul acesta această tranziție poate fi un succes.

Dragi colegi, transformările la care ne obligă criza prin care trecem pot crea diviziuni între noi. Dar dacă vedem ieșirea din criză ca pe o oportunitate, acesta poate fi un salt pentru proiectul european, un salt la care nici nu ne gândeam, probabil, în urmă cu un an și ceva, când această criză a izbucnit.

**Ska Keller**, on behalf of the *Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, let's start with the positive news from the last summit. There was indeed unified and strong condemnation of Belarus kidnapping a plane, and arresting and torturing two of its citizens. It's good that sanctions were agreed; it's good that they came swiftly. It was a truly outrageous action by Lukashenko and it cannot go unanswered.

The EU must be ready to think about further sanctions and to work tirelessly for the release of all political prisoners. We must also step up our support to independent civil society, journalists and peaceful political actors in Belarus and ensure that those fighting and risking their lives for democracy find support and protection in the European Union.

The less good news is actually old news. The Council continues, unfortunately, to ignore the climate emergency and once again fell far short of agreeing anything close to the scale of action needed to protect our climate. It is ironic that the Council is welcoming the United States' commitment to the Paris Agreement and urges increased global action, while at the same time is stepping on the brake on climate targets and on concrete measures. I'm sure there were a lot of preoccupations; I'm sure not many of them were about the climate emergency. We expect more and better of you. Going into the COP26 in Glasgow, if the EU is to have any credibility and leverage to demand more climate action globally, the level of commitment from the EU side needs to be significantly stepped up.

The Council also debated the situation of the pandemic, and in Europe the numbers indeed look promising and the vaccination efforts are finally picking up, and that's great – although we should not forget that there is also a significant difference still between members in their vaccination campaigns. But however well we might be doing in Europe, we should never forget that many countries globally hardly have any access to vaccines. This is a new gap in global justice, threatening the lives and destroying the livelihoods of many, while also leaving the door open to any variant, which can bring new spirals of problems worldwide.

So the slogan of 'No one is safe until everyone is safe' finally needs to be filled with life. Donations of financial means and vaccines are extremely welcome, but they are also not enough. Production needs to be ramped up, and one tool to bring this forward is a temporary TRIPS waiver, with compulsory licensing for countries of the global south and knowledge-sharing that will boost global vaccine production.

I think the EU must finally 'walk its talk' and provide global leadership in all of those fields, and the G7 summit will be one possibility for that. Beyond the nice speeches, the EU must do more. It's what the world expects of the EU, but it's also what Europeans expect of their leaders – and that's where we will be holding you accountable.

**Mara Bizzotto**, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'Italia non è e non diventerà mai il campo profughi d'Europa. Gli italiani non vogliono e non possono accogliere migliaia e migliaia di immigrati illegali. Il Consiglio europeo non ha scritto una riga nelle sue conclusioni sull'emergenza clandestini che sta investendo l'Italia. Zero parole, zero impegni, zero azioni concrete. Nisba, nada, niente di niente, alla faccia della tanto sbandierata solidarietà europea.

È scandaloso che, ancora una volta, l'Europa lasci l'Italia completamente sola nella gestione di ondate migratorie sempre più massicce. Da inizio anno sono sbarcati in Italia oltre 15 000 immigrati clandestini. Numeri impressionanti, sette volte di più rispetto al 2019 quando, grazie all'azione del ministro Salvini, erano sbarcati solo 2 000 immigrati.

Se qualche burocrate europeo pensa di imporre all'Italia di accogliere tutta l'Africa, si sbaglia di grosso. Di fronte alla colpevole latitanza dall'Europa, l'Italia deve fare esattamente quello che fanno Spagna, Danimarca e Malta, tutti paesi con governi socialisti e di sinistra, che chiudono i porti, blindano le frontiere e rimandano indietro i clandestini. Perché le socialiste Spagna, Danimarca e Malta lo possono fare, con tanto di applausi da Bruxelles, e l'Italia no? Perché il governo socialista spagnolo può schierare l'esercito e fare 5 000 espulsioni in un giorno e l'Italia no?

Cari burocrati europei, gli italiani non sono stupidi e sono stanchi di essere presi in giro da chi a Bruxelles vuole trasformare il nostro paese in un porto franco per immigrati clandestini.

**Beata Szydło**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Skoncentruj się na trzech kwestiach, które wydają mi się zasadnicze i o których była mowa na ostatnim szczycie Rady Europejskiej.

Pierwsza kwestia to jest oczywiście Covid. Wszyscy cieszymy się z tego, że sytuacja się stabilizuje. My cieszymy się z tego, że możemy być również tutaj w Strasburgu. Jest to jasny sygnał dla Europejczyków, że zwyciężamy w walce z pandemią. Ważne jest to, żeby ludzie mieli poczucie przede wszystkim nadziei, że życie wraca do normalności. Kluczem są oczywiście szczepionki i to, żeby obywatele chcieli się szczepić. Akcja szczepień w poszczególnych krajach europejskich przebiega niezłe. Dostawy szczepionek przebiegają czasami lepiej czasami gorzej, ale widać, że sytuacja już się stabilizuje. Mimo to nie możemy oczywiście lekceważyć tego, że może nadejść czwarta fala covidu. I tutaj, tak jak już wcześniej powiedziałam, kluczem są oczywiście szczepienia i powinniśmy zrobić wszystko, żeby tych szczepionek było jak najwięcej, żeby one były powszechnie dostępne, ale również, żeby ludzie się chcieli szczepić. Zwracam uwagę na to, że powinniśmy również zadbać o to, żeby ta akcja promocji szczepień docierała do tych, którzy jeszcze mają wątpliwości czy może boją się szczepienia, żeby jednak ich przekonać.

Druga kwestia to jest klimat. I tutaj chcę powiedzieć jedną rzecz, dobrze, że są takie ambitne cele. Wszystkie kraje europejskie włączyły się do tego programu i do tego projektu, ale musimy zwrócić uwagę, że są kraje europejskie, które potrzebują po prostu więcej czasu ze względu na specyficzną sytuację ich gospodarek, niezawinioną przez nich. Przykładem takich krajów są oczywiście kraje Europy Środkowej jak np. Polska, gdzie nasza energetyka w dużym stopniu oparta na węglu potrzebuje więcej czasu na dostosowanie.

I kwestia ostatnia, bardzo krótko, bo przekroczyłem czas, ale chcę powiedzieć jeszcze o kwestiach naszej polityki z Rosją i z Białorusią. Szczególnie Polska wielokrotnie ostrzegала, że powinniśmy prowadzić jasną i jednoznaczną politykę wobec tych reżimów. Nie może być tak, że my podejmujemy różne deklaracje, wspieramy opozycję demokratyczną, a jednocześnie zezwalamy na realizację takiej inwestycji jak Nord Stream 2. Musimy być jednoznaczni.

**Manon Aubry**, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame von der Leyen, Monsieur Michel, partout sur notre continent et au-delà, les autoritarismes se renforcent et la démocratie vacille. L'acte de piraterie de Loukachenko à l'encontre d'un opposant et de sa compagne est la dernière alerte d'une tendance profondément inquiétante.

L'Union européenne a heureusement condamné l'attitude du régime biélorusse et pris des sanctions, bien qu'insuffisantes. Car face aux remises en cause de l'État de droit, aucun atermoiement n'est acceptable. Il serait temps d'afficher une même fermeté face à la propagation sans précédent des idéologies autoritaristes, liberticides et haineuses au sein même de l'Union européenne.

En Hongrie, Orbán remet en cause la justice et cherche à s'attribuer les pleins pouvoirs. En Pologne, le PiS harcèle les personnes LGBTI et veut interdire l'avortement. En Autriche, le gouvernement établit un fichage de la communauté musulmane. En Slovénie, un Premier ministre fasciné par Trump veut censurer la presse et les partis d'opposition. En Espagne, nos amis de Podemos reçoivent des menaces de mort de l'extrême droite et des balles à leur domicile. Dans mon propre pays, en France, celui des droits de l'homme, le gouvernement fait voter des lois de stigmatisation des musulmans et d'impunité des violences policières. En France, toujours, le président se fait agresser par un adepte de la fachosphère, et un youtubeur d'extrême droite met en scène le meurtre abject et glaçant des électeurs de Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

L'extrême droite progresse dans l'ensemble des pays européens et son agenda raciste, sexiste, homophobe et liberticide commence déjà à être mis en œuvre. Partout, le péril fasciste monte et les digues sautent. Et vous laissez faire. Ce silence n'est pas seulement lâche, il est complice. Cette inaction n'est pas seulement regrettable, elle est coupable. Les fondements même de nos démocraties sont remis en cause, et vous préférez détourner le regard. Car comme dans l'histoire, certains préféreront toujours Hitler que le Front populaire.

Alors, je lance ici une alerte solennelle depuis le Parlement européen. Réagissez! Souvenez-vous de ces mots du pasteur Niemöller: «Quand les nazis sont venus chercher les communistes, je n'ai rien dit, je n'étais pas communiste. Quand ils ont enfermé les sociaux-démocrates, je n'ai rien dit, je n'étais pas social-démocrate. Quand ils sont venus chercher les syndicalistes, je n'ai rien dit, je n'étais pas syndicaliste. Quand ils sont venus me chercher, il ne restait plus personne pour protester». Alors, réveillez-vous avant que plus personne ne soit en mesure de protester.

**Dino Giarrusso (NI)**. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario, ancora una volta nell'ultimo Consiglio europeo l'Europa ha messo la testa sotto la sabbia, preferendo non affrontare il tema dei migranti. Grazie all'iniziativa dell'Italia, è stato inserito un punto all'ordine del giorno al prossimo Consiglio ed è bene che se ne parli, ma non basta, bisogna agire. Da decenni l'Europa discute, si interroga e si divide su come affrontare il tema del secolo e lo scandalo assoluto che ne segue.

Migliaia di uomini, donne e bambini morti ogni anno nel Mar Mediterraneo, a pochi chilometri dalle bellissime coste della mia Sicilia. La soluzione c'è già e si chiama solidarietà ed è scritta nella Carta dei nostri trattati ma non nella realtà, diciamolo chiaramente. Il criterio del paese di primo ingresso è uno schiaffo al principio di solidarietà fra Stati e va tolto subito.

Non solo l'Italia ma tutti gli Stati membri devono affrontare insieme il fenomeno dell'immigrazione. Dunque più mezzi, più soldi, più uomini. Misure incisive contro il business del traffico di esseri umani e ricollocamento automatico e obbligatorio dei richiedenti asilo.

Il prossimo Consiglio europeo non si trasformi nell'ennesima sterile tavola rotonda in cui tutti parlano ma nessuno decide niente. Servono fatti concreti, dimostriamo coi fatti che l'Europa può cambiare.

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*Víci President*

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Madam President, I would like to welcome President von der Leyen and President Michel back to the European Parliament.

President Michel, immediately after the hijacking of the European plane over Belarus, you led the efforts in the European Council to provide a quick and clear answer on behalf of the European Union. This, I believe, was very good, but it is clear that we now have to do more. We have to stay united and we have to broaden the sanctions against the inner circle and businesses of interest to Mr Lukashenko. We have to target sanctions which target and harm the regime, not the people of Belarus. We have to cut all funding to the regime of Mr Lukashenko. We have to stay united and put Belarus on the agenda of the UN Security Council and on the G7 agenda. We have to do all we can to obtain the immediate release of all political prisoners in Belarus.

We have to be very clear that, as long as there is a single dictator on Earth, we are all in danger. We could all become a target at one point in time, so the fight for democracy and freedom is a fight that we all have to fight, and we have to fight it together. We have to say very clearly that we intend to be on the side of the people of Belarus. We intend to do more and to help them more, but the current Belarusian regime is an obstacle in our desire to help the people of Belarus.

On vaccines, President von der Leyen, you rightly described the many good things that we have done as a union, but here too the neighbourhood is important. You mentioned this, President Michel. I visited the Republic of Moldova two weeks ago. My home country, Romania, donated 300 000 vaccine doses to the people of Moldova. I say very clearly that the people in the neighbourhood will not forget who helped them during the crisis. Doing more with vaccines in those countries is the best way to increase support for the EU in the neighbourhood.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, o processo de resposta e recuperação da União Europeia face à pandemia depende de duas dimensões profundamente interligadas. Por um lado, a capacidade de transformação da economia e o reforço da dimensão social para combater as desigualdades internas e melhorar a competitividade externa. Por outro lado, o impulso geopolítico que torne o modelo europeu um referencial para uma globalização mais justa e promova os valores democráticos e humanistas.

O Conselho Europeu confrontou-se com este duplo desafio e decidiu de forma adequada e assertiva. No avanço do Certificado Digital Europeu COVID-19, nas medidas para aumentar a produção global de vacinas e na aceleração da sua partilha solidária com os países mais necessitados, no compromisso reforçado com o combate às alterações climáticas, na resposta à inqualificável ação hostil da Bielorrússia e na reafirmação dos princípios definidores da relação com a Rússia. A relevância geoestratégica da União é fundamental para conseguir melhor qualidade de vida para os nossos concidadãos.

Boas decisões são fundamentais. A pedra de toque, no entanto é a capacidade de concretizar o que se decide. Essa é a nossa grande prioridade.

**Stéphane Séjourné (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, je vais apporter quelques nuances aux propos de ma collègue Manon Aubry.

Si nous regardons collectivement ce que nous avons traversé ensemble, force est de constater que nous avons fait un bond de géant en quelques mois sur beaucoup de sujets, que nous n'aurions jamais pensé pouvoir faire en plusieurs décennies.

Face à l'urgence de la crise sanitaire et écologique que nous traversons, l'Union européenne s'est montrée à la hauteur sur le plan de relance, sur COVAX, sur la loi climat que nous avons collectivement votés. Soyons fiers sur l'écologie, sur le sanitaire, sur l'économie, sur le modèle qui est copié un peu partout dans le monde. L'Union européenne a montré la voie. Affirmons-nous. Regardons-le, quand même. Cette Union européenne s'est affirmée comme une véritable puissance.

Mais sur le plan géopolitique, je rejoins mes collègues qui se sont exprimés avant: il y a encore des efforts à faire. Nous avons évidemment, sur le plan de la Biélorussie, beaucoup d'enseignements à tirer de cette crise. Sans fermeté, la puissance européenne n'est rien; sans collectif, nos sanctions sont inefficaces; sans coordination diplomatique, notre diplomatie est impuissante. Il est inadmissible, évidemment, de pouvoir détourner un avion à 200 km de nos frontières, inadmissible de faire dicter l'agenda européen par un dictateur qui, d'ailleurs, n'a pas peur de nous quand nous prenons quelques sanctions. Il est désespérant de voir aussi que les premières sanctions européennes contre Loukachenko ont commencé dès 2004, auxquelles se sont ajoutées en 2020 les sanctions plus restrictives après un processus électoral truqué. Enfin, un détournement d'avion nous a fait renforcer les sanctions, dont d'ailleurs nos collègues européens payent aussi les conséquences économiques. On l'a vu et on en débat encore aujourd'hui.

Les événements en Biélorussie montrent qu'il n'y a jamais eu autant besoin de solidarité face aux projets anti-démocratiques portés par la Russie. Je rejoins en cela le président Weber: il nous faut avoir une clarification européenne sur nos relations avec la Russie, réévaluer nos politiques de sanctions et de coordination. C'est à cette condition que nous pourrions avoir une démocratie et une diplomatie européennes.

**Harald Vilimsky (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Wenn ich mir die Themenlandschaft der Ratssitzung vom 24. und 25. Mai vor Augen führe, dann sehe ich, dass hier der Schwerpunkt nicht auf wichtigen Themen liegt, die für unseren Kontinent von Bedeutung wären – die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit etwa oder die Bekämpfung der Konkurrenzwelle, die über unseren Kontinent schwappt, oder die immer stärker werdende Migrationskrise. Nein, es ist eine Schwerpunktsetzung darauf, dass die Europäische Union hier wieder wie ein Oberlehrer moralisierend auf andere zeigt, anstatt sich den eigenen großen Problemen zu widmen.

Und wenn es darum geht, hier als Oberlehrer tätig zu sein und andere zu kritisieren, gibt's ja auch unterschiedliche Kategorien. Etwa wenn ich mir die Türkei ansehe, wo auch die Menschenrechte schwere Defizite haben, wo auch Journalisten eingesperrt werden, wo Frauenrechte missachtet werden – da schweigt man natürlich beharrlich. Da wird die Türkei weiter als Beitrittskandidat gehandelt und bekommt Billiarden.

Hier in Weißrussland gehen die Uhren anders. Ich möchte niemanden exkulpieren, niemandem Schuld zuweisen. Aber was ich machen möchte, ist, Ihre Sensibilität zu wecken, Ihre Aufmerksamkeit zu wecken, dass die eigentliche Aufgabe – da, wo wir geschlossen handeln sollten – sein sollte, diese Europäische Union, diesen Kontinent mit Wohlstand auszustatten und Freiheitsrechte abzusichern.

**Robert Roos (ECR).** – Voorzitter, mevrouw de voorzitter van de Commissie, meneer de voorzitter van de Raad, bij de bijeenkomst van regeringsleiders, de Europese Raad, stond klimaatverandering weer op de agenda. De EU wil namelijk in 2050 klimaatneutraal zijn.

Ik vraag me af hoe dat gaat, achter gesloten deuren praten over beleid waar iedere logica ontbreekt. Bondskanselier Merkel zit aan tafel. Zij sluit alle kerncentrales in haar land en gaat op bruinkool stoken, terwijl kernenergie CO<sub>2</sub>-neutraal is en geen luchtvervuiling veroorzaakt. Premier De Croo van België schuift aan. Hij wil terug naar het stoken op fossiele brandstoffen door kernenergie te vervangen door gas. Premier Rutte neemt ook plaats. Hij wil juist weer van gas af en dat compenseren door land en zee vol te zetten met voor de natuur schadelijke windturbines en zonneweides. Verder schudden de aanwezigen elkaar allemaal de hand als het gaat om de grootschalige verbranding van bossen in biomassacentrales, wat volgens het grote EU-klimaatboek duurzaam zou zijn.

Dames en heren, deze politici zeggen de wereld te redden, maar ze begrijpen er echt helemaal niets van.

**Antoni Comín i Oliveres (NI).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur Michel, le dernier Conseil européen a conclu que l'Union – et je cite littéralement – continuera à travailler pour augmenter les capacités mondiales de production de vaccins et que son objectif est de contribuer au développement des capacités de fabrication locales. Très bien. Mais quel est le meilleur moyen d'y parvenir – non pas à court terme, mais dans un délai raisonnable? La suspension des brevets dans le cadre de l'OMC.

Combien d'industries pharmaceutiques du Nord savaient produire des vaccins à ARN messenger il y a tout juste une année? Aucune. Alors pourquoi devons-nous supposer que nos entreprises pharmaceutiques ont pu apprendre à fabriquer ces vaccins en une année et que les entreprises pharmaceutiques du Sud, si nous partageons la propriété intellectuelle, auraient besoin de plus de temps? Les porte-paroles de Big Pharma disent: «Même si on suspend le brevet, cela ne servira à rien, car les entreprises du Sud n'auront pas la capacité de fabriquer le vaccin». Si cela était vrai, les Big Pharma n'auraient aucune raison de s'opposer à la levée des brevets, elles n'auraient rien à craindre, car les entreprises du Sud ne leur feraient pas concurrence.

Cette résistance est la meilleure preuve qu'il y a une capacité à produire les vaccins non utilisée aujourd'hui, la même au Nord qu'au Sud.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, nezapamćena kriza globalnih razmjera od naše je zadnje sjednice, ovdje u Strasbourgu, dramatično promijenila Europu. Sada kada se zahvaljujući cijepljenju pandemiji nazire kraj, usprkos neizvjesnosti, vrijeme je za izvući pouke i za pripremu Europe za postpandemijsku eru.

Jučerašnje usvajanje digitalne COVID potvrde korak je prema ukidanju restrikcija, slobodi kretanja i povratku europskom načinu života. Tablice nacionalnih planova oporavka temelji su za preobrazbu kontinenta u desetljeću pred nama. Rekordna ulaganja prilika su za osnaživanje digitalne infrastrukture, primjenu umjetne inteligencije, obnovu škola, bolnica i stambenih zgrada, ali prije svega za stvaranje boljeg okruženja za male i srednje poduzetnike i one koji stvaraju dodanu vrijednost.

Naše mjesto u svijetu nakon pandemije ovisit će o našoj uspješnosti u prilagodbi brzom i nepredvidivom, a nažalost često i okrutnoj, eri u kojoj živimo. Sada planove o Europi nove generacije trebamo implementirati i provesti u djelo.

**Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D).** – Voorzitter, mevrouw de voorzitter van de Commissie, meneer de voorzitter van de Raad. Mevrouw Von der Leyen, ik ga me toch onmiddellijk rechtstreeks tot u richten. U hebt in uw speech vandaag veel aandacht besteed aan de verantwoordelijkheid die de Europese Commissie wil en zal opnemen op het internationale toneel om ervoor te zorgen dat iedereen toegang heeft tot vaccins.

Helaas is de manier waarop de Commissie zich gedraagt in de wereldhandelsorganisaties door de onderhandelingen rond het opheffen van de patenten te boycotten, eigenlijk een manier om zich slecht te gedragen op het internationale toneel. Ik vind dat eigenlijk bijzonder erg. Uiteraard is de *TRIPS waiver* maar een van de elementen, maar het is wel een belangrijk element. We hebben vandaag een belangrijke stemming daarover. In het hart van de Europese democratie zal er gestemd worden over het tijdelijk opheffen van die *TRIPS waiver*. Ik zal me neerleggen bij die uitslag. Ik ga ervan uit dat de Commissie óók zal handelen naar de uitslag van die stemming vandaag.

**Sylvia Limmer (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, werte Kollegen! Der Europäische Rat, wie übrigens alle anderen europäischen Institutionen auch, begrüßt die Einigung zum Europäischen Klimagesetz, die den einfachen Bürger in Form von CO<sub>2</sub>-Steuern auf alle Dinge des täglichen Lebens teuer zu stehen kommt.

Teuer zu stehen kommt den kleinen Steuerzahler auch ein Parlament mit zwei Arbeitsorten. Mitten in einer pandemischen Lage, so jedenfalls statiert dies der Rat, in der durch politische Entscheidungen unzählige wirtschaftliche Existenzen vernichtet wurden und die Reisen für Bürger so gut wie unmöglich waren bzw. noch sind und die Tinte unter dem – ach so schicken – Klimagesetz noch nicht ganz trocken ist, beginnt man unverdrossen mit dem irren, politisch gewollten Reisezirkus zwischen Brüssel und Straßburg.

Corona und CO<sub>2</sub> – die beiden omnipräsenten Themen. Gegen das eine ist der Homo Politicus immun, das andere schert ihn nicht. In gewisser Weise bleibt also alles beim Alten, die selbstgerechten und ernannten Politeliten bleiben so heuchlerisch wie eh und je.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Уважаема г-жо Председател, уважаеми колеги, уважаеми г-н Мишел, на заседанието на 24 и 25 май са обсъждали провокативните действия на Русия, Беларус, подливните действия срещу Европейския съюз и защитата на човешките права. Разбира се, човешките права трябва да се защитават, и политическите също.



Само че се чудя, уважаеми, защо не виждате провокативните действия и на Русия, и на Беларус в Западните Балкани, в Сърбия и в Република Северна Македония. Човешките права, уважаеми, не могат да бъдат меню, не можем да защитаваме едни, а да не защитаваме други. И аз затова се чудя и не разбирам как така не виждате политиката, водена от Кремъл в Скопие, например, подчертано агресивно и изключително вредно антибългарска политика. Вчера в Скопие се проведе митинг, воден от лидера на опозицията, който беше насочен срещу българизацията и срещу българите. Да ви напомням ли какво става, когато в една държава властта и опозицията организират митинг срещу съседна държава или срещу съседна етническа общност?

Време е, уважаеми, да изберете европейската позиция на Балканите, а тя е българската и да разберем, че пътят на Скопие към Европейския съюз минава през изпълнение на Договора за Европейския съюз, през изпълнение на Договора за добросъседство с България и скъсването с комунистическото номенклатурно и престъпно минало.

**Edina Tóth (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök asszony! Noha a koronavírus-válság mostanában minden fontos témát háttérbe szorít, a klímaváltozás ugyanolyan égető kérdés, mint korábban volt. Üdvözlöm, hogy a Tanács ismét napirendre tűzte a klímavédelem kérdését. Fontosnak tartom a zöld átállást, ugyanakkor el kell érniünk, hogy a lakosságra a legkisebb rész háruljon, s a 2005-re fokozatosan elérendő klímasemlegesség költségeit a szennyező cégek fizessék meg.

Ellenzem azt az elképzelést, amely szerint az épületek energiahasználatát is bevonnák a kibocsátáskereskedelmi rendszerbe. Az ugyanis a háztartásokat jelentős terhek megfizetésére kötelezné. Fontos ezért, hogy a javaslatot a Bizottság alaposan átgondolja, s a szükséges hatástanulmányokat is elvégezze. A klímavédelem középpontjában továbbra is az embereknek kell állniuk. A rezsiköltségeket alacsony szinten kell tartanunk, a költségek emelkedése nem engedhető meg.

**François-Xavier Bellamy (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président du Conseil, les dernières conclusions du Conseil signalent la volonté d'accélérer la transition écologique. Et bien sûr, nous sommes tous d'accord avec cela. Mais nous vivons dans un monde ouvert, ce monde ouvert voulu en particulier par la politique européenne depuis des années, et notamment par notre politique commerciale. Un monde dans lequel l'Union européenne ne représente que 8 % des émissions de carbone.

Si la transition écologique consiste à nous fixer en permanence des règles de plus en plus compliquées sans mettre en cohérence notre politique commerciale avec cette exigence environnementale, alors de fait, elle est vouée à l'échec. Aujourd'hui, ceux qui travaillent en Europe respectent déjà les règles les plus exigeantes au monde et ils nous regardent, incrédules, leur imposer encore des normes plus compliquées, tout en signant, par exemple, un accord avec la Chine.

Depuis les années 1990, l'Union européenne a baissé de 23 % ses émissions de carbone, la Chine les a triplées, non pas seulement parce qu'elle augmente sa production, mais parce que nous lui avons délégué la tâche de produire. Et au fond, nous ne sommes pas en mesure aujourd'hui de résoudre par nous-mêmes le problème climatique si nous ne faisons pas de notre marché un levier vers cette transition, que nous appelons de nos vœux. C'est là un défi majeur. Si nous ne faisons pas ce travail, si nous continuons d'être myopes et de ne faire que nous fixer à nous-mêmes des règles de plus en plus compliquées, alors nous aurons le carbone et nous aurons le chômage. Et c'est devant cette tragédie que nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui, obligés de réagir en avançant, rapidement maintenant, sur ce mécanisme d'ajustement carbone aux frontières dont nous avons tellement besoin.

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D).** – Gerbiama pirmininke, Lukašenkos režimas Baltarusijoje su Putino Rusijos palaikymu vykdo sąmoningas atakas, nukreiptas prieš taikius Baltarusijos žmones, ir tai kelia iš tikrųjų didelį nerimą mums visiems. Vadovų Taryboje buvo griežtai pasmerkti Baltarusijos veiksmai dėl priverstinio orlaivio nutūpymo ir grėsmės sukėlimo ir aviacijos saugai, ir dėl neteisėto žurnalisto ir jo draugės sulaukymo bei akivaizdaus jų kankinimo.

Mes privalome būti griežti ir vieningi ir tikrai duoti stiprų europinį atsaką autoritariniam Lukašenkos režimui, nes jie bando jėga ir teroru desperatiškai išsaugoti valdžią. Ir tai nėra vien baltarusių kova už laisvę – tai yra viso mūsų regiono kova. Kaip niekada yra svarbu sankcijos, tame tarpe ir tikslinės ekonominės sankcijos Baltarusijai, ir dar labai svarbu kovoti, kad būtų paleisti visi politiniai kaliniai.

**Zdzisław Krasnodębski (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Czytamy, że Rada, cytując: „[p]otępia bezprawne, prowokacyjne i destrukcyjne działania Rosji wymierzone przeciwko UE, jej państwom członkowskim i państwom trzecim. Potwierdza jedność i solidarność UE wobec takich aktów, a także jej wsparcie dla partnerów wschodnich”. To są bardzo piękne słowa, lecz trudno w nie uwierzyć. Trudno jest rzeczywiście uwierzyć w tę jedność i solidarność Unii w czasie, gdy niczym niezrażone największe państwo Unii zamierza dokończyć inwestycję gazową, która oznaczać będzie zasilanie reżimu Putina miliardami euro oraz zwiększenie ich wpływów w całej Europie Środkowej.

Ostatnio Putin powiedział, że Ukraina musi się wykazać dobrą wolą, aby pozostać krajem tranzytowym dla rosyjskiego gazu, co podobno wywołało konsternację niemieckich polityków. Jedna z niemieckich gazet określiła to dosadnie: Putins Orfeige für die Bundesregierung (policzek Putina dla rządu niemieckiego). Ja nie sądzę, żeby rząd niemiecki nie wiedział, co robi, by nie zdawał sobie sprawy z geopolitycznego znaczenia Nord Streamu i celów Putina. Można się tylko zastanawiać, dlaczego tak chętnie nadstawia policzek.

Moja grupa polityczna trzykrotnie proponowała, byśmy odbyli debatę tu w Parlamencie i uchwalili rezolucję w sprawie Nord Stream 2. Trzykrotnie to zostało odrzucone na Konferencji Przewodniczących. Poparły nas tylko frakcje Zielonych i ID. Wniosek został odrzucony przez PPE, której część posłów z wielkim zapałem domaga się dalszych sankcji wobec Rosji i prześciga się w krytyce Putina. Nord Stream jest zaprzeczeniem tej deklarowanej na szczycie Rady jedności i solidarności. Trzeba jasno powiedzieć, kto w Europie przeciwko tej jedności i solidarności występuje.

**Pierfrancesco Majorino (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la recente riunione del Consiglio porta con sé luci e ombre. È certamente positivo il tentativo di affrontare con una strategia comune rafforzata alcuni dossier di politica estera e farlo dando segnali chiari su questioni delicate, penso innanzitutto alla Bielorussia.

Dobbiamo però anche sottolineare che ci sono temi enormi su cui il Consiglio ha scelto di non decidere. Mi riferisco alla necessità di garantire un'ulteriore massima diffusione del vaccino nel Sud del mondo, coscienti che quanto fatto fin qui non basta e che servono decisioni come quella tra le altre di sospendere temporaneamente i brevetti.

Anche sull'immigrazione si è scelto di non scegliere. È imbarazzante l'assenza di risposte immediate di fronte a chi raggiunge l'Europa attraverso il Mediterraneo o la rotta balcanica. Servono una missione europea di soccorso, la redistribuzione di chi arriva e va accolto, il rispetto dei diritti umani. È indecoroso lo spettacolo fornito da numerosi governi di Stati membri che si voltano dall'altra parte e da un Consiglio europeo che si adegua ad essi.

**Valdis Dombrovskis, Executive Vice-President of the Commission.** – Madam President, first of all thank you for your views in an interesting debate that has spanned many important areas.

The EU's most urgent priority remains to fight the pandemic in all its aspects, from health through to the economy. We also need to get everyone safely through it and draw some early lessons.

More and more people are receiving vaccines. Societies are gradually reopening. Overall, the signs are more encouraging. We are taking the first steps back to normality. After more than a year of economic pain in every EU country, there is hope that we are coming through the worst. The EU is expected to reach its pre-crisis economic level by the end of the year and all EU countries should see their economies return to pre-crisis levels by the end of 2022.

Let us also remember that the impact of the crisis would have been much worse without the unprecedented efforts made by the EU's institutions and Member States to provide strong fiscal, monetary and financial support. As restrictions begin to ease, we can look forward to the EU digital COVID certificates being issued soon, not least to facilitate travel. Still, we need to keep a close eye on the possibility of escape variants of the virus. They remain a public health risk and threaten to undo much of the good work done to contain the spread of COVID-19.

At the same time, we need to speed up the pace of vaccinations. That means speeding up both vaccine production and supply to whoever needs it. This applies internationally, too, where Europe continues to play a leading role – particularly in helping to develop vaccine production in Africa. Universal and fair access to vaccines and treatments must be the global community's top priority.

In the mean time, other crises have not gone away with the pandemic. Climate change remains an emergency that the whole world has to deal with.

At the European Council's special meeting last month, the Commission set out clearly how we are building a model for a clean economy that is also prosperous. The green transition, along with the digital transition, has so much growth potential that it is certainly feasible to make our economy both green and prosperous at the same time.

The next step in the EU's journey to climate neutrality will come next month, with a package of proposals that we are calling 'Fit for 55'. It will provide the means to meet our 2030 target for reducing emissions by 55%. Thank you for your views today on this crucial next stage in Europe's post-crisis economic transformation.

Turning to international affairs, the EU has taken a strong position on Belarus after the outrageous hijacking of a passenger plane flying between two EU capitals. We continue to support the people of Belarus in their desire for a peaceful and democratic transition of power. We will back up this promise with a comprehensive economic support plan once Belarus embarks on that transition. Since the August 2020 elections in Belarus were neither free nor fair, its authoritarian regime is not legitimate. In the mean time, the EU demands that the Belarus authorities release Raman Pratasevich immediately. The world is watching closely.

Staying with our immediate neighbours to the east, there is Russia. The tactics that the Kremlin is using against us are all too familiar: destabilisation, overt and covert interference, particularly in the affairs of our neighbouring countries, and in the entire Baltic Sea region. It is all designed to challenge and weaken the European Union and undermine Member States by attacking them individually. Unfortunately, the situation is getting worse, not better.

Finally, on our relations with the United Kingdom, there are some tensions. Much of this is due to teething problems after Brexit. Unsurprisingly, however, a lot of the initial problem areas are the result of Brexit itself. We are working hard to resolve these issues so that the EU-UK relationship remains balanced and productive. As EU leaders have agreed, this must be done based on the negotiated provisions in force for both sides: the Trade and Cooperation Agreement, and the Withdrawal Agreement, including the Protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland.

**Charles Michel**, *président du Conseil européen*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues et chers membres du Parlement européen, ce projet politique de l'Union européenne est un projet politique inédit dans l'histoire. Cette année marque le 70e anniversaire du premier traité sur le charbon et de l'acier, et nous voyons bien que ce projet est dans une évolution constante, jour après jour, année après année. Je crois profondément dans l'autonomie stratégique de l'Union européenne, qui se fonde à mes yeux sur une triple Union.

D'abord, une Union des valeurs. Nous avons été nombreux à le souligner aujourd'hui: plus que jamais, il est essentiel, à l'intérieur de notre Union européenne mais aussi à l'extérieur, de promouvoir ces valeurs d'émancipation, de liberté, ces principes de non-discrimination, ces principes d'état de droit qui fondent des sociétés robustes, solides, au départ desquelles on peut garantir une égalité des chances pour chacune et chacun des citoyens en Europe et partout dans le monde.

Je crois aussi à cette Union de la prospérité: être mobilisés pour relever les défis de la transition climatique et de la transition digitale. Bien sûr, cela nous met sous pression, cela met devant nous des défis, cela suppose de l'innovation, de la créativité et de la capacité à faire preuve de cohérence, à faire en sorte que, lorsque l'on s'impose à nous-mêmes des standards pour relever ce défi climatique, l'on puisse aussi être engagés sur le plan international. C'est par exemple la question du prix mondial du carbone, qui doit être à l'agenda international. Croyez bien que, dans les prochains jours, au G7 ou dans le cadre bilatéral avec des grands partenaires, ce sujet sera mis sur la table par l'Union européenne.

Je crois aussi à cette Union stratégique, à cette Union géopolitique. Je mesure bien que, pour le moment, il peut être parfois observé que cette Union stratégique et géopolitique n'est pas à la hauteur de notre force sur le terrain des valeurs, de notre force sur le terrain économique. C'est évidemment une mobilisation constante: rassembler la légitimité du Parlement européen, de la Commission, des États membres pour construire de l'unité afin d'avoir plus d'impact. Je mesure bien que, dans le cadre de ce débat, la conférence sur le futur de l'Europe, les sujets institutionnels seront sur la table. Il y aura la capacité pour tous les citoyens européens, pour le Parlement aussi, d'être engagés dans cette réflexion sur le terrain de l'efficacité, sur l'impact que l'on peut avoir en tant qu'Union européenne, et ce débat sur l'unanimité ou la majorité qualifiée sera probablement un des thèmes.

Mon point de vue – et je l'assume – est le suivant. Je pense que chaque fois que nous sommes unis, rassemblés par l'unanimité, nous avons de la force, nous avons de l'impact. Et je crois qu'il faut bien réfléchir avant de renoncer et de prendre le risque de jeter le bébé avec l'eau du bain, parce que l'unité, c'est la force, c'est le poids et c'est l'impact pour l'Union européenne. Peut-être y a-t-il d'autres formes qui pourraient être recherchées afin de trouver cet équilibre entre la capacité d'unité et la capacité pour des États membres, sur certains points, d'exprimer des positions minoritaires ou différentes sans empêcher la capacité d'avancer ensemble.

Voilà les quelques éléments que je voulais partager avec vous. Je crois en cette triple Union: l'Union des valeurs, l'Union de la prospérité et l'Union stratégique. Cela nécessite de la cohérence.

Un mot, enfin, sur la COVID: nous voyons bien que les dernières semaines, nous avons beaucoup progressé. Nous voyons bien que nous devons rester extrêmement vigilants, extrêmement engagés et nous voyons bien que la question internationale est au cœur de la mobilisation européenne. Nous allons aussi beaucoup y travailler, demain et après-demain, au G7 avec l'ensemble de nos partenaires.

Merci encore pour avoir partagé vos préoccupations, vos engagements et vos convictions.

**Il-President.** – Id-dibattitu ngħalaq.

*Stqarrijiet bil-miktub (Artikolu 171)*

**Joanna Kopcińska (ECR), na piśmie.** – Koordynacja działań UE w zakresie COVID-19 musi cechować wielofrontalne działanie osadzone na duchu solidarności, dyplomacji i skutecznych rozwiązań. Popieram podjęcie niezbędnych działań mających na celu wsparcie państw najbardziej dotkniętych pandemią, poprzez podarowanie im dawek szczepionek w wysokości co najmniej 100 mln do końca 2021 r. Uważam również za dobre rozwiązanie wsparcie wysiłków na rzecz zapewnienia szczepionek krajom Bałkanów Zachodnich oraz państwom Partnerstwa Wschodniego, popierając możliwości ich odsprzedaży.

Komisja powinna wesprzeć państwa członkowskie w pomocy i realizacji procedur odnośnie do kontraktów, transportu i dostaw z krajów członkowskich do państw potrzebujących, wykorzystując przy tym prawne zaplecze Unijnego Mechanizmu Ochrony Ludności przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu zasad mających na celu stosowania ograniczeń eksportowych i utrzymania otwartych łańcuchów dostaw. Należy skupić się na dwóch działaniach. Pierwsze działanie dotyczy faktu ewentualnej możliwości przyszłej produkcji szczepionek, kiedy to kraje Unii powinny być gotowe do eksportu pewnej części swojej produkcji krajowej również do pozostałych państw. Dlatego Komisja w ścisłym dialogu z rządami państw członkowskich powinna rozpocząć już teraz wczesne i precyzyjne ramy potencjalnego działania prawnego w tym zakresie. Kolejne działanie dotyczy Komisji, która powinna wesprzeć państwa członkowskie, uwzględniając istniejące porozumienia bilateralne zawarte w ramach Europejskiej Służby Działań Zewnętrznych poprzez ustanowienie mechanizmu dzielenia się szczepionkami z krajami Partnerstwa Wschodniego.

**Alin Mituța (Renew), în scris.** – Din concluziile acestei reuniuni extraordinare, reținem că relațiile cu Regatul Unit ar trebui să rămână reciproc avantajoase și nu pot submina integritatea pieței unice, uniunea vamală sau autonomia decizională a UE. Adevărul este că în etapa post-Brexit, această relație a început cu stângul. Cu toții am putut vedea măsurile disproporționate luate de autoritățile britanice la frontiera cu UE. Adesea, cetățeni UE, tineri și care în majoritatea cazurilor nu sunt încă pe deplin conștienți de noile condiții de intrare, sunt fie reținuți, fie le este refuzat accesul.

De asemenea, Regatul Unit a blocat intrarea a 3 294 de cetățeni UE de la începutul anului până la sfârșitul lunii martie, dintre care mai mult de două treimi, 2 118, erau români. Putem spune că este în conformitate cu spiritul de bună cooperare la care ne-am așteptat? Comisia trebuie să ceară explicații autorităților britanice și să depună eforturi pentru punerea în aplicare a acordurilor, mai ales în ceea ce privește drepturile cetățenilor UE. Autoritățile din Regatul Unit trebuie să oprească orice acțiune discriminatorie și să explice motivele pentru care cetățenilor UE le este refuzat accesul sau sunt reținuți și de ce există o proporție atât de mare de români.

**Bettina Vollath (S&D), schriftlich.** – Jeden Tag, den wir länger warten und den Rechtsstaatlichkeitsmechanismus nicht anwenden, schrumpft der Raum für die Zivilgesellschaft und die unabhängigen Medien. Sie spielen auf Zeit, Herr Kommissar. Die haben wir aber leider in der Tat nicht! Der Demokratie-Abbau, der durch EU-Gelder in einzelnen Ländern vorangetrieben wird, kann nicht einfach im Nachhinein wieder gutgemacht werden, indem einzelne Individuen-/Vereine/Institutionen Geld zurückzahlen müssen. Irreparabler Schaden ist entstanden, wenn Radios ihre Sendelizenzen entzogen wird und die Zivilgesellschaft aus Furcht vor Schmutzkübel-Kampagnen sich nicht mehr traut, sich kritisch zu äußern. Genau aus diesem Grund müssen wir jetzt handeln und nicht erst in einigen Wochen, Monaten, Jahren.

Die Rechtsstaatlichkeitsverordnung ist seit 1. Jänner 2021 in Kraft. Ich brauche Ihnen nicht zu erklären, dass eine Verordnung ein EU-Gesetz ist und dass sich alle Bürger\*innen, Mitgliedstaaten und EU-Institutionen an EU-Gesetze halten müssen. Ich fordere die Kommission auf, am besten heute noch zu handeln und die erste schriftliche Benachrichtigung an möglicherweise betroffene Länder zu schicken, da zahlreiche Bedenken zu Rechtsstaatlichkeitsverstößen bestehen, die auch die Kommission in ihrem Rechtsstaatlichkeitsbericht bereits thematisiert hat. Für diese schriftliche Mitteilung brauchen wir nicht auf die Finalisierung irgendwelcher Richtlinien zu warten.

## 5. Przygotowania do szczytu G-7 w dniach 11–13 czerwca i szczytu UE-USA (debata)

**President.** – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on preparation of the G7 summit of 11-13 June and the EU US Summit (2021/2715(RSP)).

**Ana Paula Zacarias, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Madam President, thank you for this opportunity to discuss in a bit more detail these two important upcoming summits, to which President Michel and President von der Leyen have already referred.

First, on the G7 summit, which the UK will host in Cornwall this weekend, as President Charles Michel has just underlined, the overall mission of the EU for the meeting is clear: to support an agenda for global action built on a strong commitment to international cooperation, multilateralism and an open, resilient, rules-based international order.

Here there are a couple of elements. First, the COVID-19 pandemic needs global cooperation in order to be overcome. We need solidarity. We need to ensure early access to vaccines and treatments everywhere. While vaccination campaigns are making progress around the world, more needs to be done. President von der Leyen explained clearly what we are doing in terms of exports, donating vaccines, and supporting the production of vaccines, but more needs to be done. We need a stronger multilateral response. We call for closing the financial gap for access to the COVID-19 Tools Accelerator, and we have been the main supporters of COVAX, but we cannot be multilateralists alone. All the advanced G7 economies should share doses through COVAX.

Secondly, solidarity also remains key in dealing with the economic effects of the pandemic, as we expect uneven recoveries and deepening of inequalities. We need to work together to fight hunger and poverty around the world. In this respect, a new general allocation of special drawing rights, unprecedented in terms of size, is under preparation by the IMF. EU Member States have supported this initiative and are discussing how best to channel these resources to the most vulnerable countries.

Thirdly, we also need to better prepare the world for the next pandemic. A number of initiatives are ongoing with the recent Rome Declaration of Principles released by the Global Health Summit and discussed at WHO, including on an international treaty on pandemics. This should not be a missed opportunity. Furthermore, the UK G7 Presidency has put forward a very ambitious agenda on climate and biodiversity against the background of the two important events of this year, the COP26 on climate and the COP15 on biodiversity.

Success at the COP26 will depend on the level of ambition of all parties. The EU has already submitted its ambitious nationally determined contribution (NDC). It will be important that the G7 shows an equally strong level of ambition and leadership, with clear commitments. The EU is also committed to working with the G7 partners to adopt new, ambitious global targets on biodiversity for the COP15. Our own EU 2030 biodiversity strategy is a testimony to that.

Finally, another very important topic regards international taxation. We are at a crucial juncture on the OECD-led negotiation for a broader overhaul of the rules on international taxation of the largest multinational enterprises. We welcome the fact that the G7 has reached a consensus on the framework for an overall agreement, and we hope that this agreement at G7 level will indeed form a good basis for further work, both within the G20 and at the level of the OECD.

Turning now to the upcoming summit with the United States, I would like to stress the symbolic importance of this event. It will take place as a part of President Biden's first foreign trip, seven years after the previous summit, upon an invitation by President Charles Michel. The United States and the EU represent 780 million people who share democratic values. It is also the largest economic relationship in the world. We have a chance and a responsibility to help people make a living, keep them safe, fight climate change and stand up for democracy and human rights.

We would like to see this summit agree with the US on an ambitious cooperation agenda in four key areas: fighting the COVID pandemic and driving forward a sustainable global recovery; second, protecting our planet and fostering green growth; third, strengthening trade, investment and technological cooperation; and fourth, building a more democratic, peaceful and secure world. We expect that leaders will agree on a very concrete and ambitious set of deliverables in all these four areas and we believe that this event has the potential to be a key milestone in renewing and re-energising our partnership.

A strong transatlantic partnership is vital to ensure, and to contribute to, our common security, stability and prosperity. A renewed transatlantic agenda is necessary to find joint answers to global challenges and make it deliver for our citizens. We hope that the summit will not be a one-off event and that regular exchanges between the EU and the United States will resume at different levels. Discussions in preparation for the summit are under way, both with EU Member States and on the US side, and I am sure that today's exchange will provide a timely and important input into the summit preparations.

I'm very keen to listen to your views. Thank you very much for your attention.

**Valdis Dombrovskis**, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, the transatlantic relationship is a beacon of democracy and prosperity. We share deep historical ties, as well as the biggest trade and investment relationship in the world. Our trade flows reached a value of almost EUR one trillion. But our partnership goes beyond economics. We have shared values, and we are committed to supporting democracy across the world. We share a fundamental belief in strong global rules and institutions that give every country a fair chance to flourish. When the EU and US speak with one voice, we can get things done.

Today, after some years of turbulence, the atmosphere has changed for the better. We are looking for new avenues for joint leadership: ending the COVID-19 pandemic and driving the economic recovery; building a more democratic, peaceful and secure world; World Trade Organization reform; climate and green growth; trade and technology; levelling the global level playing field.

Back last December, the EU reached out to the incoming Biden administration with a proposal for a renewed transatlantic agenda. The Commission welcomes the European Parliament's support for this approach. We are engaging intensively with our American counterparts to translate our intentions into action. I have had very constructive conversations with US Trade Representative Ambassador Tai and Secretary of Commerce Raimondo in this regard.

We now have two important opportunities to advance our strategy: a G7 summit in the UK next week and the EU-US summit on 15 June.

Let me start with the G7 summit. The participation of President Biden and the new US administration, together with the parallel Italian G20 Presidency, offers an excellent opportunity to reinvigorate the G7. The EU will be calling for stronger multilateral cooperation, in particular on health, climate, the economic recovery, and bolstering our common values as open societies and democracies.

Our key priorities for this year's G7 summit focus on beating the pandemic, recovering from the crisis while building a better future, strengthening the multilateral trading system, working for a successful COP 26, and joining forces for a human-centric digital transformation.

Let me briefly address each of our priorities. On health, while overcoming the COVID pandemic is our immediate priority, we should also enhance our preparedness for possible future pandemics. Good progress was made at the G20 Global Health Summit co-hosted by Italy and the European Commission in May. The EU demonstrated its full commitment to global solidarity. We want to build on this progress and agree on a G7 Health Declaration. The EU will push for more ambitious commitments to share vaccines with developing countries, and financing the Access to COVID-19 Tools Accelerator. We are also fully committed to supporting the development of vaccine manufacturing capacity in developing countries, and we are driving this work forward via forums like the WTO.

On the economic recovery, we have provided unprecedented support to citizens and businesses to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. Given the magnitude of the COVID-19 crisis's economic impact, this support has proven very successful. At the G7 summit, we will insist that economic support should not be abandoned too early, but should still be maintained to allow the recovery to gain proper ground. But we will equally insist that in order to build a better future, we should shift from crisis response to promoting strong, resilient, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth.

Trade will play a major role. We all agree that the multilateral trading system needs to be reformed, and I thank the honourable Members for their consistent leadership in this respect. The G7 has a responsibility to lead the reform effort, and the EU will be proactively calling for this strong approach.

When it comes to the digital arena, our aim at the G7 summit will be to show unity between like-minded partners. We want to send a clear message that we are ready to cooperate and shape a digital future based on our shared democratic values. G7 trade ministers have already expressed strong support for open digital markets and opposition to digital protectionism – in line with the EU's own approach.

We strongly support the creation of new rules for digital trade at the World Trade Organization. We are committed to advancing the joint statement initiative on e-commerce.

Leading on environment and climate action is the EU's first priority. At the G7, we will continue pushing for ambitious COP 26 commitments on climate change and for ambitious COP 15 commitments on biodiversity. At the summit, the G7 will show strong leadership by signing up for an unprecedented joint commitment concerning net-zero emissions by 2050 at the latest.

Finally, the G7 summit will provide an opportunity to promote our democratic values and open society around the world, notably by endorsing a joint declaration with like-minded democracies: the Republic of Korea, India, Australia and South Africa. We want to engage with our international partners on geopolitical challenges, including the latest developments in Russia and Belarus. We will continue to call for the immediate and unconditional release of Belarusian journalist Raman Pratasevich.

Now moving on to next Tuesday's EU-US summit. We very much welcome the Biden administration's re-engagement on the global stage and its commitment to reinvigorating the traditional alliance with Europe. The summit will be an opportunity to show the world that we are serious about tackling global challenges together. We will commit to upholding democracy and human rights, to ending the pandemic and addressing global health in general. We will also commit to protecting our planet and supporting an economic recovery that benefits everyone. We also hope that the summit can deliver a more positive trade agenda. We will commit to collectively addressing the challenges stemming from non-market economies. And, as a trust and confidence-building measure, we have to de-escalate and solve EU-US trade disputes.

We want to make decisive progress in resolving our bilateral disputes on aircraft and the US Section 232 measures on steel and aluminium. On the latter, we sent a clear signal to the US of our willingness to solve this issue in a fair and balanced way, by suspending the automatic doubling of our legitimate countermeasures. It is now for the US to walk the talk.

Beyond immediate priorities, the EU and US should move closer when it comes to defining technologies, green and digital economies and societies of the future. To that end, the EU has proposed establishing a Trade and Technology Council to deliver transatlantic leadership in the area of trade and digital, based on our shared values. Of course, this cooperation should also be open to like-minded partners. Last but not least, we also hope to forge an alliance with the US to cooperate on World Trade Organization reform. We need to bring the global trade rulebook up to date, helping us to address the many challenges we face.

Finally, we will engage with the US on critical geopolitical challenges, including Russia and China, but also in supporting the EU's eastern partners such as Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, strengthening our joint engagement in the Western Balkans, and ensuring stability in the Middle East and Africa.

To conclude, the Commission is looking forward to these important summits and we will inform you of their outcome.

**Radosław Sikorski**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, let us give a warm welcome to President Joe Biden, who is an honourable gentleman and a reliable ally.

It doesn't mean that we have to agree on everything. I personally believe that decisions on Nord Stream and on Afghanistan are mistakes, but it means that we can do things together. What I'd like us to do is to strengthen our democracies, including through sensible regulation of social media, and to complete the deal on taxes and tax havens as we need the money to revive our economies. And, as the Commissioner has just mentioned, to develop common positions on China, on security standards, investments and regulation.

President Biden, you'll be seeing Vladimir Putin. Please tell him from us that if he blackmails countries with gas, Nord Stream sanctions will return. If he attacks a neighbour again, we will respond with deeds, not just words. Lastly, that every time he or Mr Lukashenko murders or kidnaps an opponent in the West, we will double our assistance to Russian and Belarusian democrats. Amen.

**Dacian Cioloș**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Ministre, Monsieur le Vice-président de la Commission, je suis content de voir que la vie reprend son cours normal et que le multilatéralisme, pour prospérer, a aussi besoin de sommets et de réunions physiques. Donc, ce G7 en réunion physique est une très bonne opportunité.

Je voudrais me concentrer sur trois messages principaux.

Premièrement, je voudrais mettre en avant la nécessité d'un engagement pour la publication obligatoire des données financières liées au climat. Ce serait un signal fort que nous ne pouvons plus cacher nos têtes dans le sable en ce qui concerne le changement climatique. La transparence climatique des entreprises est un premier pas essentiel. L'Union européenne a toujours été à l'initiative dans la lutte contre le changement climatique, et je m'adresse ici à la Commission pour rappeler que nous nous sommes engagés pour la création de l'emploi durable et que les citoyens nous demanderont bientôt des comptes sur le bilan de cet engagement. C'est un sujet qui devrait être sur l'agenda quand on parle de changement climatique.

Deuxièmement, je veux saluer la décision historique des ministres des finances du G7, ce week-end, sur le principe d'un taux minimal de taxation de 15 % sur les profits des multinationales. Les règles fiscales internationales actuelles, qui datent de plus d'un siècle, sont un système injuste qu'on ne peut pas défendre devant nos citoyens. Donc, il est temps de le faire évoluer et d'assumer au niveau mondial cette décision. Et ce serait bien aussi que l'OCDE s'inscrive dans les pas du G7, suite à une telle décision.

Troisièmement, je souhaiterais lancer un appel: les chefs d'État et de gouvernement du G7 doivent renforcer leur soutien au COVAX. Nous avons parlé aujourd'hui même de l'initiative européenne COVAX. Elle est actuellement le principal instrument de solidarité pour lutter contre la pandémie de COVID-19 partout dans le monde et il est important de soutenir COVAX non seulement avec des déclarations, non seulement avec le souhait de mieux agir au niveau international, voire des déclarations populistes, mais aussi de contribuer concrètement à appuyer COVAX.



Finalmente, c'est rafraîchissant de voir que les États-Unis sont de retour sur la scène internationale avec une approche constructive. On doit rester solidaires entre démocraties au niveau international. De plus en plus de leaders autoritaires contestent ouvertement le système démocratique et nous nous devons de leur répondre avec courage et fermeté.

**Philippe Lamberts**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Madame la Présidente Metsola, chers collègues, chaque seconde, jour et nuit, l'équivalent du salaire annuel d'une infirmière part vers un paradis fiscal. Cette évasion fiscale, au profit des multinationales et des super-riches, est un cancer pour nos démocraties.

Elle est fondamentalement injuste pour le boulanger, le coiffeur, le petit entrepreneur, le professeur, l'infirmière qui, eux, paient leur juste part – et plus – à la collectivité. Elle mine nos services publics, fait grandir les inégalités et sape la confiance des citoyennes et des citoyens dans leurs institutions. Enfin, elle gaspille de précieuses ressources, dont nous avons cruellement besoin pour faire face aux défis globaux comme la relance économique et surtout la transition écologique et solidaire.

L'accord de principe obtenu ce week-end par les ministres des finances du G7 marque donc potentiellement un tournant majeur pour la justice fiscale, car en décidant d'introduire un impôt minimum mondial sur les sociétés, c'est le totem de la concurrence fiscale qui vole en éclats et le «business model» des paradis fiscaux qui perd toute raison d'être.

Mais, comme ce fut le cas autrefois pour la levée du secret bancaire, l'initiative est américaine, et c'est du côté européen que l'ambition manque. Alors que l'administration Biden propose une perspective ambitieuse avec un taux minimal de 21 %, les États européens poussent quant à eux, France en tête, pour un compromis à 15 %. Prenons les chiffres: un taux de 15 % rapporterait 50 milliards en régime annuel à l'Union européenne, un taux de 21 %, le double. Le double, chers collègues!

Aujourd'hui encore, trop de gouvernements européens se cramponnent au mythe toxique et faux du ruissellement, selon lequel les profits des grandes entreprises et des super-riches bénéficient à tous. Il est plus que temps qu'ils se rappellent que leur mission est de servir l'intérêt général et pas celui des «happy few».

Je suis heureux donc que le multilatéralisme prenne un nouveau départ mais il faut que, des intentions, on passe aux actes. Sur le climat, l'impulsion est européenne et il est plus que temps que l'administration américaine s'engage concrètement. Sur la fiscalité, par contre, les rôles sont inversés. Que les uns et les autres fassent preuve d'ambition, plutôt que de timidité.

**Marco Zanni**, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ringrazio il Commissario Dombrovskis e la Presidenza portoghese. Il prossimo G7 è secondo me un'occasione fondamentale per l'Unione europea. Un'occasione di ascolto, un'occasione di apprendimento e un'occasione di analisi di alcuni errori strategici che purtroppo l'Unione ha commesso su dei temi molto importanti che sarà bene correggere in futuro.

Il primo tema è il nostro rapporto con il Regno Unito, con un paese che, nonostante quello che è successo, deve essere ancora un paese da cui abbiamo molto da imparare. Il Regno Unito, che ospiterà questo consesso, è un paese che uscirà più forte e più sano dell'Unione europea da questa pandemia. L'economia correrà di più e la campagna vaccinale, al contrario di quello che è accaduto qua, è stata un successo. Credo che questa sia un'ottima occasione per sotterrare l'ascia di guerra con il Regno Unito, per accettare quella che è stata una scelta dei cittadini britannici e per rinnovare una nuova cooperazione con un paese che per noi è strategico e importantissimo.

C'è il tema del nostro rapporto con gli Stati Uniti e anche qui abbiamo molto da imparare da questa Amministrazione. Soprattutto i cosiddetti progressisti hanno molto da imparare, e vorrei sapere cosa hanno da dire sulle frasi riguardo all'origine del virus cinese, su cui ancora si interroga questa Amministrazione americana, o le frasi della Vicepresidente Harris riguardo ai migranti. Gli Stati Uniti, ancora una volta, ci danno una lezione, che qualunque sia l'Amministrazione che è in carica, l'interesse nazionale viene prima di tutti.

E poi, infine, il tema delle tasse, un tema importantissimo. È stato fatto un passo avanti, ma ancora non è abbastanza. E l'Europa, che è casa di paradisi fiscali e che ha avuto il capo di questo sistema come Presidente della Commissione, ha ancora molto da fare in questo spazio. Se riusciremo a comprendere questi errori, se riusciremo a prendere questi paesi ad esempio per correggere questi errori, allora questo meeting davvero potrà essere utile all'Unione europea.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, hace ochenta años, Altiero Spinelli anticipó en el Manifiesto de Ventotene la pérdida de peso de los Gobiernos ante gigantescos complejos industriales y defendió unas condiciones de vida más humanas para la clase trabajadora. Ante una pandemia, sus palabras nos recuerdan que los Gobiernos nunca son el problema, sino la solución. Y en tiempos de crisis hacen falta Gobiernos con más recursos para financiar servicios públicos básicos, además de asegurar la cohesión social y la supervivencia de la propia democracia.

El acuerdo histórico para establecer un tipo mínimo global del 15 % en el impuesto de sociedades y para que las grandes multinacionales paguen impuestos donde generen beneficios inaugura una nueva era de justicia fiscal históricamente reivindicada por la socialdemocracia. El presidente Biden afirmó que fue la clase media y no Wall Street quien construyó los Estados Unidos y también en Europa fue siempre la clase más humilde la que hizo revivir este continente de sus cenizas. Y ahora, en una y otra orilla del Atlántico, no podemos abandonarlas a su suerte. Ha llegado la hora de liderar junto a los Estados Unidos un acuerdo global este verano en la Cumbre del G20 y en la OCDE.

Para que la expresión de «acuerdo histórico» sea una realidad efectiva, es imprescindible que la cooperación internacional se extienda a otros ámbitos, como el desafío de la vacunación. En la Unión Europea podemos sentirnos orgullosos de haber exportado tantas vacunas como las que hemos utilizado para nuestro propio continente. Pero no todas las potencias del G7 han hecho lo mismo. La suspensión temporal de los derechos de propiedad intelectual sobre las vacunas no puede esperar más. Es inmoral que, mientras los países ricos debaten sobre la tercera dosis, la mayoría de las personas en los países en desarrollo no tengan ni siquiera la primera.

La Cumbre con los Estados Unidos debe servir no solo para revitalizar la agenda transatlántica, sino también para revertir las decisiones de la Administración Trump que han convulsionado nuestro vecindario. En Oriente Próximo, necesitamos que los Estados Unidos se comprometan de manera firme en la solución de los dos Estados en el marco del Derecho internacional. La conmemoración este año del 30.º aniversario de la Conferencia de Paz de Madrid, que condujo a los Acuerdos de Oslo, es la oportunidad para relanzar el proceso de paz árabe-israelí. El camino ya lo señaló Isaac Rabin: «negociar la paz como si no hubiera terrorismo, y combatir el terrorismo como si no hubiera conversaciones de paz».

Estamos en un verdadero punto de inflexión en la historia. El marco multilateral posterior a la pandemia dependerá de la verdadera determinación de las grandes potencias de intensificar su cooperación. Como Unión Europea, hagamos valer la fuerza de nuestra unidad y de nuestros valores democráticos para cambiar el equilibrio mundial en favor de la democracia, de la libertad y de la igualdad.

**Geert Bourgeois**, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, na jaren van trans-Atlantische spanningen zijn de verwachtingen voor de EU-VS-top heel hooggespannen. Er zijn in korte tijd met de Biden-administratie goede zaken gebeurd. Ik denk aan de wapenstilstand in de tarievenoorlog. Hopelijk volgt er ook een akkoord, meneer de commissaris. Maar ik denk ook aan het principeakkoord binnen de G7 voor een mondiale minimumbelasting voor de vennootschappen, een akkoord dat ik verwelkom, maar de modaliteiten zullen uiterst belangrijk zijn.

Laten we van deze periode gebruikmaken om als gelijkgezinden en gelijkwaardigen een nieuwe dynamiek te ontwikkelen. Om te beginnen door het multilateralisme te herstellen met de redding en de hervorming van de Wereldhandelsorganisatie. Ten tweede moeten onze economieën, die gezamenlijk de grootste zijn van de wereld, daarvan gebruikmaken om wereldwijd de standaarden te zetten.

Maar ook bilateraal ligt er werk op de plank. Om te beginnen de oprichting van de Raad voor handel en technologie voor gezamenlijke afspraken. Ten tweede een China-strategie ontwikkelen met de VS. En ten derde meewerken aan de top van de democratische landen.

Ik druk tot slot de hoop uit dat dit Parlement komt tot een institutionele samenwerking met het Congres.

**Martin Schirdewan**, im Namen der Fraktion *The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Nachdem sich die G7-Industrienationen endlich auf eine Unternehmensmindestbesteuerung verständigt haben, erklang ja viel Lob, auch viel Selbstlob. Der deutsche Finanzminister sprach sogar von einer Steuerrevolution. Und da möchte ich doch mal genau gucken, was das heißt, wenn Olaf Scholz von einer Revolution redet.

Noch in den Siebzigerjahren lag der durchschnittliche OECD-Steuersatz für Unternehmen bei 45 Prozent. Fünf Jahrzehnte später und nach einem ruinösen internationalen Dumping-Wettbewerb um die niedrigsten Steuersätze liegt er heute noch bei 25 Prozent. Zudem verschieben multinationale Konzerne jedes Jahr über eine Billion Euro an Gewinnen in Steueroasen. Und die G7 schlagen jetzt also eine Mindeststeuer für Multis von lediglich 15 Prozent vor. Das entspricht in etwa den Sätzen, die auch in Steueroasen verlangt werden, wie Irland, der Schweiz oder Singapur.

Wir müssen Steuerdumping beenden und Steuervermeidung einen Riegel vorschieben. Und deshalb fordert die Linke im EP eine effektive Mindestbesteuerung von multinationalen Unternehmen und Big-Tech-Konzernen von 25 Prozent, damit auch Multis und Big-Tech endlich ihren gerechten Anteil am Steueraufkommen zu leisten haben.

Und von dem anstehenden EU-USA-Gipfel muss eine klare Botschaft an Unternehmen wie Amazon gehen: Wenn ihr hier auf dem europäischen digitalen Markt spielen wollt, dann nach unseren Regeln! Jeff Bezos, zahl endlich deine Steuern, so wie jeder andere anständige Mensch auch! Hungerlöhne sind inakzeptabel, *Union Busting* ist inakzeptabel, die Überwachung von Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmern ist inakzeptabel! Europäische Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer haben ein Recht auf gewerkschaftliche Organisation und auf gute Arbeitsbedingungen.

Und die USA fordern – wie über 100 weitere Länder auch – die Aussetzung des Patentschutzes der Corona-Impfstoffe, um die Pandemie weltweit erfolgreich bekämpfen zu können. Allein die EU-Mitgliedstaaten und auch die Kommission stellen sich diesem Anliegen noch immer in den Weg, weil der globale Gesundheitsschutz hier weniger wert zu sein scheint als das Profitinteresse der Pharmaindustrie. Ich hoffe sehr, dass Joe Biden Ihnen etwas mehr Vernunft beibringt und Sie diese falsche Politik aufgeben werden.

Und richten Sie doch dem US-Präsidenten aus, dass viele Europäerinnen und Europäer die zunehmenden Spannungen im Verhältnis zwischen China und den USA mit Sorge betrachten und dass sie auch keine weitere gefährliche Zuspitzung im Verhältnis zu Russland wünschen. Friede in Europa bedeutet auch, keinen neuen Kalten Krieg zu starten. Die EU sollte in keine blinde Vasallenschaft gegenüber den USA zurückverfallen, sondern eine friedensbewahrende Rolle in der Weltpolitik anstreben, mit eigenständigen Beziehungen zu China, zu Russland und auch den USA, und zwar basierend auf einem Multilateralismus, in dem mögliche internationale Konflikte durch internationales Recht gelöst werden.

**Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI)**. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το βάθος της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης διαψεύδει τις αιστικές προσδοκίες της ΕΕ και των ΗΠΑ ότι τα ταμεία ανάκαμψης ή οι κρατικές επιδοτήσεις θα εξασφάλιζαν γρήγορη ανάκαμψη και επικράτηση στον διεθνή ανταγωνισμό απέναντι στην Κίνα και τα συμφέροντά της. Οι αλληπάλλληλες συνάξεις μέσα στον Ιούνιο της ΕΕ, του ΝΑΤΟ, των G7 καθώς και αυτή μεταξύ ΕΕ και ΗΠΑ, σηματοδοτούνται από αναζητήσιμες εύρεσης νέων, πιο αποτελεσματικών σχημάτων απέναντι στην Κίνα και τη Ρωσία. Όμως, αυτές οι ιμπεριαλιστικές συμμαχίες δεν έχουν σχέση με τα συμφέροντα των λαών.

Η ψηφιακή και πράσινη μετάβαση που ευαγγελίζονται η ΕΕ και ο Biden, ούτε φιλεργατική είναι ούτε φιλοπεριβαλλοντική ούτε ειρηνική. Οι ελάχιστοι προσηματικοί φόροι στα μονοπώλια αποτελούν σταγόνα στον ωκεανό των φορολογικών παραδείσων, των φοροαπαλλαγών και των αναρίθμητων εργαλείων που έχουν για να μετακυλούν τα όποια νέα φορολογικά βάρη στους λαούς, μεταξύ άλλων και με ακριβότερα εμπορεύματα και υπηρεσίες.

Με την αυτοτελή τους πάλι, οι λαοί πρέπει να χαράξουν δρόμο με κριτήριο τα δικά τους συμφέροντα και ανάγκες, σε σύγκρουση με τα μονοπώλια, τις ενώσεις και τις κυβερνήσεις τους.

**Esteban González Pons (PPE)**. – Señora presidenta, señorías, todo se globaliza menos la política. La economía, la cultura, las relaciones sociales, incluso las enfermedades, las crisis se globalizan. Se globalizan las mentiras. Todo es global, pero la política no. El principio democrático no, el principio de igualdad no, la libertad no. Paradójicamente, cuanto mayor es el ámbito de nuestra convivencia, menor es el espacio de nuestra política.

La globalización económica produce nacionalismo político. Hoy es más fácil abrir una cuenta corriente en cualquier banco del mundo que votar en las elecciones legislativas de nuestro país desde el extranjero. Hay muchas empresas globales que tienen presupuestos e ingresos más altos que los PIB de muchos países industrializados. No hablo de otros. Industrializados. Por ejemplo, la norteamericana Walmart tiene más ingresos que el PIB de Bélgica.

Seguir pensando que la globalización se gobierna sola es quedarnos como europeos a merced del modelo de desarrollo chino. Por eso, es un avance el acuerdo alcanzado por el G7 para establecer un tipo mínimo global del impuesto de sociedades, porque los impuestos deben pagarse allá donde se producen los beneficios y porque los paraísos fiscales son el cáncer de la política global.

Aprovechemos las conversaciones con los Estados Unidos para relanzar el acuerdo de libre comercio porque, si no estamos en la globalización, la globalización nos marginará y dejaremos de ser políticamente influyentes.

**Marek Belka (S&D).** – Madam President, the pandemic has hit our economies hard. The upcoming G7 summit will also discuss a global recovery response. Everybody should play their part, and yet there are some that are not paying their fair share in the struggle. Last week's agreement of G7 finance ministers shows that citizens' disapproval of tax bailouts for corporations has been heard. I welcome the deal. However, I hope that the G7 summit will bring us even more ambitious solutions. Still, we are far from a done deal.

Are we sure that all EU countries will adopt this deal when their competitive advantage is a tax rate lower than the one proposed? How many and which companies would be covered?

This House gives the Commission a clear mandate to act tough on tax fairness and transparency at the G7 summit. We are not ready to play nice with crooks and tax havens, especially not now.

**Hilde Vautmans (Renew).** – Madam President, until recently, G7 meetings were boring administrative meetings at which the big Western leaders discussed the economic and financial health of their economies. Today, the G7 has to change course drastically as we no longer live in a world in which liberal democracy is evident. Instead of being a loose club of wealthy nations, the G7 urgently needs to become an active alliance of genuine democracies – a solid alliance ready to fight authoritarian crooks like Lukashenko with a worldwide sanctions regime, to cease doing business with countries or in products produced by slave labour or on the back of our planet, and to radically rethink our military alliances and strategies. Even for the new Biden administration, a European army and a UN defence unit are no longer taboo.

Let us show courage, ambition and vision in this G7. Let's go forward with a new concept for a G7 in defence of our values and our freedoms – a G7 willing to fight for it.

**Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, Vice-President Dombrovskis has justifiably heaped high praise on the return of the US administration to the tradition of working with allies. Mr Dombrovskis, you have sung well the gospel of transatlantic allegiance. You have emphasised that we have to translate intentions into action and you have promised joint leadership.

But alas, as I listened attentively to what you said, I missed one very important topic for showing leadership. If we want to create, as Biden says, a 3B world – a 'built back better' world – we have to emphasise the need for an international infrastructure investment initiative, or call it a connectivity strategy, or call it a European Global Partner Europe Initiative. Whatever the name, this House has shown the way.

When we discussed the topic in January, the Commission pledged full support for the agenda. But I get the impression that the Commission still hasn't got it. Not a single word from you on the topic, even though President Biden has emphasised it.

We have lost too much time already. We have moved forward only little by little, against internal opposition. Now there's a chance for a breakthrough. If the Commission fails Europe on this, it is also failing Member States and Parliament at the same time. Now is the time to go big, Vice-President. Go big or go out of the way!

**Jérôme Rivière (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, à l'approche du G7, suivi du sommet États-Unis–Union européenne, jamais dans son histoire l'Europe n'a aussi peu pesé sur la scène internationale.

Cette vision du monde, guidée par la notion selon laquelle les nations européennes ne sont qu'un protectorat américain, n'est pas adaptée aux enjeux de notre temps, même si les États-Unis sont et demeureront nos alliés et nos amis. Cette posture de soumission nous fait épouser l'obsession antirusse de nos amis américains, alors que les réalités géographiques, économiques et démographiques devraient nous pousser au réalisme d'un partenariat renouvelé. Plus encore, tenter d'afficher l'Union européenne comme un interlocuteur international alors que les intérêts propres des États membres sont si divergents est au mieux une utopie, au pire une tragédie historique.

La diplomatie est l'apanage des nations. L'Union européenne n'est qu'une institution. La France, avec ses outre-mers, l'arme nucléaire et sa place au Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies, peut avoir – doit avoir – une politique mondiale.

La coopération des nations européennes ne doit pas être synonyme de leur disparition, en particulier dans un domaine aussi souverain que celui de la diplomatie.

**Chiara Gemma (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, i due grandi temi del G7 in programma questa settimana hanno un elemento in comune. Sia sui brevetti dei vaccini che sulle tasse da far pagare alle multinazionali i grandi della Terra dovranno decidere se schierarsi dalla parte di milioni di cittadini o difendere gli interessi e i profitti di pochissimi.

Noi siamo preoccupati. Biden propone una tassa al 21 % per le multinazionali e l'Europa risponde di no, che è meglio al 15 %, perché teme la reazione dei suoi paradisi fiscali interni. Biden propone di rimuovere la proprietà intellettuale dai brevetti dei vaccini. E l'Europa risponde di no, che è meglio fare altro, perché teme la reazione di Big Pharma.

Noi siamo preoccupati che l'Europa possa trasformarsi nel guardiano della casa dei potenti anziché nel faro della democrazia dei diritti e della giustizia sociale nel mondo. I paesi europei siano uniti al G7 e pensino al bene comune. Il mondo vi guarda.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Madam President, the G7 is an important summit of global biggest democracies. Globally for the time being democracy as a value is challenged by autocracies and by internal erosion. The G7 Summit is a good opportunity for the EU to put democracy on the same level of global priorities as climate change.

Since here will be not only G7, but also the EU-US Summit, and at the end the Biden-Putin Summit, so G7 will be a proper opportunity to agree on much more clear Western policy towards Russia, which became the biggest challenge towards democracy on the European continent. The G7 will be a good opportunity to agree on clear common messages to President Putin, with the hope that President Biden will deliver those messages directly to President Putin. The message of G7 towards President Putin should be very simple and clear: hands off Belarus! Hands off Ukraine! And hands off Navalny and democracy activists in Russia itself!

President Putin needs to get a clear message that the price for him and for Russia will increase very heavily if he tries to continue his policy of external and internal aggressive war against democracy and if he continues his support to the Lukashenko autocracy. That is what people in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus are expecting from G7. We can win the battle against climate change, but also we cannot lose the battle for the global future of democracy, because that would be a global disaster.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Madam President, it's highly significant that President Biden has chosen Europe as the destination for his first overseas trip. It's a clear sign of the renewed commitment to multilateralism and the transatlantic relationship. The transatlantic link is a bedrock of the international rules-based system that ushered the world into an era of peace and prosperity after World War II.

Challenges remain in trade approaches to Russia, China and other areas, agriculture and data protection – especially after recent revelations. We have to seek to redefine our relationship on an equal footing and take greater responsibility. Nevertheless, we are encouraged by the political will from Washington to tackle our differences in a constructive manner.

The G7 ministerial agreement on the minimum tax rate on multinational companies comes as the best introduction for the events next week and a great step forward towards tax justice.

SMEs have carried an unfair burden for too long. It's high time for the multinational companies that often profited from the pandemic to contribute fairly to the global recovery.

**Nicolae Ștefănuță (Renew).** – Madam President, Secretary Blinken recently said the more that countries with complementary strengths unite to achieve shared goals, the better for us all. If the power that lies in us is the sum of multiple forces, we need to learn to aim in the same direction.

To deliver freedom worldwide, let's fully engage in the global summit for democracy. Let's remember what democracy learning means. Let's remember 6 January.

But let's also think of 8 June here in France. How will that help us to win this fight? To guarantee our fight for Euro-Atlantic security, let's strengthen the European flanks by investing in defence research and military mobility. To respond to future health threats, let's not compete when the next epidemic strikes us, but let's join forces with the US.

I welcome President Biden's visit to Europe. I think he is welcome here. And through unity of purpose, I believe that there is no limit to what we can achieve together.

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, beating COVID-19 and building back better is now the priority for international cooperation. To build back better, global business must be made more transparent, sustainable and accountable.

The pandemic has shed a lot of light on the fragility of global value chains. Now, the EU has a unique chance to ensure that the value chains of companies are also free of human rights violations, such as child and forced labour, and that lands of multinational companies are not destroying the livelihoods of indigenous peoples.

The EU has just agreed on the important first step on public country-by-country reporting on income taxes of companies, and we are also moving towards corporate sustainability reporting and towards mandatory human rights and environmental due diligence. The EU is indeed a global leader on corporate accountability.

We need to act fast and ambitiously and our best allies are among the G7. Let us grasp this opportunity.

**Jaak Madison (ID).** – Austatud istungi juhataja! Proua Zacarias ja härra Dombrovskis! Ka mul on väga hea meel, et Ameerika Ühendriigid ja Euroopa Liit üritavad koostööd arendada, samas on muidugi natukene naljakas või isegi imelik näha sellist rõõmuotsust, pidevat ülistamist, et nüüd taastuvad suhted Ameerika Ühendriikide ja Euroopa vahel, kui justkui õige mees on Valges Majas. Aga samal ajal pole ma kuulnud erilist kriitikat asjaolude suhtes, et näiteks tänane USA president otsustas teha kingituse Venemaale, mis puudutab Nord Stream 2 ja sanktsioonide mahavõtmist. Keegi ei julge kritiseerida, sest see on õige mees Valges Majas. Kui teine mees pani sanktsioonid peale, et Venemaa ei suurendaks oma energeetikavaldkonnas mõju Euroopa majandusele, siis keegi isegi ei kiitnud väga, siis lihtsalt öeldi: „Noh, ok, väga tore on”. Teiseks, kui juba eelmise aasta kevadel oli üpris selge, et on suur tõenäosus, et tänases olukorras oleme me tõenäoliselt tänu sellele kriisis, et ühest laborist pääses viirus jooksma, ja kui seda öeldi, siis kõik söimased ja kurjustasid, et seda ei tohi öelda, see on Hiina solvamine. Kui täna Joe Biden annab korralduse luureasutustele 90 päeva jooksul ette kanda faktidest, et kas see viirus võis tulla tõesti laborist, mitte hüpata nahkhiirelt juhuslikult üle inimesele linnas, kus on mitu viiruselaborit, siis see on täiesti normaalne. Ehk siis minu üleskutse on see, et arendame suhteid, kuid ärme ole kahepalgelised ja ärme räägi sellisest retoorikast nagu väärtused ja demokraatia, mis lihtsalt on üks suur mull.

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – Madam President, the decision of the finance ministers of the G7 countries to back a major package of global corporate tax reform is significant, making agreement at the OECD on this issue look very likely. The interests of small, as well as large, countries need to be taken into account in any deal, including legitimate tax competition. However, this topic has been discussed many times in this House and will be again.

So I welcome instead the upcoming EU-US summit and particularly welcome the comments made by President Joe Biden in relation to the Protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland. Boris Johnson needs to realise that not implementing the commitments that he took in December has ramifications beyond our borders. I agree with President Biden that the Northern Ireland Protocol is a key apparatus in maintaining peace upheld by the Good Friday Agreement, and applaud his statement that a significant trade deal between the US and the UK will be impaired if commitments on the protocol are not honoured.

Boris would do well to remember that Joe Biden is fiercely proud of his Irish heritage. Now the chickens have come home to roost. Mr Johnson and Lord Frost seek to blame anyone and everyone in order to avoid the responsibility of their decisions.

Not on, not acceptable, now or ever. Honour your commitments, Boris.

**Aurore Lalucq (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, comme l'a parfaitement résumé Gabriel Zucman, le directeur de l'Observatoire européen de la fiscalité, le dernier accord sur le G7 est à la fois historique, insatisfaisant et prometteur.

Historique, car pour la première fois, des États se sont mis d'accord sur un taux minimum d'imposition; car pour la première fois, il y a potentiellement un barrage face à toutes ces forces d'incivisme et de délinquance fiscale.

Insuffisant, parce que 15 % ne peut pas être assez. Face à la course au moins-disant fiscal de ces dernières décennies, il faudra aller plus loin, à minima à 21 %, et il serait dangereux même de garder ce taux à 15 %.

Prometteur, car rien, si ce n'est les égoïsmes nationaux ou le manque de volonté politique, ne peut nous empêcher d'augmenter ce taux. Prometteur, surtout, parce que les États-Unis sont enfin à nouveau à la table des négociations, et pas n'importe comment: avec de l'ambition démocratique, écologique, économique, sociale et fiscale.

Utilisons ce rapport de force favorable que nous attendions tant pour pouvoir aller vers plus de progressisme. Il en va même au-delà de l'Union européenne et des États-Unis. C'est potentiellement un changement de paradigme.

**Sven Giegold (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Was wir derzeit in Amerika erleben, ist regelrecht atemberaubend. Es ist ein kompletter Wandel der politischen Richtung, und das ist für uns in Europa eine Chance. In Amerika wird investiert in grünen und digitalen Wandel, in sozialen Zusammenhalt – finanziert durch einen neuen Aufbruch zu Steuergerechtigkeit.

Darauf müssen wir in Europa reagieren, das als Chance begreifen. Deshalb ist so entscheidend, dass die großen Mitgliedstaaten und auch die Europäische Kommission diese Richtung der Politik in Amerika unterstützen.

Daher ist es mir peinlich, dass es Joe Biden ist, der global für 21 % Mindeststeuersatz wirbt, und aus Europa vorsichtige Signale kommen. Amerika hat hier volle transatlantische Partnerschaft verdient. Und bei der Umsetzung dieses globalen Steuerdeals darf Europa dann nicht auf die 15 % zurückfallen, sondern muss eben Amerika mit 21 % unterstützen. Amerika hat gesagt: 21 % Steuersatz. Wir sollten Amerika nicht unterbieten, sondern hier die Hand reichen.

**Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE).** – Madam President, the global pandemic provides a challenging backdrop for both the G7 and the EU-US summits. COVID-19 has created a common need, our need to heal. The summit is a unique opportunity for the EU to show leadership in healing the world.

To achieve this, though, we need more than feel-good media lines and carefully drafted, intentionally vapid conclusions. We need to produce tangible results. We also need to heal the transatlantic relationship, which has been wounded in recent years. It's time to move past the blame game. It's time to bury the hatchet. We need to resolve long-standing differences over planes, steel and data. We need to work together to combat unfair trade-distortive practices. We need to agree on a common framework for artificial intelligence and emerging technologies.

The pandemic has taught us that we can no longer take anything for granted and that we must fight to preserve what we consider to be most dear to us. So we need to focus now on what brings us together, not on what could tear us apart. Looking ahead, we need to safeguard our democratic principles and our common values. We need to make clear that the world's democracies intend to stand united against autocrats, populists and demagogues.

The summits are our chance to prove to the world that the EU can be a leader in the post-COVID world. The world is watching. Let us show them that we are ready, willing and able.

**Udo Bullmann (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, wertee Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir dürfen nicht länger darüber hinwegsehen: In der Welt nach Corona werden die Armen ärmer und die Reichen deutlich reicher geworden sein. Die Unterschiede wachsen erheblich. In der Welt nach COVID-19 fehlt es gerade im Globalen Süden an Ärztinnen, an Ärzten, an Pflegekräften, an Lehrerinnen und Lehrern. Millionen von jungen Menschen werden ohne Schulausbildung geblieben sein.

Wenn diese Welt nicht auf Dauer auseinanderbrechen soll, müssen wir dringend handeln. Deswegen rufen wir den Regierungschefs der großen Industrienationen, der EU wie den USA, vor ihrem gemeinsamen Gipfel zu: Das Momentum ist jetzt! Zeigen Sie Mut! Zeigen Sie Courage! Jetzt ist der Augenblick in der Geschichte, wo wir einen Durchbruch erzielen müssen.

Globale Mindeststeuern: Die großen Digitalkonzerne müssen endlich ihren Beitrag zum Gemeinwohl leisten. Nur wenn wir die himmelschreienden Ungleichheiten auf diesem Erdball überwinden, wird es uns gelingen, morgen eine gerechtere, eine nachhaltigere Welt in unser aller bestem Interesse zu bauen.

**Valdis Dombrovskis, Executive Vice-President of the Commission.** – Madam President, allow me to offer some final thoughts ahead of the important upcoming summits.

The pandemic has put our resilience to the test, not just in Europe but around the world. This has been an unprecedented global health crisis, which has caused economic recession and increased geopolitical rivalry. As we plan our recoveries, it is more important than ever that like-minded democracies work together, in a spirit of solidarity and strategic thinking.

There is no stronger partnership than the transatlantic bond. This is the single largest trade and investment relationship in the world. Our daily exchange of goods and services amounts to EUR 2.7 billion and even in 2020, the year of the pandemic, transatlantic trade flows reached a total value of almost EUR 1 trillion. But our partnership goes beyond this: we also share key democratic and economic values. The European Parliament plays a critical role in maintaining the political relationships that underpin this bond.

The Biden administration has contributed to a marked improvement in the tone and working methods of transatlantic relations. Now, at the G7 Summit and EU-US Summit, we need to see this improved spirit translated into meaningful policy proposals. It is often said that the G7 shows its real usefulness in times of crisis. So we can therefore safely say that this year's summit, which starts tomorrow, is very welcome. Likewise, the EU-US Summit on 15 June will give a clear picture of where we stand.

On sustainable and inclusive recovery programmes, on climate action, on the digital transformation, on multilateral reform: in these areas and others, we must show that we are ready to once again lead from the front. We are glad to have G7 and US support for the EU's fight for democracy – ranging from Aleksei Navalny and his supporters in Russia; to the free media around the world – and I would like once again to highlight Raman Pratasevich in Belarus – to the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

I thank you, honourable Members, for your strong engagement, and the Commission looks forward to discussing the outcomes of these summits with you.

**Ana Paula Zacarias, Presidente em exercício do Conselho.** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, obrigada por todos os vossos comentários. Vivemos tempos sem precedentes e muito já foi feito em termos de cooperação global. Mas ainda não estamos seguros, temos de prosseguir com os esforços para ultrapassarmos coletivamente a pandemia como uma comunidade global, algo que será benéfico para todos.



Precisamos de resultados concretos desta cimeira do G7 em relação aos esforços para apoiar o COVAX e em relação à cooperação internacional efetiva para assegurar uma recuperação económica e social a nível global.

Precisamos também de prosseguir a nossa agenda ambiciosa quanto aos desafios que enfrentamos a longo prazo, nomeadamente a defesa dos nossos valores comuns e a luta contra as alterações climáticas, tornando as nossas sociedades mais sustentáveis, inovadoras, coesas e prósperas.

Precisamos de preservar o espírito de cooperação no G7, avançar com soluções inovadoras e continuar a fornecer respostas multilaterais a todos estes desafios dando, assim, um importante sinal ao resto do mundo.

Precisamos de trabalhar bilateralmente também com parceiros que partilham as nossas ideias e valores. Acreditamos que o Presidente Biden e a sua Administração estão prontos e dispostos a cooperar connosco, como disse o Senhor Comissário, na área do clima e das tecnologias digitais, mas também na área da fiscalidade, na área do comércio e numa visão estratégica assente nos nossos valores comuns. A próxima cimeira com os Estados Unidos será uma oportunidade única para revigorar a nossa parceria estratégica. Acreditamos que juntos seremos mais eficazes para enfrentar os desafios e dar confiança e esperança aos cidadãos de ambas as margens do Atlântico na democracia, na paz e na prosperidade.

**Il-President.** – Id-dibattitu ngħalaq.

*Stqarrijiet bil-miktub (Artikolu 171)*

**Isabel Carvalhais (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – A Cimeira UE-EUA, que conta com a importante presença do Presidente Biden, marca o início de uma parceria transatlântica renovada e definirá uma agenda conjunta para a cooperação UE-EUA na era pós-pandemia. Sem desprimor para outras preocupações mútuas de política externa, as mensagens principais desta Cimeira sobre a definição de uma agenda comum terão de passar por garantir a segurança da saúde mundial, estimular a recuperação económica mundial, criar resiliências às alterações climáticas, aprimorar a cooperação digital e comercial, e, muito importante, persistir no fortalecimento da democracia e na luta pelos direitos humanos.

**Javi López (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Ante el viaje del presidente de los EE. UU., Joe Biden, a Europa, para asistir a las cumbres del G7, de la OTAN y entre EE. UU. y la UE, la DSE expresó, en este debate, sus grandes expectativas para hacer avanzar la agenda progresista en favor de la democracia, el Estado de Derecho y la justicia social. Necesitamos construir lazos más fuertes y una alianza de democracias más resistente para revitalizar el orden mundial multilateral. También necesitamos unir energías contra la emergencia climática y lograr un crecimiento sostenible robusto y sociedades más inclusivas.

Además, en los últimos días hemos conocido el acuerdo sobre la tributación internacional en la cumbre del G7, que tendrá continuidad en las negociaciones del G20 y la OCDE y conducirá a nuevas propuestas legislativas por parte de la Comisión Europea. El establecimiento de una tasa mínima en sociedades, junto a la introducción de un mecanismo de control para tributar en los países de obtención de los beneficios, adelanta un escenario bien distinto al actual — marcado por la competencia tributaria entre Estados—, que la DSE apoya totalmente.

**Cristina Maestre Martín De Almagro (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Ante el viaje del presidente de los EE. UU., Joe Biden, a Europa, para asistir a las cumbres del G7, de la OTAN y entre EE. UU. y la UE, la DSE expresó, en este debate, sus grandes expectativas para hacer avanzar la agenda progresista en favor de la democracia, el Estado de Derecho y la justicia social. Necesitamos construir lazos más fuertes y una alianza de democracias más resistente para revitalizar el orden mundial multilateral. También necesitamos unir energías contra la emergencia climática y lograr un crecimiento sostenible robusto y sociedades más inclusivas.

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**Adriana Maldonado López (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Ante el viaje del presidente de los EE. UU., Joe Biden, a Europa, para asistir a las cumbres del G7, de la OTAN y entre EE. UU. y la UE, la DSE expresó, en este debate, sus grandes expectativas para hacer avanzar la agenda progresista en favor de la democracia, el Estado de Derecho y la justicia social. Necesitamos construir lazos más fuertes y una alianza de democracias más resistente para revitalizar el orden mundial multilateral. También necesitamos unir energías contra la emergencia climática y lograr un crecimiento sostenible robusto y sociedades más inclusivas.

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**Pedro Marques (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, há meses escrevi, com grande satisfação, que Joe Biden era um homem bom, que certamente se tornaria num bom Presidente dos EUA. Salvo opiniões absolutamente sectárias, diria que é quase consensual que Biden tem demonstrado ser um ótimo Presidente. Agora veio à Europa. Dispensar-me de pormenorizar as virtualidades e a importância desta visita. Quero apenas refletir sobre a diferença absolutamente diametral da intervenção política de Biden, quando comparado com o Presidente anterior. Biden, mesmo antes de vir à Europa, já estava, por diversos canais, a revitalizar a relação transatlântica, já estava a dialogar com os outros países do G7, já tinha salientado a importância da NATO. Face à União Europeia assumiu-se como um parceiro, com horizontes de cooperação e de trabalho conjunto. Apetece-me encerrar esta intervenção da seguinte forma: Senhor Presidente Joe Biden, bem-vindo à Europa.

**Csaba Molnár (S&D)**, *írásban*. – Történelmi jelentőséggel bír, hogy a G7-országok pénzügyminiszterei megállapodtak a társasági adóztatás globális kiterjedésű reformjának előmozdításáról és egyetértésre jutottak annak az alapelvnek a támogatásában, amely 15 százalékos szinten határozná meg az egyes országok számára célként kitűzött társaságiadó-kulcs minimumát. A COVID-19 okozta gazdasági válság hatalmas terhet ró az Európai Unió gazdaságára. Ez a gazdasági teher viszont egyben lehetőséget teremt egy szolidárisabb Európa megteremtésére. A kis- és középvállalkozások már így is túl sokáig viselték az adózás igazságtalanul elosztott terheit. Itt az idő, hogy a világválságból gyakran profitáló multinacionális vállalatok méltányosan hozzájáruljanak a globális fellendüléshez! Európának tehát vezető szerepet kell vállalnia egy igazságos és tisztességes globális adórendszer kiépítésében.

**Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – Ante el viaje del presidente de los EE. UU., Joe Biden, a Europa, para asistir a las cumbres del G7, de la OTAN y entre EE. UU. y la UE, la Delegación Socialista Española expresó, en este debate, sus grandes expectativas para hacer avanzar la agenda progresista en favor de la democracia, el Estado de Derecho y la justicia social. Necesitamos construir lazos más fuertes y una alianza de democracias más resistente para revitalizar el orden mundial multilateral. También necesitamos unir energías contra la emergencia climática y lograr un crecimiento sostenible robusto y sociedades más inclusivas.

Además, en los últimos días hemos conocido el acuerdo sobre la tributación internacional en la cumbre del G7, que tendrá continuidad en las negociaciones del G20 y la OCDE y conducirá a nuevas propuestas legislativas por parte de la Comisión Europea. El establecimiento de una tasa mínima en sociedades, junto a la introducción de un mecanismo de control para tributar en los países de obtención de los beneficios, adelanta un escenario bien distinto al actual — marcado por la competencia tributaria entre Estados—, que la Delegación Socialista Española apoya totalmente.

**Mihai Tudose (S&D)**, *în scris*. – Seria de reuniuni la nivel înalt din zilele următoare – summit-urile G7, NATO, UE-SUA și SUA-Rusia – reprezintă o oportunitate de resetare a relației transatlantice și de construire a unui cadru stabil și predictibil în partea noastră de lume.

Provocările cu care ne confruntăm, venite în special dinspre regimuri dictatoriale-revizioniste, obligă democrațiile occidentale să strângă rândurile. E timpul ca NATO și UE să-și coordoneze mai bine politicile, e timpul ca UE și SUA să intre într-o nouă fază de strânsă cooperare pe toate planurile, e timpul ca valorile și interesele noastre comune să prevaleze asupra apetitului individual pentru business cu orice preț, ori asupra unor devieri de la logica unității transatlantice.

Avem nevoie de o poziție solidară și puternică în fața agresivității ruse și de o consolidare a flancului estic al UE și NATO. Avem, totodată, nevoie de un parteneriat de investiții și comerț UE-SUA capabil să facă față mutațiilor economice ale secolului XXI și implicațiilor lor geostrategice. Orice impuls spre o competiție între UE și SUA, precum și orice concesie făcută rivalilor noștri sistemici nu sunt altceva decât pași autodestructivi, în contextul marilor tendințe globale actuale. De aceea, pledez pentru unitatea de viziune și acțiune a lumii libere.

(Hin li fiġ għet sospiza s-seduta: 11.42)

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(Ċerimonja tal-Premju LUX tal-Udjenza)

**VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS**

Vizepräsident

## 6. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 12.45 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)

## 7. Komunikat Przewodniczącego: patrz protokół

## 8. Podjęcie światowego wyzwania, jakim jest COVID-19: skutki odstępowania od porozumienia WTO TRIPS w odniesieniu do szczepionek, leczenia oraz sprzętu i zwiększania zdolności produkcyjnych w związku z COVID-19 w krajach rozwijających się (złożone projekty rezolucji): Patrz protokół

## 9. Pierwsza część głosowania

**Der Präsident.** – Wir kommen nun zur ersten Abstimmungsrunde des heutigen Tages. Die Dossiers, über die wir abstimmen, sind in der Tagesordnung enthalten. Die Abstimmungsrunde ist von nun an, 12.46 Uhr, bis 14.00 Uhr geöffnet. Es kommt dasselbe Abstimmungsverfahren zur Anwendung wie in den vorangegangenen Abstimmungsrounden. Alle Abstimmungen sind namentliche Abstimmungen.

Ich erkläre die Abstimmungsrunde für eröffnet, und Sie haben die Möglichkeit, bis 14.00 Uhr von Ihrem Stimmrecht Gebrauch zu machen.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Abstimmungsrunde werden um 19.00 Uhr bekannt gegeben.

(Die Sitzung wird um 12.47 Uhr unterbrochen.)

**Puhetta johti HEIDI HAUTALA**

varapuhemies

## 10. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(Istuntoa jatettiin klo 15.03.)

## 11. Sytuacja w zakresie praworządności w Unii Europejskiej oraz stosowanie rozporządzenia (UE, Euratom) 2020/2092 w sprawie warunkowości (debata)

**Puhemies.** – Esityslistalla on seuraavana neuvoston ja komission julkilausumat oikeusvaltiotilanteesta Euroopan unionissa ja ehdollisuusjärjestelmästä annetun asetuksen 2020/2092 soveltamisesta (2021/2711(RSP)).

**Ana Paula Zacarias, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Madam President, thank you for organising this important debate. As we all know, respect for the rule of law is critical to guaranteeing the sound functioning of the Union. In recent years, this has been increasingly acknowledged: first with the introduction of a sanctions mechanism in the Treaties; then with the introduction of the annual report by the Commission, which gives Member States an opportunity for self-reflection and exchange of best practices, while ensuring that all Member States are treated objectively and equally; and, finally, with the entry into force, at the start of the Portuguese Presidency, of the new Parliament and Council regulation, which makes it possible to protect the Union budget in case of breaches of the principles of the rule of law.

The rule of law has been a priority throughout the semester of the Portuguese Presidency, since it is a crucial element to guarantee that our common values are well protected and complied with, and ultimately to ensure the very functioning of the Union. We considered paramount the use of all available tools to protect and strengthen the values of our Union and, for this reason, we chose to focus in addition to actions aimed at responding to challenges on constructive instruments, such as the annual rule of law dialogue. The country-specific discussion took place in our General Affairs Council on 20 April and demonstrated once more the importance of a constructive approach that allows Member States to exchange not only best practices but also critical remarks. I have to say that this exchange on the situation in five Member States went very well.

In order to foster a real shared rule of law culture, we also organised a two-day international conference in Coimbra on 17 and 18 May. Mrs Nicholsonová, Chair of the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs (EMPL), and Mr López Aguilar, Chair of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE), represented the voice of the European Parliament and its highly valuable point of view at this conference. I would like to thank them once more for their participation.

This forum confirmed the relevance of these issues and the need to involve all stakeholders. In particular, attention was paid to civil society participation. Finally, as I have stated in this plenary before, I can confirm that the Portuguese Presidency, in accordance with its duties, intends to bring forward Article 7(1) of the Treaty procedure in full compliance, and we are planning to place this item on the agenda of the General Affairs Council on 22 June.

Now, moving to the application of the new conditionality mechanism, a theme of this debate, I understand that Parliament expects more tangible and faster results. I know that the Commission has advanced its work on guidelines, which will be essential to ensuring a fair, impartial and fact-based application of the regulation. At the same time, as you know, in March, two Member States introduced an action for annulment of this regulation. As mentioned by the European Council in its December conclusions and without prejudice to the Commission's independence, the Council believes it's important for the Commission to hear the judgment of the European Court of Justice before finalising these guidelines. Indeed, taking the conclusions of the Court of Justice into account in the guidelines would increase the legal solidity of the application of the regulation. This robustness will also facilitate a speedy process on the Council's side once a proposal has been made by the Commission. We hope that this can take place very soon.

Let me conclude by assuring you that the good functioning of the Union, the protection of its budget and respect for the rule of law will remain a shared objective among us all.

**Johannes Hahn**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I think it's always useful to have another debate on the rule of law conditionality mechanism. The new regulation on the general regime of conditionality is a key element of the overall MFF and budget package, which has now thankfully been approved and is in force.

All of this is a historic achievement for the Union. The Conditionality Regulation applies since the 1 January 2021 and has been followed up from that date. All relevant breaches affecting the sound financial management of the Union budget and the financial interests of the Union after that date will be covered. I will not tire to repeat that no case will be lost.

Since the beginning of this year, the Commission has been screening all sources available to identify and assess rule of law breaches that may be relevant under the Conditionality Regulation. I have been in close and constructive touch with those of you following this dossier in substance, and I observe many others have stated their views on this.

In this context, the Commission relies on various sources of information, such as the rulings of the Court of Justice or reports of the Court of Auditors. One important source is, of course, the Commission's annual rule of law report. As you know, the Commission is currently preparing the 2021 rule of law report, whose publication is expected in July. Relevant rule of law issues reported on in the country chapters of the 2021 rule of law report will feed into the Commission's assessment under the Conditionality Regulation.

The Commission also carefully considers and follows up on complaints or other sources of information on its own motion. The Commission will carry out its own assessment whether these sources and documents constitute reasonable evidence of breaches of the principle of the rule of law in a Member State affecting or seriously risking to affect the sound financial management of the Union budget or the protection of the financial interests of the Union in a sufficiently direct way.

The regulation is not an alternative to the procedure under Article 7 of the Treaty. It's totally independent from it, as its specific purpose is the protection of the Union budget and the Union's financial interests. The regulation complements the existing procedures to protect the Union's budget, including investigations by the European Anti-Fraud Office and the European Public Prosecutor's Office, as well as interruptions, suspensions and financial corrections under the rules of cohesion policy funds and other instruments.

In line with what the co-legislators agreed, the procedure under the regulation will be triggered if the conditions for its application are met, and unless other procedures under Union legislation would allow the Commission to protect the budget more effectively.

The Commission has prepared draft guidelines to bring clarity and predictability on the application of the regulation. My intention is to share this with the Parliament by mid-June, meaning in a few days, as I have indicated this for several weeks now. We want to listen to the views of both the Member States and the Parliament on these draft guidelines. Of course, the guidelines cannot and will not change the law as set by the regulation. The obligations and guarantees established by the regulation will be fully reflected in the guidelines and respected by them.

First, the guidelines deal with the conditions for the adoption of measures which include individual and systemic breaches of the principles of the rule of law. The breaches must of course affect, or seriously risk affecting, the sound financial management of the Union budget or the financial interests of the Union in a sufficiently direct way.

Second, the guidelines explain the relation between the regulation and other sectoral legislation to protect the Union budget and further explain the elements the Commission will assess in order to propose appropriate and proportionate measures. I would recall that these are not sanctions.

The final part of the guidelines explains how to protect the rights of final recipients or beneficiaries of Union funding: an aspect that is very important for the Parliament, for the Commission and for all recipients of EU funding.

So what about the process and the next steps?

The Commission has already been actively working on identifying breaches of the principles of the rule of law and assessing whether they affect the Union budget in a sufficiently direct way. Dialogue with the Member States will be important for the Commission to prepare its assessment.

Once the Commission has reasonable grounds to consider that the conditions for the application of the regulations are fulfilled, it will send a written notification to the Member States concerned.

I have just set out all the action that is ongoing to ensure the conditionality mechanism has the success European taxpayers expect and deserve. In this light, and with reference to the motion for a resolution you have on the table, honestly, I don't see any justification for bringing court action against the Commission. But of course, it's your decision.

**Petri Sarvamaa**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, I would like to thank Commissioner Hahn and Ms Zacarias of the Presidency for their statements. The Rule of Law Regulation itself is a historic milestone forward in protecting the rule of law in Europe. Some time ago, it was difficult to even imagine this kind of situation where we are now – both in bad, but also a little bit in good – that we have this regulation.

And having said that, I do believe we still need to remain realistic for the time being. Yes, now we finally have the tools to tackle the rule of law deterioration as far as the budget is concerned, but this tool is not a sanction tool on just any rule of law misuse you can find, of which there are many. This is a tool to protect the Union's budget and it has to be treated and seen as such.

The Commission has promised to deliver us the guidelines we asked for in our March resolution by the first half of June. We are now preparing our own-initiative report on the guidelines, and I hope to see the Commission's version by next week. I also think it is of utmost importance that the Commission will apply the regulation as soon as possible. But even more than that, for me and for my political group, it is important that the Commission prepares the first cases against some Member States in the best possible way it can.

The first cases have to be watertight. There is no room for us to lose them or have them even corrected in the Court, not if, but when, a Member State challenges them in the European Court of Justice, and only here the regulation and its power will be measured.

So now just my last words, please, Madam President. With this resolution, we instruct the President of Parliament to call on the Commission to act on the basis of Article 265 within two weeks. I hope that in two weeks, in the next mini-plenary, the Commission will be there to provide us with some concrete answers.

**Birgit Sippel**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Die Rechtsstaatskonditionalität, die Vergabe europäischer Mittel gebunden an demokratische Rechtsstaatlichkeit, ist seit fünf Monaten in Kraft. Und was geschieht?

Zu Polen entscheidet der EuGH Anfang März, dass Änderungen des Gesetzes über den Landesjustizrat gegen Unionsrecht verstoßen können, da eine effektive gerichtliche Kontrolle von Entscheidungen entfallen ist. Anfang Mai urteilt der Europäische Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte, dass die Zusammensetzung des Verfassungsgerichtes von Illegalität geprägt ist.

Und Ungarn? Ende Januar ermahnt die Kommission Ungarn, dass umfassende Änderungen am Vergaberecht notwendig sind, um systematischen Betrug beim *Recovery Fund* zu vermeiden. Anfang März kündigt der ungarische Medienrat rechtliche Schritte gegen RTL Ungarn an: Der Sender hatte öffentlich für Toleranz für Regenbogenfamilien geworben.

Zu Tschechien veröffentlichte die Kommission Mitte April ihren abschließenden Bericht zur Überprüfung von Fördergeldern. Ergebnis: Premier Babiš ist in massive Interessenkonflikte verstrickt, hat gegen EU-Recht verstoßen, Millionen Euro sind zu Unrecht geflossen.

Fünf Monate, drei Mitgliedstaaten. Umso unbegreiflicher, dass die Kommission weiterhin die Verordnung zur Konditionalität nicht anwendet. Dies umso mehr, als die Verordnung sogar für Vertragsbrüche vor ihrem Inkrafttreten angewandt werden kann. Und deshalb ist es unsere Pflicht, die Kommission auf Basis von Artikel 265 EU-Vertrag aufzufordern, endlich ihre Pflicht zu erfüllen und die Verordnung umzusetzen. Sonst ist eine Klage auf Vertragsverletzung durch Unterlassung unausweichlich.

Und warum das so wichtig ist? Es geht um die Verwendung von Steuergeldern und den Schutz unserer demokratischen Werte. Es geht um *our European way of life*.

**Moritz Körner**, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist Zeit! Es ist Zeit, dass die Kommission endlich ihre Hausaufgaben macht. Zu lange haben wir in Europa zugeschaut, wie der Rechtsstaat zerstört wird. Es ist Zeit, die Samthandschuhe auszuziehen und endlich Rechtsstaatlichkeit entschlossen zu verteidigen.

Jeder Euro, jeder Euro, der in dunklen Taschen in Europa versickert, ist eine Bedrohung für die Glaubwürdigkeit Europas. Und deswegen sagen wir heute klar als Europäisches Parlament: Das machen wir nicht länger mit! Das werden wir nicht mittragen und verklagen heute die Europäische Kommission wegen Untätigkeit.

Und natürlich liegt es in der Natur der Sache einer Untätigkeitsklage, dass diese nicht mehr notwendig ist, sobald wir Tätigkeit sehen, sobald wir ein Handeln der Europäischen Kommission sehen. Aber ich sage das hier auch klipp und klar für meine Fraktion: *Guidelines* vorzulegen werden wir nicht als Handeln akzeptieren. Die *guidelines* stehen nicht in der Verordnung. Sie sind ein Ablenkungsmanöver des Rates, und sie sind eine Verzögerungstaktik. Das werden wir nicht hinnehmen!

Es ist peinlich, dass mittlerweile die USA korrupte Oligarchen in Bulgarien sanktionieren und die Europäische Kommission währenddessen ihre Hände weiterhin in den Schoß legt. Und deswegen können wir das an dieser Stelle nicht weiter akzeptieren.

Und ich will einen letzten Gedanken sagen: Es geht hier auch um die institutionelle Rolle. Akzeptieren wir, dass der Europäische Rat einfach so über einen Beschluss der Gesetzgeber, eine Verordnung hinweggeht? Wir werden das nicht akzeptieren! Und Frau von der Leyen kann entscheiden – und muss entscheiden –, ob ihre Kommission an unserer Seite für Rechtsstaatlichkeit kämpft oder an der Seite von Viktor Orbán und der polnischen Regierung.

**Daniel Freund**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, today is the 24th debate on the rule of law, including in Hungary, since Viktor Orbán was elected in 2010. Twenty-four times we have discussed the dismantling of democracy, the attacks on the free media, on independent judges. And all these debates, of course, haven't stopped Orbán from turning Hungary into a corrupt autocracy right at the heart of the European Union.

First, the Commission looked away. Then the Commission said, 'we don't have the tools'. Now you do have the tools, but you are not using it. The Commission remains inactive while the assault on our values, on our rights and on our money continues every day. Orbán's family and his friends keep stealing our money. And you, Commissioner, have said it again today: 'no case will be lost', suggesting that we have time, but we don't.

In a bit over six months, there is an election in Hungary. And of course, the fate of Viktor Orbán is for the Hungarian voters to decide. But we need to make sure that our EU money is not contributing to rigging or stealing that election. So the inaction of the Commission is highly political, because your inaction allows Orbán to buy support with EU money. Your inaction allows Orbán to control the media coverage of that campaign. And your inaction means that the opposition is not contesting in a fair and free election in Hungary.

And that's why, after 24 debates, after 10 years, we're suing the Commission. Because we don't want the European Union to support the re-election campaign of a corrupt autocrat in Hungary.

**Gilles Lebreton**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, la proposition de résolution commune sur la situation de l'état de droit dans l'Union européenne est inacceptable.

Elle stigmatise en effet de façon caricaturale deux États, la Pologne et la Hongrie, et demande d'appliquer à leur encontre les mesures de rétorsion financières prévues par le règlement du 16 décembre 2020 sur la conditionnalité.

Trois passages sont particulièrement choquants.

D'abord, le considérant F, qui refuse de reconnaître la validité de l'accord trouvé au sein du Conseil pour suspendre ce règlement dans l'attente du jugement de la Cour sur sa légalité.

Ensuite, le point 2, qui viole la souveraineté nationale en affirmant expressément qu'un État membre n'est pas libre de modifier sa constitution comme il le veut.

Enfin, le point 7, par lequel le Parlement prend une fois de plus la défense des migrants, sans vouloir comprendre que nous devrions lutter contre la submersion migratoire qui nous menace plutôt que de l'organiser.

Face à ces dérives, je tiens à mettre en garde la majorité de ce Parlement: l'Union européenne ne survivra pas si elle persiste à violer la souveraineté, l'identité nationale et les traditions constitutionnelles et culturelles de ses États membres.

**Ryszard Antoni Legutko**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, yes indeed, we have a serious problem with the rule of law in the European Union: not in the Member States, but in the EU itself. The violations of the treaties have become more and more frequent. What's worse, this practice seems to be accepted by the European institutions as well as by the political forces that control them.

Take the so-called rule of law framework. From the very beginning it was obvious that the Treaties disallow such a procedure, if only because it violates the principle of conferral as specified in Article 5. Soon after this framework appeared in 2014, the legal services of the Council of the European Union wrote a devastating critique of the project. What did the Commission and the Parliament do? Nothing. Probably they put the document into the shredder. A couple of years later in 2018, the same legal services presented another critical opinion, even more devastating; the same reaction, silence and the shredder. Even the European Court of Auditors criticised this mechanism and its opinion wound up in the shredder, too. Then the Parliament came up with the rule of conditionality, which in the form proposed by the Parliament, is simply a legal monstrosity, violating almost everything that can be violated.

What it can and probably will amount to we have all heard in the statement of some of the speakers this afternoon, and many of those who follow will probably continue in the same vein. To say that these remarks are being made in complete disregard for the rule of law, as specified in the Treaties, would be an understatement. If anyone wants to know what the contempt for law is like, well, that was it.

The Council introduced some rationality to the mechanism and I can see to my satisfaction that the Commissioner does not want to go beyond what the Treaties allow. I should be satisfied, and in a way I am. But we have heard other statements from other Commissioners in the past with the opposite message, so I'm not sure what the Commission's ultimate position is. Aren't you by any chance playing a good cop-bad cop game?

This sense of uncertainty which I feel is shared by millions of people in Europe. The Treaties are being strained, reinterpreted at will, twisted. They no longer give protection, but have become the instruments of the ruling majority to strengthen its hegemony. This tendency unfortunately seems to include the Court of Justice. As you might remember, this Parliament launched Article 7 against Hungary after having introduced a last-minute change in the voting procedure, excluding abstentions. This was definitely foul play, and without the change, the anti-Hungarian majority would have lost. This was clearly a breach of Article 354, which explicitly stipulates that all votes cast should be included. But just recently, the Court of Justice intervened in an epoch-making ruling to the effect that abstentions are not to be qualified as votes cast. The ruling is not only an assault on human intelligence. This is law in the service of party politics, but more importantly, this is a sign that for the Court of Justice as well as for other European institutions, anything goes as long as they can have their way.

So what we have seen so far on the condition of the debates in the Parliament and outside it has been a rather depressing spectacle. Commissioner, I wish your statement could mark a change in this abominable practice of a cavalier approach to the Treaties, but something is telling me that such a conclusion may be premature, and considering this Parliament's plan for the future of Europe, I fear the worst.

**Younous Omarjee**, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, l'Europe s'est construite pour la paix, dans l'adhésion partagée par tous d'un contrat fondé sur le respect des valeurs de liberté, d'égalité et de démocratie.



Ne vous méprenez pas: notre combat pour le respect de l'état de droit est un combat historique pour la survie de l'essence même de l'Europe. C'est un combat pour l'Europe, mais c'est aussi un combat pour le monde, car si la démocratie recule en Europe, elle reculera partout ailleurs. Nous ne pouvons pas continuer à laisser les gouvernements liberticides et corrompus agir en toute impunité et prendre le risque que s'étende demain sur toute l'Europe une ombre encore bien plus opaque que celle d'aujourd'hui.

Voyez-vous, lorsqu'il s'est agi de déclencher contre les pays du Sud les plans de coupes budgétaires, jamais la Commission européenne n'a reculé. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit des droits fondamentaux, la Commission, par manque de courage peut-être, se dérobe et laisse sans protection les citoyens européens. C'est insupportable, et ce alors même que notre Parlement a décidé du mécanisme «état de droit», qui doit s'appliquer maintenant contre les États qui non seulement sont contents d'offenser des valeurs, mais plongent dans la corruption sur les fonds de cohésion européens et rient de nous.

Alors, je vous le dis calmement mais fermement: en état de droit, quand le Parlement décide, la Commission doit s'exécuter.

**Milan Uhrík (NI).** – Pani predsedajúca, ja mám skutočne dojem, akoby boli veci postavené hlavou naopak. Akoby sme zabudli, že to nie Európska únia tvorí štáty, ale že štáty tvoria Európsku úniu.

Štáty a občania majú diktovať, ako má Európska únia vyzeráť, a nie Európska únia má diktovať občanom, ako si majú vytvárať štáty.

V tomto okamihu je skutočne podľa môjho názoru potrebné postaviť sa na stranu Poľska a Maďarska, ktorým je neprávom krivdené.

Veď uznesenie alebo nariadenie o režime podmienenosti rozpočtu je na súde, a nie je ešte stále ani právne záväzné.

Aj zo Slovenska vravíme, že keď bude Európska únia vytvárať takýto veľký tlak a bude ho stupňovať, tak štátov ako Poľsko a Maďarsko bude v budúcnosti len pribúdať.

Nie preto, že by neboli demokratické, ale preto, že si neželajú, aby im Európska únia diktovala, ako má vyzeráť.

A neželá si to čoraz viac občanov, o čom svedčia aj výsledky posledného Eurobarometra.

**Tomáš Zdechovský (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, pane komisaři, Evropská unie je vlajkovou lodí demokracie. Dalším společným dědictvím politických principů je právě i úcta k lidským právům a dodržování právního státu. Právní stát je alfa i omega veškerého dění v Evropské unii, a proto je možná strašně důležité, aby se právní stát jako princip dodržoval.

Ano mají ho dodržovat členské státy, to tady bylo několikrát zmíněno. Ale co když ho členské státy, které tvoří Evropskou unii, nedodržují? Co když členské státy zapoměly na to, k čemu se zavázaly na začátku? Jedná se totiž o křehký systém, o který se musíme starat. Správně nastavené soudnictví, protikorupční systém nebo také nezávislá policie, svoboda projevu, svobodné volby, to jsou přece věci, za které musíme neustále bojovat.

Pořád vidíme, že někdo přichází, nějaký spasitel, nějaký oligarcha, který si myslí, že si nás všechny koupí a bude diktovat podmínky tak, aby vyhovovaly jemu a jeho firmám. Je důležité, abychom se snažili tento systém demokracie oprostít od vlivu určitých lidí. Je důležité, aby právě tady fungovaly nezávislé instituce, které jsou schopny vyšetřit některé kauzy. Sami můžeme vidět v některých zemích, jak jsou kauzy vlivných politiků zametány pod koberec. A o to je dnes tato debata důležitější. Věřím, že se v této debatě posuneme dopředu.

**Isabel García Muñoz (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, comisario Hahn, secretaria de Estado Zacarias, el presupuesto europeo debe implementarse cumpliendo con el principio de buena gestión financiera, pero para ello es imprescindible que se respeten los principios sobre los que está fundada la Unión, en particular, el Estado de Derecho. Es alarmante la situación que estamos presenciando en algunos Estados miembros, donde el Estado de Derecho se está deteriorando de forma muy grave.

Si no hay garantías de que las autoridades de un Estado miembro actúan de acuerdo con la ley, de que el fraude y la corrupción son perseguidos y castigados por una justicia independiente, o de que medios de comunicación libres y plurales puedan informar a la ciudadanía, no pueden recibir fondos europeos.

Señor comisario, este Parlamento no insiste en la aplicación del mecanismo de condicionalidad por capricho. Es una necesidad incuestionable y cada día que pasa se hace más urgente actuar. No podemos poner en juego la recuperación de Europa por una mala gestión de los fondos.

Lo hemos repetido en muchas ocasiones: el Reglamento relativo a la condicionalidad está en vigor y es directamente aplicable desde el 1 de enero. La Comisión ha querido adoptar unas directrices para su aplicación contraviniendo a los colegisladores. Pero es que seis meses más tarde aún las estamos esperando. Podemos entender la cautela y, por supuesto, todos queremos que se hagan bien las cosas. Pero ha pasado mucho tiempo sin noticias de la Comisión, lo que consideramos inacción.

Confío en que reaccione a esta llamada de atención y en que veamos muy pronto esas directrices, pero sobre todo lo que realmente importa: que se investiguen y se ponga fin a las graves violaciones del Estado de Derecho que afectan al presupuesto de la Unión. Ese es nuestro objetivo. No hay tiempo que perder. Cada ataque al Estado de Derecho es un ataque a las libertades y derechos de los ciudadanos europeos.

**Puhemies.** – Tämä oli tulkeilta mestarisuoritus, sillä tuskin kukaan voi puhua yhtä nopeasti kuin Te äsken. Pyytäisin, että puhumme hieman hitaammin, sillä silloin myös omaksuu tätä vaikeaa ja tärkeää asiaa paremmin.

**Katalin Cseh (Renew).** – Madam President, I have 90 seconds to describe to the House why we stand zero chance of protecting our historic EU budget unless the Commission starts applying the rule of law conditionality immediately. Not in a few months, not after some guidelines are adopted, but right away.

So in 90 seconds, so let me tell you about the son-in-law of Viktor Orbán, who continues to pocket fortunes of EU subsidies despite that EU investigators concluding that he is guilty of defrauding the Union.

Or there is the childhood best friend of Mr Orbán, a former humble gas fitter, who is now the richest man of Hungary with a company growing faster than US tech giants and who, by the way, pocketed over one billion euros worth of subsidies. He was just seen recently installing an 800-kg safe in his new luxury villa. Maybe he's also waiting for the recovery funds to start flowing.

So this is the reality on the ground. What we have been talking about for years and why we created the conditionality mechanism. So why does the Commission refuse to apply it? Is it naivety? Is it political pressure? Or just officials brushing this issue under the rug saying it's a small Member State that's far away while our own European money is at stake and while orbánism is spreading like wildfire.

If the Commission President would be directly elected, then she would need to look voters in the eye and explain the results and the reasons behind her inability to act. But this Parliament is the voice of 450 million citizens, and we won't back down until this mechanism is applied. And yes, we are willing to go to court for it because citizens demand and deserve results from us.

*(Applause)*

**Terry Reintke (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, I remember very well the first time I came here to the European Parliament in Brussels. It was a hot and sunny September day, just after the summer break. I came out of the metro and there were cars, buses, and people speaking all kinds of languages all around me. As I was walking towards the European Parliament, it really looked like this ginormous beehive made out of concrete and glass. It was humming, it was full of life while, at the same time, many things actually seemed a little bit improvised and maybe even messy.

I must be honest that probably this building taught me more about the European Union than what I had previously learned in school in textbooks or infographics. Because this Parliament, with its many doors and corridors, all the different shapes and styles, the sheer massiveness of the place, the extensions and annexes that came with the time, even the grey carpet and the art pieces all around the house, really are a perfect metaphor of the European Union because they show our diversity and, at the same time, show the imperfection and incompleteness of this project.

But, just like this building, just like any other building, the European Union needs, more than anything, a strong fundament – no single market, no freedom of movement, No Erasmus without a common basis that we can all stand on. And this fundament is actually pretty clearly spelled out in the Treaties in Article 2: democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights.

But we all know that this fundament is under heavy attack. The basis that unites us all, the precondition for the existence of the European Union, is being dismantled as we speak. But, instead of defending it, the European Commission has been watching, monitoring and writing reports over the past years, without, I must say, obviously fully grasping the seriousness of the situation we are in and without seeing the urgent need to stabilise our common fundament because that needs action. Now.

The European Parliament is ready to do what it takes in order to defend this common fundament and, if it takes pressure to make the Commission do the same, pressure you will get.

**Joachim Kuhs (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar Hahn, Frau Zacarias, werde Kollegen! Wir streiten heute um etwas, wo mich sehr wundert, dass wir hier das Wort sogar dann in den Mund nehmen. Wir wollen die *rule of law* verteidigen, und im gleichen Augenblick verstoßen wir massiv gegen Verträge, wenn wir meinen, wir könnten einfach die Kommission wegen Untätigkeit verklagen.

Ich möchte auf etwas hinweisen, was aus meiner Sicht etwas zu kurz kommt in der ganzen Diskussion. Es gibt die sogenannten Schlussfolgerungen des Europäischen Rates vom 11. Dezember 2020. Nummer 2 Ziffer c besagt Folgendes – ich habe es mal zusammengefasst:

Erstens: Die Kommission entwickelt und erlässt Leitlinien. Zweitens: Die Mitgliedstaaten werden eng in diese Entwicklung einbezogen. Drittens: Bei einer *action for annulment* bezüglich dieser Regelungen werden die *guidelines* erst nach der Entscheidung des Europäischen Gerichtshofes finalisiert; damit soll sichergestellt werden, dass die *guidelines* alle wesentlichen Elemente der Gerichtsentscheidung beinhalten. Und solange die *guidelines* nicht finalisiert wurden, wird die Kommission keine Maßnahmen nach dieser Regulierung vorschlagen. Es ist doch ganz einfach. Und warum soll das nicht gelten?

*(Mehrere Zwischenrufe aus dem Plenum)*

Ich bitte Sie, schaden Sie bitte nicht unseren Europäischen Institutionen! Treiben Sie keinen Keil zwischen diese Institutionen, indem der eine sich gegen die anderen wendet! Letztendlich sprengen Sie die Europäische Union – das wollen Sie doch wirklich nicht.

**Nicola Procaccini (ECR).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, lo Stato di diritto è una cosa seria. È la più grande conquista della civiltà europea ed occidentale. Il punto di arrivo di un percorso lungo e nient'affatto facile. Non può essere utilizzato come arma di battaglia politica. Non vogliate ridurlo a strumento per indurre forzatamente un popolo a votare per un partito o per un altro. Oggi c'è una maggioranza di centrosinistra che utilizza lo Stato di diritto contro i governi di centrodestra, ritenuti colpevoli di voler rappresentare i valori in cui credono e per difendere i quali hanno ricevuto un mandato pienamente democratico.

Domani potrebbe cambiare la maggioranza qui dentro, ma resterà lo scempio di questo attacco ingiusto e violento all'autodeterminazione dei popoli. Ricattare economicamente i popoli europei, persino di fronte alle conseguenze della peggiore pandemia dell'era moderna, è una scelta vile, che non rende onore ai padri fondatori di questa Unione, che non rende onore al nostro futuro insieme.

**Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, θα συνεχίσω τη σκέψη μου από εκεί που σταμάτησε ο συνάδελφός μου, ο Younous Omarjee. Σήμερα απαιτούμε από την Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή να εφαρμόσει στην πράξη τον κανονισμό αιρεσιμότητας που καταφέραμε, με πολύ κόπο, με πολλή προσπάθεια, να θεσπίσουμε. Δηλαδή, ζητάμε από την Επιτροπή, και στην πράξη πλέον, να προβεί σε οικονομικές κυρώσεις για την προστασία των θεμελιωδών εννοιών και αρχών μας. Για την προστασία των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων, της δημοκρατίας, του κράτους δικαίου, της ισότητας, της ελευθερίας, της ανθρώπινης αξιοπρέπειας.

Δεν γίνεται με ευρωπαϊκά κονδύλια να χτίζονται απάνθρωπα κέντρα κράτησης για τους πρόσφυγες και τους μετανάστες. Δεν γίνεται υπουργοί να κάνουν δηλώσεις για εκκρεμείς δικές διαφθοράς και να προεξοφλούν το αποτέλεσμα ή εισαγγελείς που χειρίζονται υποθέσεις διαφθοράς να διώκονται. Δεν γίνεται δημοσιογράφοι να διώκονται και να δολοφονούνται σε κράτη μέλη μας — και όχι μόνο στη Μάλτα.

Να απαγορεύουν στα υπουργεία την κατάθεση δημοσίων υπαλλήλων μόνο όταν η αλήθεια είναι σε βάρος της διοίκησης τους. Για όλα αυτά, και για άλλα τόσα, δεν δεχόμαστε να χρησιμοποιούνται ευρωπαϊκά χρήματα για διακρίσεις και αποκλεισμούς πουθενά και για κανένα κράτος.

**Sabrina Pignedoli (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi in questo Parlamento si parla di Stato di diritto. Ieri in Italia, per l'ennesima volta, un magistrato è stato sottoposto a misura cautelare perché, secondo l'accusa, avrebbe svenduto il suo incarico per arricchimento e carriera agguistando i processi.

A fronte di centinaia di magistrati che svolgono il loro ruolo in silenzio e con dedizione, in Italia è emerso un sistema di nomine condizionate da esponenti di partiti politici e da correnti e cordate interne alla magistratura stessa. Ci sono uffici giudiziari importanti dove il capo è stato deciso con questo sistema clientelare, dove i magistrati indipendenti e con pensiero libero vengono messi in un angolo e viene impedito loro di lavorare.

Ci sono sentenze che sono state pilotate grazie a questo sistema, presunte logge o comitati d'affari che avrebbero condizionato l'amministrazione della legge, indagini omesse o archiviate sulla base dell'assunto «i favori per gli amici, la legge per gli altri».

Lo chiedo a voi colleghi: con questa situazione, si può in Italia parlare del rispetto dello Stato di diritto?

**Monika Hohlmeier (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Frau Staatssekretärin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Gegenstand der heutigen Diskussion befasst sich wieder einmal mit dem Thema der Rechtsstaatlichkeit, und zwar Rechtsstaatlichkeit vor dem Hintergrund, dass sie auch die finanziellen Interessen der Europäischen Union schädigen könnte. Wir haben dieses historische Instrument gemeinsam durchgesetzt. Jetzt geht es darum, es auch umzusetzen. Man darf allerdings nicht die verschiedenen Dinge völlig durcheinanderbringen.

Wir haben verschiedene Rechtssetzungen, vor deren Hintergrund wir auch handeln dürfen. Es ist auch kein parteipolitisches Instrument. Es muss ein Instrument sein, das von vorne bis hinten adäquat umgesetzt, angewendet, neutral eingesetzt wird und wo nicht die eine Seite versucht, sich von Haus aus freizusprechen, und sozusagen die anderen, es im Wahlkampf einzusetzen. Das, was wir brauchen, ist eine sorgfältige Umsetzung.

Und ich habe vor diesem Hintergrund, Herr Kommissar, folgende Bitte: Es darf nie der Eindruck entstehen, dass potentiell betroffene Regierungen oder auch Regierungschefs über die Umsetzung einer gültigen Rechtssetzung der Europäischen Union entscheiden oder diese Umsetzung verhindern. Dieser Eindruck darf nicht einmal im Ansatz entstehen, weil das fatal wäre, wenn dieser Eindruck sich durchsetzen könnte.

Es geht aber auch nicht darum, ob die Kommission in nationalstaatliches Recht eingreift – das möchte ich den Kollegen von der rechten Seite mitteilen, – denn es ist die Aufgabe, dass die Grundpfeiler unserer Rechtsstaatlichkeit eingehalten werden. Dazu gehört eine Unabhängigkeit der Justiz, dazu gehören ordnungsgemäße, neutrale Staatsadministrationen, da gehört es sich nicht, dass Oligarchen sich das meiste Geld cashen können in bestimmten Mitgliedstaaten.

Wir brauchen eine Neutralität, und die Steuerzahler erwarten, dass wir gut und sorgfältig, ehrlich und fair mit den Steuerzahlergeldern umgehen. Um nicht mehr und nicht weniger geht es.

Liebe Kommission, ich bitte, die *guidelines* bzw. die Methodologie vorzulegen, und ich bitte auch darum, das Parlament darüber zu informieren, an welchen Fällen Sie konkret arbeiten. Wenn es sein muss, kann dies auch in einer nichtöffentlichen Sitzung sein, aber es ist wesentlich, das Parlament präzise darüber zu informieren, wie die Kommission vorgeht, damit noch nicht einmal der Eindruck entstehen kann, und dass auch Verfahren in Gang gesetzt werden, wo man eindeutige Erkenntnisse hat.

**Margarida Marques (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, a União Europeia dispõe dos instrumentos necessários para fiscalizar, avaliar e responder adequadamente aos problemas em matéria de Estado de direito e proteção dos direitos fundamentais.

Instrumentos de prevenção e promoção, como o relatório anual sobre o Estado de direito, e instrumentos de resposta, seja o artigo 7.º ou o procedimento por infração do artigo 258.º. Mas as instituições europeias têm revelado uma enorme incapacidade em fazer cumprir políticas europeias várias, enquanto o Parlamento Europeu tem feito o seu trabalho. Em matéria de Estado de direito, é gritante. Poderia dar outros exemplos, como a política para os refugiados.

É imperativo, é inadiável que a Comissão enquanto guardiã dos Tratados aja contra todas as violações persistentes e mobilize todos os instrumentos, desde logo o Regulamento sobre o mecanismo da condicionalidade do Estado de direito, em vigor desde 1 de janeiro, que introduz um mecanismo com consequências efetivas para cumprir e fazer cumprir.

**Valérie Hayer (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Madame la Secrétaire d'État, chers collègues démocrates, certains sur ce continent remettent en cause les principes démocratiques qui nous animent. Montesquieu doit se retourner dans sa tombe, à l'heure où nous laissons des apprentis autocrates entamer des réformes perfides, destinées à anéantir toute forme de contre-pouvoir. C'est une honte. L'heure est grave, alors j'accuse.

J'accuse les ultra-conservateurs dans ce Parlement et dans leurs pays de saper des siècles de construction démocratique. En jouant de l'unanimité, ils ont échappé aux sanctions et condamné l'Union à l'inaction, cette même inaction qui a conduit les peuples au sentiment d'abandon. Mais désormais, chers collègues, une minorité ne peut plus nous empêcher de les toucher au portefeuille: on l'a voté!

Alors, Monsieur le Commissaire, notre message est clair: soit la Commission défend nos démocraties, soit nous la traînerons devant la justice.

**Sylwia Spurek (Verts/ALE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Czas, aby Unia Europejska w końcu odpowiedziała sobie na pytanie, na jakich wartościach się opiera. Co nas łączy jako wspólnotę? Szacunek dla praw człowieka czy tylko autostrady? Jakie są nasze wspólne fundamenty? Równość i godność wszystkich ludzi czy tylko polityka rolna? Czego i kogo chcemy bronić? Kobiet doświadczających przemocy czy tylko gospodarki w kryzysie?

Komisja Europejska, stojąc na straży Traktatów, jest zobowiązana walczyć o praworządność, a walka o praworządność to nie tylko walka o niezależność sądownictwa, ale przede wszystkim o fundament praworządności, o prawa człowieka. A może Komisja nie ma już motywacji? Uważa, że się nie da. Pytam, bo mijają dwa lata działania Komisji, a Komisja nie podejmuje skutecznych działań, gdy polski rząd łamie prawa osób LGBT+, odbiera kobietom prawo do aborcji i atakuje konwencję antyprzemocową. Czas odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czy takiej Komisji chcemy.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, Europska unija je zajednica samostalnih, ravnopravnih i suverenih država. Građani su u državama negdje izabrali desnu vlast odnosno desnu ideologiju, u drugim državama lijevu, u trećim državama su izabrali ideologiju centra. Mi ovdje pod vladavinom prava guramo ideologiju. To je apsolutno nedopustivo. Moramo ograničiti vladavinu prava na korupciju. Korupcija vlada u brojnim državama prilikom raspodjele sredstava iz europskih fondova. Međutim, ni na koji način ne smijemo uključiti ideološke poglede i nametati drugim državama poglede drugih država i drugih ideologija. Moramo se vratiti isključivo na korupciju i samo time se baviti.

**Siegfried Mureșan (PPE).** – Madam President, I would like to welcome the Commissioner back to the European Parliament.

In recent years, with a very large majority here in the European Parliament, we have repeatedly called for the strengthening of the rule of law inside the European Union and outside the European Union. We saw this as a core value of the European Union. We said that all of the tools at our disposal had to be applied and, if new tools were needed, we should create those new tools.

As of 1 January, the rule of law conditionality mechanism is in place. This is a big victory, including for pro-European forces in this House. Although we never believed that guidelines for the implementation of this regulation were needed, we are now looking forward to receiving them from the Commission. We have now accepted that they are coming and we are going to provide our reaction to them in a report of this House. We also take note that they will be slightly delayed, but our message is clear. More delays are not acceptable. It's time that these guidelines came so that we know exactly how we apply this regulation.

I believe it has to be applied in a very rigorous and meticulous manner, exactly as the Chair of the Committee on Budgetary Control said, in a way which is objective, not political, and in the same manner with regard to all cases that appear, irrespective of the country in which they appear.

Our call to the Commission now is to build solid cases in the beginning because the whole credibility of this initiative in the future very much depends on the success of the first cases. They should be solid and done in a way in which they cannot be challenged or contested. We trust in the Commission.

**Елена Йончева (S&D).** – Уважаема г-жо Председател, преди малко повече от половин година приехме Регламента за обвързването на европейските средства със състоянието на върховенството на закона. Голямата победа обаче остана само на хартия. Комисията не намери начин да започне прилагането на този исторически регламент.

Г-н Комисар, аз не искам да се задейства наказателна процедура срещу Комисията, но това решение е без алтернатива. Години наред водим дебати, а през това време върховенството на закона рухна в Унгария, Полша, България, Словения. Колко дълъг трябва да стане списъкът, за да започнете да прилагате закона с цялата му тежест?

А преди седмица България беше разтърсена от най-мощните санкции по закона „Магнитски“ за корупция и злоупотреба с власт. Защо нашите американски партньори успяват да констатират това, което Европейската комисия трябваше да направи отдавна? И все пак вярвам, че Комисията ще намери решителност, за да изведе битката на върховенство на закона на качествено ново ниво. И ако не може, ние сме готови да дадем нужния тласък пред съда, защото политиките не трябва да взимат лесни решения, а правилните решения.

#### ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΟΥΛΗΣ

*Αντιπρόεδρος*

**Sophia in 't Veld (Renew).** – Mr President, with due respect to the Minister and the Commissioner personally, I do not think this is a budget matter. This is *Chefsache*. This is about the values of the European Union. It goes to the heart of what we are about and I think Ms von der Leyen and Mr Michel should have been here. I will not try to convince Commission and Council, because they have chosen sides a long time ago: the side of the enablers. So it's for this House to stand up for the rule of law and for the EU democratic constitutional order.

I hear colleagues saying no, we need to wait, we need more time, we need more information, we need guidelines. No, colleagues! Time matters. With every day that we wait, democracy and the rule of law die a little bit more, so any delay – any delay – is guilty.

So we have to choose sides today. Are we on the side of the enablers, or are we on the side of the defenders of the European values? I know what side I am on, along, I hope, with a majority of this House.

**Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, all EU citizens have the right to be protected against arbitrariness and corruption and to have their rights protected by independent courts. We have those safeguards on paper, but paper reality doesn't protect people. So it's high time that the EU institutions take our own rules seriously.

Council and Parliament have enabled the Commission to act as a reliable and effective guardian of the Treaty. But this comes with a big responsibility. If rule of law is at stake, the competence to enforce compliance transforms into an obligation to act, and we don't have time to lose any more. Parliament has already made it clear: we don't accept hesitation or fake political considerations.

Our EU money may never facilitate corrupt or autocratic regimes. We will bring the Commission to court in case of inaction. But we also call upon the Member States to join us and to show that the EU is united and ready to protect the citizens and protect the EU budget.

**Ádám Kósa (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök úr! Az európai baloldal egyértelmű célja megbüntetni azokat, akik nem értenek egyet velük, akik nemet mondanak az illegális migrációra, a nemzeti hatáskörök lopakodó elvonására, a genderőrületre. Ez sajnos nem újdonság.

Az Európai Bizottság helyesen jár el, amikor az Európai Unió Bíróságának döntését megvárja, és aszerint jár el. Tudjuk, hogy Magyarország különösképpen a baloldal célkeresztjében van. Hazánk ellen folytatott hajtóvadászatban a magyar baloldal is jelentős részt képez. Nem csoda, hogy az Európai Parlament baloldali többsége minden eszközt bevet az eltérő állásponton levők megbüntetéséért.

Különösen szomorú, hogy az Európai Néppárt engedett a baloldal nyomásának, kiszolgálja a baloldal elvárásait, és asszisztál ahhoz, hogy az Európai Parlament társjogalkotó intézményből politikai rendőrséggé alakuljon át.

**Andrzej Halicki (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Rozporządzenie o ochronie budżetu Unii Europejskiej i ochronie zasad praworządności weszło w życie 1 stycznia. Musimy reagować, musimy działać, kiedy jest to niezbędne i potrzebne, bo naszym obowiązkiem jest ochrona praw obywateli, ochrona pieniędzy unijnych podatników, ochrona niezawisłości sądów, po to żeby mieć gwarancje prawne, ochrona wolnych mediów, bo to jest filar demokracji. I to nie jest kwestia lewicowości czy prawicowości. To jest nasz obowiązek jako tych, którzy troszczyć się mają o wydawanie środków unijnych zgodnie z ich przeznaczeniem. Dlatego jako szef delegacji polskiej Platformy Obywatelskiej i Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego potwierdzam, tak, stoimy mocno na straży praworządności, a naszym adwersarzom chcę powiedzieć tylko jedno. Nie obrażajcie się i nie obrażajcie innych. Nie obrażajcie sądów i europejskich instytucji. Wystarczy być wiernym tylko jednemu przykazaniu. Zresztą cytat pochodzi od was: Wystarczy nie kraść. Wystarczy nie łamać prawa. Wtedy żaden rząd nie musi się obawiać tych mechanizmów, które funkcjonują od 1 stycznia. Mam nadzieję ku satysfakcji wszystkich Europejczyków.

**Robert Biedroń (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Nie da się ukryć, dostaliście dzisiaj kubel zimnej wody, musicie się ogarnąć. Tak dalej być nie może, bo z tego miejsca podczas kolejnych debat bronimy demokracji na całym świecie, mówimy o naszych wartościach, demokracji, prawach człowieka, praworządności, oczekując jednocześnie, że te wartości będą realizowane na całym świecie. A w samej Unii Europejskiej nie jesteśmy w stanie doprowadzić do tego, żeby Kaczyński i Orbán nie traktowali Unii Europejskiej jak bankomatu, z którego bez żadnych reguł, bez żadnych warunków mogą wyciągać pieniądze. Tak być nie może, bo w grę wchodzi wiarygodność, wiarygodność Unii Europejskiej nie tylko tutaj, nie tylko wśród społeczeństw Unii Europejskiej, ale i na całym świecie. Dlatego wasza reakcja musi być natychmiastowa.

**Michal Šimečka (Renew).** – Mr President, it's now six months following the entry into force of the Conditionality Regulation and we are still yet to see any sign of concrete action and concrete sign that the Commission is actually applying the law. This is rather disturbing given that in the meanwhile, the rule of law crisis rages on in countries like Bulgaria, like Poland or Hungary.

This is not the first time that the Commission is dragging its feet when it comes to the rule of law, and we have seen little to no leadership, unfortunately, from President von der Leyen on this question, and this attitude, unfortunately, lets down everyone who associates EU membership with the guarantee of a set of fundamental rights.

The European Parliament really cannot be an accomplice to indifference. And in the absence of a swift change of course, the Parliament should be able to take the Commission to court over its continued inaction on the Conditionality Regulation. There is really no other way. It is the law and we absolutely have to apply it to defend the fundamental rights and values that the European Union is based on.

**Diana Riba i Giner (Verts/ALE).** – Señor presidente, en Europa se vulneran los derechos de las mujeres, del colectivo LGTBI y de los migrantes, entre muchos otros. Aquí mismo, en Europa, se ataca a la libertad de expresión, a la libertad de prensa y al derecho de reunión. E, incluso, el ejercicio de estos derechos ha costado la cárcel a ciudadanos europeos. Y el problema, señorías, va más allá de los dos Estados miembros que son sospechosos habituales.

El camino hacia la autocracia es más corto de lo que podemos pensar. Y este camino se podría acortar aún más si no actuamos de forma rápida y contundente. Estamos ante una crisis del Estado de Derecho en Europa y debemos dar respuesta.

Quiero poner de relieve la importancia de conseguir un gran consenso alrededor de esta Resolución común. Es importante que exijamos a la Comisión que actúe ante aquellos Estados que vulneran el Estado de Derecho y los valores democráticos.

Hemos creado una herramienta con este fin, un Reglamento que condiciona la llegada de los fondos europeos al respeto del Estado de Derecho. Es el momento de ponerlo en marcha.

**Λευτέρης Χριστοφόρου (PPE).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση θεμελιώθηκε πάνω σε αρχές και αξίες και η ειδοποιός διαφορά της, για την οποία είμαστε περήφανοι, από όλα τα κράτη μέλη αλλά και από άλλους οργανισμούς, είναι ότι προασπίζεται αυτές τις αρχές και τις αξίες και εδράζεται πάνω στο κράτος δικαίου.

Είναι αδιανόητο και απαράδεκτο να υπάρχει κράτος μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης που να παραβιάζει αυτές τις αρχές και τις αξίες — είναι σαν να ακυρώνει την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Οι Ευρωπαίοι φορολογούμενοι πολίτες δεν θα δέχονταν ποτέ να πηγαίνει ούτε έναν ευρώ σε χώρες οι οποίες παραβιάζουν τις αρχές της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Οι αρχές αυτές, όμως, δεν παραβιάζονται μόνο εντός της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Εδώ έχουμε μια χώρα με προνομιακή σχέση με την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, στην οποία πάνε τα ευρώ του Ευρωπαίου φορολογούμενου και η οποία αποτελεί τον ορισμό της παραβίασης των αρχών και των αξιών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, και του ευρωπαϊκού και διεθνούς δικαίου. Αυτή η χώρα είναι η Τουρκία.

Αν ερωτηθούν οι Ευρωπαίοι φορολογούμενοι, αν πρέπει να υπάρχει οποιαδήποτε χρηματοδότηση προς αυτήν τη χώρα, η απάντηση θα είναι καθολικά όχι και οφείλω, από αυτό το βήμα σήμερα, να καταδικάσω για ακόμα μία φορά την Τουρκία, η οποία με προκλητικό τρόπο προχωρά στην παραβίαση αρχών και αξιών του διεθνούς και ευρωπαϊκού δικαίου, παραβιάζει ψηφίσματα του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου, όσον αφορά την Αμμόχωστο, και προχωρά στο άνοιγμα της παραλιακής ζώνης της Αμμοχώστου, παραβιάζοντας τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα χιλιάδων προσφύγων της Κύπρου αλλά και Ευρωπαίων πολιτών, των Αμμοχωστιανών, της πόλης μου, της πόλης της Αμμοχώστου. Για αυτό, πρέπει να είμαστε ξεκάθαροι προς όλες τις ...  
(Ο Πρόεδρος αφαιρεί τον λόγο από τον ομιλητή)

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ritengo ci siano due questioni imprescindibili in questo dibattito. La prima: un paese membro che non rispetta le regole di base di un sistema democratico, violando i diritti fondamentali e lo Stato di diritto, non deve usufruire dei fondi europei. Sarebbe un grave errore politico oltre che un danno erariale per le casse dell'Unione, perché consentirebbe indirettamente ad alcuni governi di erodere i valori comuni europei attraverso l'uso delle risorse comunitarie.

Secondo: l'Unione europea, se vuole che i principi della democrazia siano rispettati dai suoi Stati membri, non può concedere alcuna deroga all'applicabilità dei suoi stessi regolamenti, soprattutto – e c'è dell'ironia in tutto questo – se trattano proprio il rispetto dello Stato di diritto.

Dunque, il regolamento sulla condizionalità dello Stato di diritto è entrato in vigore il 1° gennaio 2021 ed è direttamente e completamente applicabile. Non accettiamo alcuna linea guida dilatoria e siamo pronti a far partire un'azione legale contro la Commissione se non adempirà ai suoi obblighi definiti dai trattati.

**Morten Løkkegaard (Renew).** – Hr. Formand, hr. Kommissær, fru minister! Det ligger jo ikke til mig at være højstemt, når jeg taler. Det synes jeg ikke hører sig til i politik, men der er enkelte lejligheder, hvor det måske er på sin plads, og det er det lige nu. Der er grund til at være lidt højstemt, når vi skal tale om det her emne. Der kan siges meget klart: EU's nye retsstatsmekanisme må aldrig blive en skrivebordsøvelse, og det er den i fare for at blive nu. Vi står med en historisk chance for at tage et opgør med de lande, som ikke lever op til reglerne, som ikke er en del af fællesskabet. Og det er Unionens fremtid, der står på spil, intet mindre. Hvis vi skal fastholde EU's legitimitet og borgernes tro på fællesskabet, er vi nødt til at tage tyren ved hornene. Derfor skal Kommissionen leve op til sin forpligtelse. Man skal begynde med at bruge retsstatsmekanismen imod de medlemslande, som bryder reglerne, ellers svigter Kommissionen sit ansvar. Og det skal altså hellere være nu end i morgen, at man tager action på det her. Jeg har ingen illusioner om, at det bliver nemt. Det bliver en kamp fra hus til hus, det ved vi godt. Men den kamp skal tages nu. Det er Unionens fremtid, der står på spil.

**Isabel Wiseler-Lima (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, il y va de la crédibilité de l'Union européenne. Il y va de l'état de droit. Il y va de la confiance des citoyens dans l'Union européenne, et même de leur confiance en la justice.



Des gouvernements au sein de notre Union mettent en place des systèmes qui bafouent la démocratie, des systèmes judiciaires qui perdent leur indépendance, des paysages médiatiques absorbés par le pouvoir, une corruption tentaculaire qui enrichit ceux au pouvoir et leurs amis. C'est l'argent des citoyens européens qui souvent remplit leurs poches. Si j'ai honte quand je lis dans le *New York Times* qu'il y a dans notre Union des pays qui ne peuvent plus vraiment être qualifiés de démocratie, je sais aussi que nous nous sommes donné les moyens législatifs d'y remédier: couper les fonds européens aux pays qui vont à l'encontre de l'état de droit est un de ces moyens. À la Commission maintenant d'être transparente et de le mettre en œuvre.

J'ai confiance dans les institutions européennes, tout comme nombre de citoyens de l'Union. Le défi aujourd'hui est énorme. Le mécanisme de conditionnalité en vigueur depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier doit, comme le demande le Parlement, être appliqué au plus vite.

**Johannes Hahn**, *Mitglied der Kommission*. – Herr Präsident! Vielen Dank für diese engagierte Debatte, die einmal mehr bestätigt hat, wie wichtig diesem Haus die Rechtsstaatlichkeit ist. Aber ehrlich gesagt, ich habe nichts Anderes erwartet. Es ist mir allerdings ein Anliegen – auch ganz persönlich, aber auch für mein Team –, zu sagen: Also, ich lasse uns nicht vorwerfen, dass wir inaktiv gewesen wären oder seien.

Ich war schon da, als wir um die Einführung des europäischen Staatsanwaltes gerungen haben – damals eine sehr starke Initiative meiner früheren Kollegin und Ihrer Kollegin Viviane Reding. Ich war jetzt zum Schluss an der Reform von OLAF beteiligt, die jahrelang verhandelt wurde. Ich habe als Regionalkommissar – glauben Sie mir! – genug gesehen, was Ärger bei mir ausgelöst hat. Und ich war beteiligt am Vorschlag der Kommission im Jahre 2018, genau diesen *rule of law*-Mechanismus zu schaffen.

Glauben Sie mir: Ich bin bis unter die Haarspitzen motiviert, dass wir dieses Ding umsetzen.

Aber weil ich so motiviert bin, möchte ich auch sichergestellt haben, dass die Sache von Anbeginn an funktioniert. Deswegen muss man sich klar und deutlich überlegen, in welchen Bereichen dieses neue Instrument zur Anwendung kommen kann, damit wir bei den ersten Fällen auch wirklich den entsprechenden – das sage ich ganz offen – Erfolg haben, damit sichergestellt ist: Das ist ein neues Instrument, eine wichtige Ergänzung zu den bestehenden Instrumentarien, die es schon gibt, aber eben auch ein Instrument, das scharf genug ist und das nicht zahlos ist. Deswegen haben wir uns auch wirklich nicht nur Zeit genommen, sondern es war auch notwendig, durch die Analyse verschiedenster Informationen, Berichte, Reports etc. herauszudestillieren, wo wir glauben, dass die Ansatzpunkte sind.

Wir werden dem Parlament wie auch dem Rat nächste Woche, wie seit Wochen angekündigt, den Entwurf unserer internen *guidelines* übermitteln, zu denen Sie dann bitte auch Ihre Meinung sagen. Denn am Ende des Tages sind wir nur gemeinsam erfolgreich.

Apropos gemeinsam: Es gibt nur eine Art von Rechtsstaatlichkeit. Es gibt keine Rechtsstaatlichkeit, die sozusagen gesellschafts- oder länderspezifisch entwickelt und angewandt werden kann. Auch dessen sollten wir uns gemeinsam bewusst sein, wenn ich mir das eine oder andere Statement hier anhöre.

Wir werden dieses Instrument unbeschadet der einzelnen Parteien, die da und dort in einem Land in der Regierung sein mögen, zur Anwendung bringen, und wir schauen auch nicht – ehrlich gesagt –, wann und wo irgendwelche Wahlen stattfinden. Was zu tun ist, wird getan – unabhängig von Personen, von Parteien, von irgendwelchen Wahlterminen. Was zählt, ist, was uns alle eint: dass wir den Rechtsstaat in Europa sicherstellen, weiterentwickeln und im Interesse unserer Bürgerinnen und Bürger auch entsprechend schützen.

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *Presidente em exercício do Conselho*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário Hahn, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, o Parlamento, a Comissão e o Conselho partilham o objetivo de garantir o bom funcionamento da nossa União. Também concordamos que isso exige o pleno respeito pelo Estado de direito conforme previsto nos Tratados. Por isso aprovámos em conjunto diferentes instrumentos preventivos e de resposta incluindo o Regulamento sobre a Condicionalidade do Estado de Direito.

Em simultâneo, sabemos que o Estado de direito é um assunto complexo e é por isso que temos o Tribunal de Justiça Europeu para nos ajudar. Compreendemos a preocupação do Parlamento em ter resultados rapidamente e sei que o Parlamento apresentou ao tribunal um pedido de aceleração do processo relativo aos pedidos de anulação do novo Regulamento de Condicionalidade do Estado de Direito.

A Presidência espera que tal possa acontecer para prosseguirmos o nosso diálogo ao nível político sobre este importante assunto com bases jurídicas sólidas. Este instrumento é de grande importância na arquitetura geral da defesa do Estado de direito e precisamos que ele seja utilizado de forma objetiva, coerente, previsível e credível.

**Πρόεδρος.** – Η συζήτηση έληξε.

Η ψηφοφορία επί των τροπολογιών θα διεξαχθεί σήμερα και η τελική ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί αύριο.

*Γραπτές δηλώσεις (άρθρο 171 του Κανονισμού)*

**Радан Кънев (PPE), в писмена форма.** – Поради ангажименти с предстоящата предизборна кампания в България, участвам в настоящата сесия дистанционно. По тази причина се обръщам към Вас писмено, по реда на чл. 171 от Правилник за дейността на Европейския парламент, по дебата за Европейския механизъм за Върховенство на правото. Преди близо две години, при избора на Главен прокурор, Ви предупредих за задаваща се институционална криза в България. Месеци по-късно, предизвиках разгорещен дебат за вече настъпилата криза на правовата държава. Днес правителството на САЩ санкционира близки до властта български олигарси и дори действащ ръководител на Службата за контрол върху подслушванията, бивш ръководител на самата Агенция, която прилага СРС. В страната ни се разгаря скандал за незаконно подслушване на политици, екипи на Прокуратурата нахлуват в МВР, а екипи на ДАНС – в Прокуратурата... Гражданите се питат защо партньорите ни отвъд океана могат да реагират, а ЕС, в който сме пълноправен член – не. Очакваме незабавни действия за активиране на Механизма за върховенство на правото и активни действия на Европейската прокуратура, които да пресекат институционалния конфликт и да подпомогнат възстановяването на правовата държава. Продължаващо бездействие на ЕС, на фона на остра политическа криза, може – по думите на един от лидерите на повечерашните управляващи – да доведе до смяна на един корупционен модел с друг.

**Łukasz Kohut (S&D), na piśmie.** – Praworzędność to gwarancja wolności obywateli. Nie bronimy dziś więc w Parlamencie jakiejś teoretycznej koncepcji. Bronimy wolności i praw konkretnych ludzi. Ślask to rozumie. Jak żyjesz w familołu razem z innymi, to trzeba przestrzegać zasad. I w kontaktach z sąsiadami, i ze swoją rodziną. Jak ktoś przemocowy, to sąsiedzi będą jej bronić. Pamiętajmy, że mechanizm rozporządzenia 2020/2092 o warunkowości oznacza zawieszenie środków, nie – odebranie. Zawieszenie do momentu usunięcia łamania prawa.

Pamiętajmy też, że w czasie zawieszenia wypłaty środków beneficjenci końcowi i tak je dostaną, bo zawieszenie nie wpływa na obowiązek wypłat przez jednostki rządowe. Można zrozumieć, że Komisja nie chce być wciągana w kolejne awantury, które Orbán i Morawiecki tak chętnie wywołują. Ale zmęczenie łamaniem praworzędności przez ich rządy nie zwalnia z obowiązku przestrzegania prawa UE. Nasza rezolucja ma Komisji o tym skutecznie przypomnieć. Środki unijne są dla ludzi, nie dla rządów. Rządy są jedynie pośrednikami. A jak pośrednik zaczyna szukać, to trzeba go zdyscyplinować. Każdy dzień bez warunku praworzędności to o jeden dzień za dużo. Dla demokracji i dla tych, którzy o nią ogromnym kosztem walczą, aktywistów, obrońców praw człowieka. To kolejny dzień przyzwolenia na umieranie demokracji. Nie możemy być ślepi. Nie chcemy być mądrzy po fakcie.

**Ilhan Kyuchyuk (Renew), in writing.** – In the face of concerning accounts of rule of law backsliding as our Union's common founding principle, an agreement was reached already half a year ago to put in place a Rule of law conditionality mechanism, applicable for the EU budget 2021-2027, and the Next Generation instruments. Establishing a link between upholding the Rule of Law and EU funding has been, and continues to be a priority for Renew Europe, as we believe that the breaches in our shared values and fundamental rights must be prevented and addressed effectively, as they impact our core unity. I would therefore like to echo my colleagues in reminding that the Conditionality regulation entered into force in the beginning of this year and its application is not subject to the adoption of guidelines or further actions. Six months later, it is high time for us to be honest in looking into the existing issues, taking brave actions and making a robust use of the existing instruments in order to make sure that our rights and values are reflected in every action of the European Union.

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew)**, *in writing*. – For years we have been hiding behind good excuses in order to justify the insufficient action of the EU decision-makers regarding blatant violations of the rule of law in some Member States. Either we did not have the right tools (i.e. a functioning rule of law mechanism), the Article 7 procedure was notoriously difficult to use because of the veto in the Council, or it was not the right time to trigger infringement procedures. The European Parliament has been advocating for a long time that the most effective way to deal with oligarchs throughout Europe who disregard the Union's values is to link funding to respect for the rule of law. Now we do have this powerful instrument, which is Regulation 2020/2092, and yet we are reluctant to use it. Through our resolution, we simply say to the European Commission: no more good excuses! The fact that the guidelines for the application of Regulation 2020/2092 are not yet ready does not absolve the Commission from its obligation to act. Our resolution is a clear signal that the Parliament will not hesitate to take the Commission to Court if the text is not applied within two weeks.

## 12. Dalsze działania w następstwie Szczytu Społecznego w Porto z 7 maja 2021 r. (debata)

**Πρόεδρος**. – Το επόμενο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη είναι η συζήτηση επί της δηλώσεως του Συμβουλίου και της Επιτροπής σχετικά με τις επακόλουθες ενέργειες μετά την κοινωνική σύνοδο κορυφής στο Πόρτο στις 7 Μαΐου 2021 (2021/2714(RSP)).

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, thank you for this opportunity to speak about the Porto Summit and, more specifically, about its follow-up. As you know, this is a subject particularly close to the heart of the Portuguese Presidency and to mine personally.

The 7 and 8 May were key dates for Portugal and for the Union as a whole. As the holder of the Presidency and host of the event, the Porto Social Summit was a central feature of the Semester for Portugal and an integral part of our vision for the future of Europe that puts people first.

The Porto Social Summit comprised the high-level conference and an informal meeting of EU leaders. It was historic in two respects. First, the conference agreed on the Porto Social Commitment, enacting the intention to put the social pillar principles into action together. It was co-signed by the President of this Parliament, the President of the European Commission, my Prime Minister (as the host of the conference), and the European social partners – the first time ever that this has happened. Second, the leaders agreed on the Porto Declaration. This was also the first ever statement devoted exclusively to social policy issues.

The social pillar will be a fundamental element of the post-COVID recovery. Its action plan will guide us in developing the Union's social dimension. Together, they will help us navigate towards a sustainable and fair recovery that leaves no one behind. They will strengthen the Union's drive towards a digital, green and fair transition and will contribute to achieving upward social and economic convergence. In Porto, we reaffirmed the commitment that the pillar principles will be implemented at EU and national level with due regard for the respective competences, the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, and different national circumstances. Active involvement of the social partners and civil society will be key in this.

These are not empty words. Progress towards the implementation of the pillar principles will be closely monitored as part of the policy coordination framework in the context of the European Semester, including at the highest level. The EU headline targets on jobs, skills and poverty reduction were broadly welcomed. They respond to the repeated call by employment and social ministers for a follow up strategy to Europe 2020.

The Commission's proposal for a revised social scoreboard also found a positive echo. Both the EU-level headline targets and the revised scoreboard will help monitor progress towards the implementation of the pillar principles in the context of the European Semester. The Employment Committee and the Social Protection Committee have, in the meantime, agreed on the headline indicators of the revised social scoreboard, as proposed by the Commission, to be used in the Joint Employment Report. They are currently pursuing their work in relation to the possible integration of secondary indicators. Finally, the idea of an alternative set of indicators to measure economic, social and environmental progress was also welcome, supplementing GDP as a welfare measure for inclusive and sustainable growth.

Building a social Europe will always be a work in progress, not least because challenges evolve over time. It will always rely on a diverse toolbox and will always comprise different architectures. I am deeply grateful that, over the years, the European Parliament has been one of the staunchest defenders of the European social model. Your own-initiative report on a strong social Europe for just transitions of December 2020 proves that social Europe remains high on the list of priorities of this Parliament.

The Council is also playing its part in this common pursuit of a fairer, more inclusive and resilient Europe. Important advances are being achieved under the Portuguese Presidency. On 14 June, Ministers of Employment and Social Affairs will adopt by unanimity the long-awaited Council recommendation on a European Child Guarantee, inspired by this House. On other Commission initiatives, for instance on the minimum wage and pay transparency, work will continue in the Council. Our Presidency will not rest in its efforts to achieve as much progress as possible by the end of this term.

**Nicolas Schmit**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, Madam Secretary of State, honourable Members, the adoption of the social pillar action plan represents a milestone in our common work to build a strong social Europe, and it has paved the way to the Porto Social Summit.

I would like once again to praise the Portuguese Presidency and particularly Prime Minister Costa and yourself, Secretary of State, for putting the strengthening of the social dimension high in the European agenda and providing steer, vision and determination.

It is safe to say that the Porto Social Summit is a major achievement. EU institutions, Member States, social partners and civil society have rallied around the common aim of further deepening the implementation of the European pillar of social rights as a fundamental element of the recovery, contributing to fair transitions and upward social and economic convergence.

I came before Parliament in March to present the social pillar action plan and the Parliament's contribution has played in this respect a very decisive role. Based on your input and concrete proposals for the implementation of the social pillar, including on key targets, we have designed a long-term vision and a coherent and ambitious roadmap to shape our post-pandemic economies and societies in a fairer, more inclusive and sustainable manner so as to improve the well-being of our citizens.

It was an urgent step to take in the face of the digital and green transitions. Those are necessary transformations, just as it is necessary to make them work for everyone, especially for the most vulnerable or those exposed to the fundamental changes we are heading for in terms of their jobs and their income.

As stated in the Porto declaration, the pillar of social rights is a fundamental element of the recovery, but also of the Union's drive towards a digital, green and fair transition. It was also an urgent step to take because this pandemic risks leaving permanent scars and throwing millions of Europeans into poverty, and among them a lot of young people.

It was the right step to take after a decade of growing inequalities, low wages, low pensions, which also led to political distrust. Since March we have taken a major leap forward, from the leap of faith of Gothenburg, Porto marked the moment to turn words into action and rally around a different message and a different project. The Porto Social Summit has resulted in the commitment that our citizens expect, a commitment to a fairer and better future for all.

Porto is a collective pledge from Member States, social partners, civil society and the EU institutions, that people can count on us to deliver concrete solutions for the challenges they face in their daily lives. Having all these stakeholders committing to implement the pillar is an important political novelty brought by this summit. It reinforces the notion enshrined in the social market economy: all actors have a role to play in keeping with their sphere of competence.

Altogether, Porto sent a strong signal and marked a shift with respect to our European social model. This is not simply seen as a feature that we need to protect, this is considered as the engine of our future prosperity and well-being. To make sure that this time is different, to make sure that we indeed reinforce the European social model, Member States have agreed to three new social targets set by the European Commission.

By 2030, we will need to reach an employment rate of 78%. We need to target women and young people. This also means we have to remain ambitious with our proposals on minimum wage and pay transparency, but also for people with disability.

By 2030, we will also have developed adult training, aiming to achieve the objective of at least 60% of adults participating in training every year, to ensure everyone remains relevant and seizes the opportunities that tomorrow's world of work will offer.

And by 2030, we will have to double down on our efforts to lift at least 15 million Europeans out of poverty. It is the focus of our Child Guarantee Initiative, which aims at supporting children at risk of poverty and social exclusion and providing equal opportunities, as well as of our proposal on minimum wage to combat in-work poverty. It will remain the focus of our upcoming initiative on homelessness and our proposal on minimum income.

What are the next steps? Implementing the action plan and achieving its new targets by 2030. Member States have committed to this. The governance of the implementation of the pillar action plan is the key to success.

First, we will have to follow up with Member States and stimulate the adoption of national targets. We will miss our objective if some make considerable progress, while others stagnate. We have to improve life opportunities, working conditions and social protection for all in all Member States.

Second, we will have to report on our progress towards reaching the targets, firmly anchoring the social pillar in the European Semester process. We have proposed a revised social scoreboard that is currently being discussed with Member States. This is a tool that helps measure social progress in this regard.

I also welcome the initiative taken by social partners on the ongoing reflection on alternative measures to GDP. As stated in the Porto declaration, we will also have to regularly take stock of our progress at the highest level. We will have to be ambitious and I would call on the European Parliament to support, and I would say to stimulate, this ambition. This means that we have to strengthen our social economic governance.

Finally, we want to track the impact of future social investments under the Recovery and Resilience Facility so we make sure this recovery is job-rich and fair. We have to look into the distributional effect of investments and reforms. We cannot claim to help the most vulnerable and then only look at the big picture. In this context we have to ensure a just transition. We have to measure the impact of our policies on people's lives. Together with Member States, we have to set up adequate coordination mechanisms to deliver concrete progress for the European people.

I am looking forward to having the Parliament's views, not only on the result of Porto, but also precisely on the follow-up. And you have been a driving force since Gothenburg to the summit of Porto, to build this social Europe which is so important for our Union.

**Dennis Radtke**, im Namen der PPE-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident, Frau Staatssekretärin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich glaube, es gibt zwei Fragen, die die Menschheit ganz regelmäßig umtreiben. Die erste Frage ist: Was war zuerst – das Huhn oder das Ei? Und die zweite Frage ist: Ist das Glas halb voll, oder ist das Glas halb leer?

Und auch wenn am Sozialgipfel in Portugal der eine oder andere teilgenommen hat, der dafür bekannt ist, viel zu gackern, aber selten ein Ei zu legen, will ich mich auf die zweite Frage fokussieren, nämlich: Ist das Glas mit Blick auf Porto halb voll oder halb leer?

Ich bin der Meinung, das Glas ist halb voll: Obwohl wir als Parlament im Dezember, als wir uns in unserem Initiativbericht mit der Vorbereitung von Porto beschäftigt haben, deutlich ambitionierter waren als die Kommission und deutlich ambitionierter auch als die Staats- und Regierungschefs es jetzt im Endergebnis haben erkennen lassen, finde ich, haben wir eine ganze Menge erreicht.

Und Nicolas hat das, glaube ich, gerade noch einmal gut beschrieben, den Weg von Göteborg bis hin jetzt zum Gipfel von Porto. Und die Staatssekretärin hat recht, wenn sie sagt, dass das Thema „Soziales Europa“ kein Thema ist, das man in einem Schritt erledigt, sondern dass es ein fortlaufender Prozess ist.

Und ich finde, wir können auf dem Ergebnis von Porto aufbauen, weil wir beispielsweise bei den Sozialpartnern jetzt eine gemeinsame Erklärung haben mit Blick auf das Europäische Semester, wo es ein gemeinsames Verständnis davon gibt, dass das Europäische Semester auch ein richtiger Ort ist, um den sozialen Fortschritt und die Umsetzung der sozialen Säule auch zu kontrollieren.

Darüber haben wir hier in diesem Parlament häufig ideologische Grabenkriege geführt. Die können wir uns in Zukunft sparen, weil sogar die Sozialpartner hier ein gemeinsames Verständnis entwickelt haben. Und deswegen können wir uns in Zukunft auf andere Dinge konzentrieren, nämlich zum Beispiel auf die Frage: Wie können wir den Semesterprozess stärken?

Ich weiß nicht, wann ein nächster Sozialgipfel stattfinden wird, aber ich bin ganz sicher: Um das Glas „Soziales Europa“ noch voller zu machen, ist die Zapfstelle nicht die Kommission, nicht der Rat, sondern die steht hier mitten im Parlament. Lassen Sie uns weiter daran arbeiten!

**Pedro Marques**, em nome do Grupo S&D. – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário Schmit, cara Secretária de Estado, Ana Paula Zacarias, Colegas, desde que a União Europeia chegou a acordo para a implementação do Fundo de Recuperação que as transições digital e verde têm estado sempre no topo do debate. Mas a dimensão social do projeto europeu não pode ficar para terceiro plano, neste caso. Ou fazemos um esforço para não deixar ninguém para trás, ou corremos o risco de alienar as pessoas e ter novamente os coletes amarelos na rua. Neste contexto, a Cimeira Social do Porto foi crucial. Assumimos o compromisso de implementar a sério o Pilar Europeu dos Direitos Sociais e criar uma União mais justa, em particular no contexto da recuperação da crise da COVID-19.

Com objetivos concretos e corretos, temos de criar muito mais emprego, treinar e formar as pessoas para que todos tenham uma oportunidade na nova economia e ninguém fique para trás. Sobretudo, com o objetivo de reconhecer a dignidade de todos e apoiar quem precisa nos momentos difíceis, temos de garantir que o progresso chega a todos e não apenas a uma parte dos europeus.

Hoje há ainda 90 milhões de pessoas em risco de pobreza ou exclusão social na Europa, entre as quais muitos milhões de crianças. Enquanto Europa temos o dever moral de ajudá-los, de os retirar desta situação de pobreza. É por isso que contamos com a Comissão Europeia, mas também com os Estados-Membros, para que os objetivos do Pilar Social sejam agora refletidos e implementados através dos planos nacionais de recuperação e de resiliência. É por isso que as regras orçamentais e o Semestre Europeu precisam de uma reforma urgente que incorpore também a prioridade verde e, certamente, a prioridade social. Hoje, graças à Cimeira Social do Porto e ao esforço da Presidência portuguesa, a Europa social está mais perto de ser uma realidade, mas temos que implementar, de facto, o plano de ação da Comissão Europeia, temos que ser ambiciosos a convocar os Estados-Membros para este esforço. Se tudo pudesse ser feito sem um esforço comum, se cada Estado-Membro pudesse fazer tudo sozinho, nós não teríamos ainda dezenas de milhões de europeus em situação de pobreza e exclusão social. Sim, o projeto europeu faz falta. Sim, a política europeia também faz falta nesta dimensão social.

Não aceitaremos que o dia de amanhã seja como o dia de ontem que depois do Porto tudo fique igual, que continuemos a falar apenas de cortes de reformas estruturais como pretexto para mais cortes. Não, depois da cimeira do Porto o que nós queremos é uma Europa diferente, uma Europa mais social, uma Europa mais justa para todos os europeus.

**Lucia Ďuriš Nicholsonová**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, in Porto the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs sent a very clear message: the green and digital transition should further make our Europe stronger, more social and more inclusive. So now it is time for the EU and the Member States to take actions to meet the three main goals.

First, we need more fair, sustainable jobs that provide security and preserve dignity. For this, we put in place the SURE mechanism that was specifically designed to respond to the challenges presented by the coronavirus pandemic. The European Globalisation Adjustment Fund will continue to support workers who have been substantially affected by globalisation or major financial crises like the pandemic. We called for a reinforced Youth Guarantee instrument with the objective of reducing long-term youth unemployment by at least 50% by the year 2030.

Second, we need to invest more in skills and future work. If we want to create long-lasting employment we must ensure that workers have the necessary skills to react to changes in the labour market and to bring forward the much-expected green and digital transition. So we call for investment in lifelong learning, upskilling and reskilling to adapt to the changes in the labour market.

Third, we need to reduce poverty and social exclusion. Yesterday we voted on the European Social Fund+ Regulation, which is the bedrock of support for social inclusion in Europe. In our resolution on decent and affordable housing for all, we called for an EU goal to end homelessness by 2030. We called on Member States to combat poverty and social exclusion by guaranteeing free access for children in need to key services such as early childhood education, healthcare and adequate housing.

In the Porto Summit in the social commitment we called on the EU heads of state and government to set ambitious national targets to implement the 20 principles of the European pillar. So now we have the legislation, we have the financial means. Now what we really need is just the genuine political will to turn social rights into reality for every single person in the EU.

**Kira Marie Peter-Hansen**, *for Verts/ALE-Gruppen*. – Hr. Formand! For lidt mere end en måned siden samledes nogle af Europas mest magtfulde mennesker sig i en fælles besked. Vi skal reducere fattigdommen i Europa med 15 millioner mennesker. Men fine mål og flotte skåltaler, dem har vi set mange gange før. Ja, faktisk i de sidste 20 år har det været et af EU's primære mål, at færre skulle leve i fattigdom. Men alligevel kan vi ikke finde ud af det. Vi kan ikke overholde de mål, og gang på gang har Europas ledere måtte indse, at de ikke har sat nok handling bag ordene. Igen og igen må de melde, at denne gang gik det heller ikke. Det skal vi gøre bedre. For mig er det klart, hvorfor vi ikke rykker noget. Vi har simpelthen ikke de værktøjer, der skal til for at løfte folk ud af fattigdom, og derfor sidder vi tilbage med tomme ord og gode hensigter og et svigt af de hundrede millioner børn, gamle, mænd og kvinder, der lever på et eksistensminimum i Europa. Derfor skal vi sikre et direktiv for mindsteindkomster i medlemslandene og sørge for et ordentligt sikkerhedsnet til at gribe dem, der ikke har en anden udvej. Det håber jeg, vi kan være enige om her i Parlamentet og i Kommissionen.

**Gerolf Annemans**, *namens de ID-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, het land waar ik vandaag kom, mijn land, is Vlaanderen. Vlaanderen is het noordelijke deel van de Belgische lidstaat en doorheen België loopt eigenlijk ook de grens tussen Noord- en Zuid-Europa. Sinds de stichting van de sociale zekerheid en van de sociale bescherming in België zijn er van Vlaanderen naar Wallonië, van het noorden naar het zuiden waar een verschillende cultuur bestaat over sociale bescherming, transfers gelopen, heel grote transfers, transfers groter – volgens academische berekeningen – dan de transfers tussen West-Duitsland en Oost-Duitsland na de val van de Muur.

Er is een lang debat in België bezig en de conclusie van het debat langs Vlaamse kant is dat sociale bescherming en sociale zekerheid een autonome Vlaamse bevoegdheid moeten worden. Logisch ook. Solidariteit moet dicht bij de gemeenschap ontstaan. Er moet herkenbaarheid zijn. Er moet subsidiariteit zijn, maximaal, en het is dus onlogisch om die zaken naar een hoger niveau over te hevelen, zoals we hier nu in Europa aan het doen zijn. Ik doe dan ook een oproep: stop die machtsuitbreiding. Laat die Vlaamse sociale zekerheid, die Vlaamse gezondheidszorg, die Vlaamse sociale bescherming niet bepotelen door de Europese Unie.

**Elżbieta Rafalska**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Poparcie deklaracji z Porto wynika z przekonania, że solidaryzm społeczny jest drogą do zmniejszenia rosnących nierówności po kryzysie pandemicznym w różnych obszarach życia społeczno-gospodarczego. W imieniu ECR chcemy podkreślić jednocześnie, że polityka społeczna i polityka zatrudnienia jest realizowana przede wszystkim przez państwa członkowskie, które są odpowiedzialne za krajowe strategie rozwiązywania problemów społecznych. I te kompetencje nie mogą być podważane. Wzmacnianie wymiaru społecznego Unii Europejskiej nie może być pretekstem do działań protekcyjnych i nie może prowadzić do zaburzeń rynku wewnętrznego Unii Europejskiej. Wdrażanie zasad filaru powinno być zapewnione przez krajowe plany odbu-

dowy z uwzględnieniem uwarunkowań krajowych, z zachowaniem zasad pomocniczości i proporcjonalności. Europa socjalna – tak, ale przede wszystkim Europa silna gospodarką, silna rodziną, wartościami i stabilnym rynkiem pracy. I Europa bardziej sprawiedliwa w swoich ocenach.

**Sandra Pereira**, *em nome do Grupo The Left*. – Senhor Presidente, colocar a dimensão social no centro do debate político fica bem, mas não passa de propaganda se tivermos em conta que as políticas económicas da União Europeia são profundamente antissociais e praticamente negam o acesso a direitos sociais e laborais. Uma efetiva resposta aos graves problemas com que atualmente se confrontam os trabalhadores e os povos implica mudanças radicais nas políticas da União Europeia que a cimeira do Porto não trouxe.

E os trabalhadores saíram à rua no Porto, no dia 8 de maio, com as respostas que a cimeira não deu e que o plano de ação do chamado «Pilar Europeu dos Direitos Sociais» não apresenta. O direito ao emprego com direitos, o aumento geral dos salários, a erradicação da precariedade, a regulação e redução do horário de trabalho com vista à necessidade de conciliação entre a vida familiar, pessoal e profissional, a igualdade entre homens e mulheres, o fortalecimento da segurança social, o reforço dos serviços públicos e investimento nas funções sociais do Estado, são estas as reivindicações dos trabalhadores e é por elas que nos continuaremos a bater.

**Tamás Deutsch (NI)**. – Tisztelt Elnök úr! A szociális Európa a magyarul családot, munkahelyteremtést és innovációt jelent. Magyarország munkaalapú társadalmat hozott létre, amely a teljes foglalkoztatottságra és a GDP 5 százaléka kitevő családtámogatásokra épül. Abban hiszünk, hogy tisztességes munkát és tisztességes munkából való megélhetést kell biztosítani az embereknek. A magyar kormány ezért rekord magasságba emelte a foglalkoztatottságot és 12 százalékról közel 3 százalékra leszorította a munkanélküliséget, mindeközben megdupláztuk a minimálbért. 15 százalékosra csökkentettük a személyi jövedelemadót, 9 százalékosra a társasági adót. Az adórendszer a családpolitika és a gyermekvállalás szolgálatába állítottuk, bevezettük a családi adókedvezményt, a 25 évesnél fiatalabak jövőre személyi jövedelemadó mentességet kapnak, a négygyermekes édesanyák is adómentességet élveznek. Ez tehát a magyar modell. Erős szociálpolitika, ambíciózus adócsökkentés, a családok támogatása, ami teljes foglalkoztatottságot hozhat létre.

**Cindy Franssen (PPE)**. – Voorzitter, geachte commissaris, geachte minister, vooreerst wil ik het Portugese voorzitterschap bedanken voor de aandacht die het besteed heeft aan het sociale luik. Met de Porto-verklaring zetten we een belangrijke stap in de goede richting, maar ik mis wel ambitie op het vlak van armoedebestrijding.

Op dit moment wordt het aantal Europese kinderen in armoede geschat op 19 miljoen. De doelstelling om 15 miljoen Europeanen, waarvan 5 miljoen kinderen, uit de armoede te halen tegen 2030 had wat mij betreft veel ambitieuzer gemogen. Als we de top van Porto de geschiedenis willen laten ingaan als een mijlpaal richting een socialer Europa, dan moeten we dit sociaal engagement nu omzetten in concrete daden. Daarom is het van cruciaal belang dat dit concrete stappenplan inzet op twee zaken: 1) de focus op wetgevende initiatieven, en 2) de monitoring van de doelstellingen via de nieuwe en bestaande criteria, de sociale indicatoren binnen het Europees Semester.

Het merendeel van de sociale doelstellingen liggen immers bij de nationale of regionale bevoegdheden en daarom is het Porto-engagement een strijd die we allemaal samen zullen moeten aangaan – Europa, de lidstaten, de regionale en de lokale overheden, maar ook de sociale partners, en in samenwerking met het maatschappelijk middenveld.

**Gabriele Bischoff (S&D)**. – Herr Präsident! Wir haben jetzt schon viel gehört, was in Porto passiert ist, und wenn man es zusammenfassen kann, dann kann man sagen: Das Versprechen in Porto wurde gegeben, dass in Europa eine neue Zeit anbricht; eine Zeit, in der mehr und bessere Arbeitsplätze im Vordergrund stehen, wirklich verbrieft Chancen auf Weiterbildung und Teilhabe und weniger Armut. Porto steht für mich für das Signal, dass wir nicht nur über das soziale Europa reden, sondern dass wir dem Taten folgen lassen. Und das soll Vertrauen schaffen.



Was ist Vertrauen? Niklas Luhmann hat mal gesagt: „Vertrauen, das ist ein Mechanismus zur Reduktion sozialer Komplexität“. Klingt kompliziert, aber was er sagen will, ist einfach: Vertrauen hilft uns, uns zurechtzufinden in einer immer unübersichtlicheren Welt mit Risiken und einer ungewissen Zukunft. Und genau das will der Sozialgipfel: das Vertrauen der EU-Bürgerinnen und -Bürger wieder stärken, den Menschen Sicherheit vermitteln, dass wir diese Transformationen in Bezug auf Klimakrise und Digitalisierung wirklich zusammen bewältigen, ohne jemanden zurückzulassen.

Das Wiederaufbauprogramm ist dabei der Stabilitätsanker, um die Auswirkungen der globalen Pandemie in den Griff zu kriegen und die sozialen Folgen aufzufangen. Jean-Claude Juncker hat ja früher gesagt, diese Säule soll ein Kompass sein für mehr Konvergenz und die Sozialpartner sollen eine besondere Rolle dabei spielen.

Ja, wir stehen jetzt, lieber Nicolas Schmit, lieber Rat, vor dem ultimativen Test. Wird das Europäische Semester, werden diese nationalen Aufbaupläne neu ausgerichtet, oder gehen wir wieder in diese ausgetretenen Pfade des Europäischen Semesters zurück?

Da muss man beweisen, dass wir jetzt wirklich einen Wandel schaffen wollen. Deshalb brauchen wir einen konkreten Vorschlag für das Monitoring der Fortschritte auf höchster Ebene. Das brauchen wir sofort, genauso wie einen sozialen Check, ob alle Initiativen, die wir machen, wirklich diesen sozialen Zielen dienen und sie befördern. In diesem Sinne können wir alle zu mehr Vertrauen beitragen.

**Dragoş Pişlaru (Renew).** – Mr President, on 7 May in Porto we have shown together that we are ambitious. The social summit gave us the opportunity to look towards social targets, and most importantly we have agreed that the number of people at risk of poverty, of social inclusion, should be reduced by at least 15 million, of which five million are children. It is now the moment to build on these ambitions and time to act. Our coordinated actions have to follow our collectively agreed ambitions.

First, we have to ensure that the investment in the young generation is real, that Member States allocate 5% or even more of the European Social Fund+ resources to fight child poverty. Second, we must ensure that a significant part of the RRF resources are invested in actions for young people and children. Third, we need to have coordinated actions at EU and Member State level when it comes to the implementation of the Child Guarantee. Without real investment, our social ambitions remain only an expressed intention and hope for a better future. If we want the next generation to trust us and to believe in Europe, we need to deliver more than hopes. We need to show that Europe believes in them as well, and that means creating real opportunities for their generation. It is time to act together.

**Sara Matthieu (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, what I had hoped to come out of the Porto Summit were concrete legislative proposals on how we're finally going to construct a truly social Europe. What we got in reality were a lot of empty promises, and this at the moment where the covid crisis is tackling our vulnerable groups the hardest.

Promises, dear Commissioner, will not pay their bills. We need to combat poverty. We need quality jobs and decent wages. We need to invest in education, in health and in child care. I'm also deeply concerned Poland and Hungary managed to erase the term 'gender equality' from the final Porto declaration. This is yet another example of the backlash against women's and LGBTQI rights that we should never accept in our European Union.

**Dominique Bilde (ID).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, le compromis de Porto est tombé aux oubliettes avant même d'avoir été écrit. C'est la triste vérité. J'en veux pour exemple l'un des objectifs que l'Union européenne se fixe pour 2030: celui de réduire de 15 millions le nombre de personnes menacées par la pauvreté ou l'exclusion sociale.

Un article du *Monde* paru en 2019 estimait qu'il y a entre 4 et 5 millions de sans-papiers en Europe, un nombre en constante augmentation à cause des crises migratoires à répétition. Les politiques d'expulsion peinent à suivre le rythme, faute de volonté politique. Derrière les grandes déclarations, la réalité des Européens, et des Français en particulier, n'en finit de se dégrader. À rebours de tous les objectifs que vous fixez, les camps de migrants se multiplient, pendant que des quartiers entiers de nos compatriotes sombrent dans la pauvreté.

Ce constat, le Danemark l'a fait. En appliquant une politique ferme à l'égard de l'immigration, les sociaux-démocrates danois expliquent qu'il n'est pas possible d'avoir un modèle social fort en même temps qu'une pression migratoire importante. Alors que la Commission européenne fait mine de se scandaliser, ce pays nous énonce une vérité pourtant simple. Si nos amis danois le comprennent, les Français sont de plus en plus nombreux à le comprendre également.

Mieux qu'un sommet de Porto dont l'échec est écrit d'avance, 2022 sera l'occasion en France de faire un bien meilleur compromis, celui de la défense de nos frontières et de notre modèle social.

**Beata Szydło (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Zapewne wielu z nas podpisze się pod zapisami i wnioskami szczytu społecznego w Porto, bo rzeczywiście poruszane tam były istotne kwestie, które dotyczą każdego mieszkańca Unii Europejskiej. Europejczycy mają prawo do godnego życia, do dobrej pracy, do bezpieczeństwa, do tego, żeby wychowywać dzieci zgodnie z wartościami, które są dla nich ważne. To jest prawo każdego z nas, każdego mieszkańca Unii Europejskiej. A obowiązkiem nas, którzy pracujemy w Unii Europejskiej, w instytucjach Unii Europejskiej, w komisji Parlamentu, jest zadbać o to, żeby te prawa Europejczyków były nienaruszalne i by traktaty były przestrzegane.

Dlatego mówiąc o szczycie w Porto, musimy pamiętać również o tym, co jest kompetencją państw członkowskich i co w kompetencji państw członkowskich powinno pozostać. A naszym obowiązkiem tutaj, obowiązkiem Parlamentu i Komisji, jest państwa członkowskie wspierać.

## PŘEDSEDNICTVÍ: DITA CHARANZOVÁ

*místopředsedkyně*

**José Gusmão (The Left).** – Senhora Presidente, entre o Tratado de Lisboa e o Semestre Europeu criou-se na Europa uma enorme contradição. O Tratado de Lisboa fez a opção de dizer que a Carta dos Direitos Fundamentais dos cidadãos da União Europeia não tinha valor legal, não era direito comunitário. O Semestre Europeu deu à Comissão e ao Conselho poderes para interferir em políticas sociais fundamentais como os serviços públicos, o mercado de trabalho ou os sistemas de pensões.

Atualmente nós vemos esta contradição em direto. No debate sobre o pilar dos direitos sociais e na Cimeira Social diz-se que não pode haver direitos constituídos à escala europeia porque isso é uma responsabilidade dos Estados e, portanto, o que temos são ideias, sugestões, recomendações, prioridades, compromissos. Tudo muito genérico. Mas quando discutimos o MRR e a libertação de fundos do Fundo de Recuperação e Resiliência aí já vem a condicionalidade do Semestre Europeu, as reformas estruturais no mercado de trabalho, nos sistemas de pensões e os cortes nos serviços públicos. A Comissão Europeia, a União Europeia não tem competências para criar diretamente ou para reforçar a disciplina, mas já tem competências para os destruir.

**Daniela Rondinelli (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Segretaria di Stato, gentile Commissario, gli ambiziosi obiettivi fissati nel summit di Porto sono un passo importante nello sviluppo di un'Europa finalmente sociale, ma rischiano di rimanere enunciazioni di principio se non cambiamo le fondamenta dell'Unione.

Il meccanismo del Semestre europeo va rivisto perché non tiene conto del tessuto sociale di un paese. La recente bocciatura da parte della Commissione europea sul blocco dei licenziamenti deciso dal governo italiano vuol dire negare l'evidenza di una pandemia e di non conoscere le realtà nazionali. Questa incomprensibile valutazione contraddice tutto quello che stiamo discutendo con la Commissione europea da più di un anno sulle misure europee da prendere a sostegno dell'occupazione dei soggetti più fragili del mercato del lavoro.

Il Semestre europeo dunque deve prevedere veri obiettivi sociali e ambientali al pari di quelli economici e il Patto di stabilità va sciolto da vincoli di bilancio superati oramai dalla storia, altrimenti i benefici del *Next Generation EU* saranno annullati non appena sarà disattivata la clausola di salvaguardia, riconsegnandoci così un'Europa dell'austerità che i cittadini europei non sono più disponibili ad accettare.

**José Manuel Fernandes (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhora Secretária de Estado, Ana Paula Zacarias, as declarações e as proclamações são importantes, mas de pouco ou nada servem se não derem lugar a ações concretas que se traduzam em resultados positivos para as pessoas. Se não houver ações, se só houver proclamações, as expectativas não serão cumpridas e a confiança dos cidadãos europeus será destruída. Há contradições que eu gostaria de realçar. A competência na área da educação e na área da pobreza é nacional. Fixámos objetivos europeus. Onde é que estão os objetivos, as metas nacionais?

Senhora Secretária de Estado, qual é a meta nacional de Portugal no combate à pobreza? Quando dizemos que, a nível europeu, vamos retirar 15 milhões de cidadãos europeus da pobreza, isso é o resultado da soma das metas de cada Estado-Membro. É necessário, até por uma questão de transparência e para que os objetivos sejam atingidos, que essas metas por Estado-Membro sejam bem claras. Para além disso, também precisamos de metas regionais. Se olharmos, por exemplo, para o Plano Nacional de Recuperação e Resiliência de Portugal, este só tem, no que diz respeito ao combate à pobreza, medidas e ações para as grandes áreas metropolitanas, deixando de fora as outras regiões povoadas. Portanto, chamo aqui a atenção para a necessidade de metas para os Estados-Membros e também de metas por região.

**Alicia Homs Ginel (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, comisario Schmit, secretaria de Estado, tras una década bajo políticas de austeridad, la Unión Europea tiene por delante una gran oportunidad.

La crisis de la COVID-19 ha puesto en entredicho la fortaleza de nuestros sistemas de bienestar y protección social —sí—, pero al mismo tiempo ha reafirmado la importancia del Estado y de la acción pública, ha subrayado la importancia de tener unos servicios públicos de calidad y ha puesto de manifiesto los efectos de una financiación insuficiente.

Por ello, la Cumbre Social de Oporto representa un punto de inflexión, una gran oportunidad, el punto de salida para conseguir una recuperación más social, más inclusiva y más sostenible, que anteponga las personas al PIB y que utilice el Semestre Europeo para llevar a cabo reformas que permitan construir una red social fuerte.

Porque de poco vale el crecimiento económico si no sirve para mejorar el día a día de las personas, si no sirve para crear más y mejores empleos que garanticen unas buenas condiciones laborales a todos y a todas.

Y ese «todos y todas», como siempre digo, incluye a las personas más jóvenes, que están llamadas a desempeñar un papel fundamental en las transiciones verde y digital, en la recuperación económica y en la propia defensa de la democracia.

Quiero terminar agradeciendo al comisario Schmit su compromiso con los más jóvenes y haciendo mías sus palabras en Oporto: no dudéis que cuidaremos de vosotros y trabajaremos duro para construir una Europa social que os permita crecer y prosperar.

**Mounir Satouri (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, avec trois objectifs sociaux chiffrés à réaliser d'ici 2030, je veux croire que le sommet de Porto saura corriger l'absence d'objectifs chiffrés du plan de relance en matière sociale.

Il s'agit de protéger face aux crises sociales, mais aussi de concrétiser l'Europe sociale en soutenant la transformation écologique de nos sociétés. Pour que les ambitions de Porto se réalisent, il faut changer de logiciel. Les dépenses publiques doivent soutenir les investissements sociaux dans l'économie verte et garantir la jouissance de droits sociaux pour tous en Europe. Il est temps de faire de la convergence sociale vers le haut une réalité du projet européen. Pour y parvenir, le social ne peut plus être pris en otage par le budgétaire. Il est donc temps de mettre fin à la concurrence fiscale entre États membres et de réviser les règles du pacte de stabilité.

**Guido Reil (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die COVID-Pandemie hat uns in die größte Krise seit Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs gestürzt. Und wie hat dieses Parlament darauf reagiert? Im vergangenen Jahr wurde es zweimal für mehrere Wochen einfach nach Hause geschickt. Während alle Parlamente der Welt mit Hochdruck gearbeitet haben, waren wir gar nicht da. Und es hat keinen gestört, es ist auch niemandem aufgefallen.

Was hat die Kommission geleistet? Die Kommission hat mit ihrer Impfstoffstrategie vollkommen und total versagt. Ursula von der Leyen hätte schon längst zurücktreten müssen.

Und wie reagiert unser Präsident Sassoli darauf? Er fordert mehr EU. Er fordert von den Mitgliedstaaten mehr Kompetenzen. Er fordert, jetzt endlich die Sozialunion durchzusetzen, die nichts anderes ist als eine Transferunion. Und mehr noch: Sogar die Gesundheitsunion soll jetzt durchgesetzt werden.

Gott sei Dank haben noch vor dem Gipfel von Porto elf Mitgliedstaaten ganz klar erklärt, dass sie da nicht mitmachen werden. Außer Österreich zufällig alle Länder aus dem Norden. Wen wundert es?

Präsident Sassoli, Frau von der Leyen, ich fordere Sie auf: Halten Sie Abstand! Halten Sie Abstand von den Kompetenzen, von den Rechten der souveränen europäischen Staaten! Halten Sie Abstand!

**Leila Chaïbi (The Left).** – Madame la Présidente, le sommet de Porto était censé marquer un tournant social. Quatre ans – cela faisait quatre ans qu'on attendait qu'un sommet social ait lieu, depuis le sommet de Göteborg en 2017.

La crise sociale liée à la COVID était passée par là. On pouvait s'attendre à des annonces ambitieuses, à la hauteur des enjeux. Eh bien non.

D'abord, les rares objectifs fixés sont insuffisants. Par exemple, sur la réduction du nombre de personnes pauvres, l'Union européenne propose de réduire ce nombre de 15 millions, quand il en existe plus de 100 millions.

Ensuite, des sujets étaient absents: le logement, par exemple, alors que des millions d'Européens ne sont plus en mesure de payer leur loyer.

Et puis, cerise sur le gâteau, on a assisté à un spectacle d'hypocrisie, dont l'acteur principal s'appelle Emmanuel Macron, qui est un petit peu le Docteur Jekyll et Mister Hyde, qui se fait le chantre du social à Porto, à Strasbourg, à Bruxelles également, alors qu'en France, il mène des politiques de casse sociale.

Les Européens et les Européennes méritent mieux que ça. Il y a urgence. Des actes, il faut des actes! Les déclarations de bonnes intentions ne suffisent plus.

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Powoli wracamy do normalności, w szczególności w połączeniu z postępowaniem szczepień. Niestety proces odbudowy całej gospodarki to bardziej złożony proces i przed nami jeszcze długa droga do tego, by powrócić na właściwe tory zrównoważonego wzrostu. Dotyczy to także – a może wręcz przede wszystkim – rynków pracy. Po wybuchu pandemii Unia Europejska wprowadziła bezprecedensowy szereg nowatorskich środków i instrumentów mających uchronić naszych obywateli przed kryzysem ekonomicznym będącym konsekwencją wprowadzanych lockdownów.

Dzięki SURE ochroną objęto 32 miliony miejsc pracy w Unii, więc możemy jasno powiedzieć, że program ten się sprawdził. Jego rola powoli jednak się kończy i czas na przejście do odbudowy. Budowanie odpornej na przyszłość, konkurencyjnej gospodarki wymagać będzie inwestycji w tworzenie nowych miejsc pracy, a także w wyposażenie naszych obywateli w odpowiednie umiejętności.

Cieszę się, że podczas szczytu w Porto konkretne i ambitne cele zaproponowane w filarze praw socjalnych zyskały szerokie poparcie partnerów społecznych. I mam nadzieję, że także ich wdrażanie będzie się odbywało z ich pełnym zaangażowaniem. Zadaniem nas wszystkich, Unii Europejskiej i państw członkowskich, władz lokalnych i organizacji pozarządowych, jest stworzenie odpowiedniego klimatu i ram dla pobudzenia przedsiębiorczości i innowacyjności przy zachowaniu solidarności.

**Manuel Pizarro (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Secretária de Estado, Senhor Comissário, a Cimeira Social do Porto sinalizou o corte da União Europeia com a austeridade como resposta a uma crise económica e social. De acordo com o último Eurobarómetro, a imagem positiva da União atingiu nesta primavera o seu nível mais elevado desde 2009. Os cidadãos acompanharam a cimeira de forma muito positiva. Seria inadmissível desbaratar esta oportunidade de reconciliação das pessoas com o projeto europeu. Exige-se que a União e os Estados-Membros se mobilizem para materializar o plano de ação e para implementar o Pilar Europeu dos Direitos Sociais, fruto de um consenso histórico. Precisamos de soluções de longo prazo que sejam socialmente sustentáveis. Recusamos regressar a uma retórica de má memória que reclama reformas estruturais, mas que esquece as pessoas e a sua dignidade. Reclamamos que os planos de recuperação nacionais também concorram para os objetivos da Europa social. É preciso encorajar o investimento social, no emprego de qualidade, na luta contra a pobreza, na saúde, na educação e na habitação. É preciso repensar os critérios macroeconómicos para não chegarmos a situações absurdas de recomendações que contradigam os objetivos

do Pilar Social. A Cimeira Social foi o início de um longo caminho. O Parlamento Europeu terá que ter neste percurso um papel mobilizador, de exigência e monitorização rigorosa. Assim faremos.

**Anne Sander (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, depuis un an, nous traversons une crise sans précédent. Le sommet de Porto était donc attendu et indispensable. C'est vraiment le moment pour franchir un nouveau cap en faveur d'une Europe sociale.

La pandémie l'a prouvé, nos jeunes souffrent tout particulièrement. Ils manquent notamment d'opportunités pour se former. Au cours de ce sommet social de mai, l'accent a été mis sur l'éducation et sur les compétences qui doivent être au cœur de notre action politique. En effet, le monde change et de nouvelles compétences seront nécessaires aux nouvelles générations. 65 % des enfants qui entrent à l'école primaire aujourd'hui exerceront un métier qui n'existe pas encore. C'est donc un défi majeur que nous devons relever.

Le développement du numérique et la transition environnementale que nous vivons aujourd'hui changeront considérablement les métiers de demain et nous devons nous y préparer très rapidement.

Les emplois d'aujourd'hui ne sont donc pas les emplois de demain. Nous devons préparer et investir dans notre avenir, dans l'avenir de notre jeunesse, à travers la formation, la formation professionnelle, l'apprentissage et l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie.

**Λευτέρης Χριστοφόρου (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, δεν υπάρχει καμία αμφιβολία ότι η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, στην ιστορική της διαδρομή, πέτυχε τεράστια κοινωνικά επιτεύγματα, συγκριτικά μεγαλύτερα και ανώτερα από ό,τι πέτυχαν όλοι οι άλλοι μαζί. Όμως, εμείς που πραγματικά αγαπάμε την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, βρισκόμαστε στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση συνειδητά και θέλουμε αυτό το οικοδόμημα που είναι και δικό μας σπίτι, δική μας οικογένεια, να πάει ακόμα πιο μπροστά.

Απαιτούμε μια ισχυρή Ευρώπη. Η οποία δεν μπορεί να υπάρξει, αν δεν υπάρξει ισχυρή κοινωνική Ευρώπη. Και ισχυρή κοινωνική Ευρώπη δεν νοείται, όταν υπάρχουν ακόμη άνθρωποι οι οποίοι ζουν κάτω από τα όρια της φτώχειας. Για εμάς, ισχυρή Ευρώπη δεν υπάρχει, όταν κανένας από τους νέους μας δεν θα μπορεί να βρει δουλειά. Για εμάς, ισχυρή κοινωνική Ευρώπη νοείται ότι όλοι θα έχουν το ίδιο και σημαντικό, ποιοτικά αναβαθμισμένο, επίπεδο παιδείας και υγείας. Κοινωνική Ευρώπη, για εμάς, είναι εκείνη η Ευρώπη που φτάνει στον κάθε Ευρωπαίο πολίτη, σε κάθε γωνιά της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

Είναι γνωστό ότι οι νησιωτικές περιοχές επλήγησαν ανεπανόρθωτα από την πανδημία και εμείς αναμένουμε ότι αυτή η κοινωνική Ευρώπη θα φτάσει μέχρι εκεί. Ταυτόχρονα, όμως, θέλω να επισημάνω ότι η κοινωνική Ευρώπη δεν έφτασε μέχρι σήμερα σε 200.000 Ευρωπαίους πολίτες, Ευρωπαίους πρόσφυγες, πολίτες στη δική μου την πατρίδα, την Κύπρο, για την οποία μέχρι σήμερα, παρά τις συνεχείς και έντονες προσπάθειές μου, δεν υπήρξε καμία κοινωνική στήριξη προς όλους αυτούς που υφίστανται την προσφυγιά εδώ και 46 χρόνια από τον Τούρκο εισβολέα, και το παράδοξο είναι ότι ο Τούρκος εισβολέας που εξεδίωξε αυτούς τους Ευρωπαίους πρόσφυγες παίρνει χρηματοδότηση από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Σας καλώ, κύριε Επίτροπε, όπως δείτε πραγματικά αυτό το μεγάλο κοινωνικό έλλειμμα και δώσετε μια ιδιαίτερη αίσθηση και στήριξη σε αυτό τον προσφυγικό κόσμο της Κύπρου.

**Nicolas Schmit, membre de la Commission.** – Madame la Présidente, honorables députés, d'abord, je tiens à vous remercier pour vos commentaires, vos critiques, vos suggestions et, pour la plupart d'entre vous, une ferme volonté de faire avancer l'Europe sociale.

Il faut à chaque moment se demander ce que pensent les citoyens européens, parce que nous ne construisons pas l'Europe sociale dans le vide. Nous construisons l'Europe sociale pour les citoyens, pour les jeunes, pour tous ceux qui sont en difficulté. Eh bien, la réponse que nous avons, c'est que neuf Européens sur dix disent qu'une Europe sociale plus forte a un grand intérêt pour eux, personnellement. Ce qui veut dire que les citoyens, au-delà des idéologies, au-delà des idées préconçues, sentent bien et savent très bien que sans une Europe sociale, ils ne seront pas protégés. Ils comprennent que dans un monde globalisé, dans un monde où l'économie s'intègre de plus en plus, dans un monde où la technologie devient de plus en plus rapide, sans des règles, sans une Europe qui les protège, ils n'ont pas de garantie. C'est cela que les citoyens veulent. Ils ne discutent pas a priori de compétences, ils veulent des résultats. Et j'aime bien cette idée que la confiance se construit à partir de résultats concrets.

Le sommet de Porto, c'est une feuille de route, c'est une grande orientation, ce sont des engagements politiques au niveau le plus élevé qui doivent nous guider maintenant, qui créent des obligations. Ce ne sont pas des paroles en l'air. C'est à nous maintenant de mettre en œuvre le plan d'action. C'est à nous de mettre en œuvre le pilier des droits sociaux.

Les citoyens attendent des actes concrets, vous avez raison. Est-ce qu'il n'y a pas eu d'actes concrets depuis que cette Commission a pris ses fonctions? Est-ce que les 100 milliards du fonds SURE, qui ont permis de sauver des millions d'emplois, de préserver des millions d'emplois, de protéger des millions de travailleurs, de maintenir leurs revenus, leur travail, leurs perspectives ne sont pas une action concrète? L'initiative en matière de salaire minimum, le cadre pour les salaires minimums en Europe créent, pour tous ceux qui sont condamnés à la pauvreté au travail, un réel espoir, une réelle attente.

C'est à nous, maintenant. Vous avez fait et vous êtes en train de faire votre travail, de mettre tout cela en œuvre concrètement pour que tous ceux qui ont des salaires indécentes, dont ils ne peuvent pas décemment vivre, puissent effectivement trouver dans leur travail cette dignité à laquelle ils ont droit.

On a beaucoup parlé de pauvreté et, croyez-moi, je sais que ce n'est pas l'Europe seule qui peut résoudre le problème de la pauvreté. D'abord, ces millions d'Européens en risque de pauvreté devraient nous interpeller tous les jours. Il n'est pas acceptable que 18 millions d'enfants n'aient pas de perspectives parce qu'ils sont dans des familles pauvres. Ils n'ont pas les mêmes perspectives en matière d'école, ils n'ont pas les mêmes perspectives simplement pour profiter de la vie, de certains services à l'école, de la culture, des sports.

Alors, l'Europe fixe un objectif, l'Europe donne une orientation, mais l'Europe pourvoit aussi des moyens financiers. Évidemment, les États membres doivent y contribuer largement et doivent mettre en œuvre une politique, selon leurs traditions et leur culture sociale et économique. Mais ce qui est important, c'est le résultat à la fin. C'est de sortir des millions d'enfants de la pauvreté, c'est de sortir de la pauvreté les travailleurs qui n'ont pas de salaires décentes et de leur donner de la dignité.

La même chose vaut pour la garantie pour les enfants, que nous allons adopter la semaine prochaine. C'est un moyen, un outil, qui est entre les mains des États membres, avec le soutien de l'Union européenne – soutien à la fois pour organiser une vraie politique en matière de lutte contre la pauvreté, mais aussi soutien financier.

Quant à la garantie pour la jeunesse, moi, je suis très sensible à la situation de la jeunesse. C'est elle qui a le plus souffert pendant cette crise, c'est elle qui a perdu des emplois, c'est elle qui n'a pas eu les emplois auxquels elle aurait eu droit, c'est elle aussi qui vit dans la précarité absolue. Nous avons déjà pris des initiatives pour l'emploi des jeunes, à travers la garantie pour la jeunesse, et ce n'est pas fini. Nous invitons bien sûr les États membres à mettre en œuvre un certain nombre de mesures pour soutenir les jeunes, pour leur offrir des perspectives, pour diminuer la précarité sur le marché du travail.

Tout cela, ce sont des actions concrètes que l'Europe lance, que la Commission met en œuvre avec vous. Bien sûr, les États membres doivent y contribuer. Et donc, cette question des compétences, bien sûr qu'elle est très proche de moi. Bien sûr qu'elle est très importante. Nous ne voulons pas nous substituer aux États membres. Nous connaissons les traités, nous connaissons aussi les limites de la Commission et de l'Union européenne en matière sociale. Mais nous savons aussi que sans ces stimulations importantes, ces politiques européennes en matière sociale, l'Europe va se déliter. Ce n'est pas une Europe forte qu'on peut uniquement construire sur le marché intérieur. Nous ne pouvons construire l'Europe que sur des bases solides, des bases acceptées et voulues par les citoyens, ces mêmes citoyens qui exigent de nous une Europe sociale.

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *Presidente em exercício do Conselho*. – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, gostaria de agradecer todas as intervenções e a organização deste debate útil e oportuno. Muito obrigada, Senhor Comissário, pela sua apaixonada e convicta intervenção. Este debate permite sublinhar a importância de trabalharmos em conjunto, de reforçarmos a dimensão social da União Europeia e de transformarmos os princípios de Gotemburgo em ação. Registei com interesse a ideia do Parlamento Europeu e a vontade de querer monitorizar o *follow up* da Cimeira Social no quadro de uma recuperação económica e social sustentável e digital.

Pelo lado do Conselho, os ministros do Emprego e dos Assuntos Sociais realizarão também, no dia 14 de junho, um debate de orientação no Conselho EPSCO, dedicado às próximas etapas a nível nacional e europeu, a fim de aprofundar a implementação do Pilar Europeu dos Direitos Sociais, na sequência da apresentação do plano de ação, do compromisso – esta palavra é importante – do Porto e dos objetivos em matéria de criação de melhor e mais emprego, de formação profissional adequada e de redução da pobreza, nomeadamente a pobreza infantil.

Neste debate será também abordado o envolvimento dos parceiros sociais e da sociedade civil na implementação do Pilar, bem como o caminho a seguir pelos Estados-Membros na definição das metas nacionais, tendo em vista o próximo ciclo do Semestre Europeu e a utilização adequada dos mecanismos financeiros existentes.

Sabemos que o instrumento que permitirá concretizar os objetivos do Pilar é, sobretudo, a responsabilidade dos Estados-Membros. Sabemos que temos que respeitar as competências nacionais e a diversidade existente na Europa. Contudo, as instituições europeias têm também um papel importante a desempenhar na luta contra a pobreza, pela criação de mais emprego, por uma formação profissional adequada. É uma responsabilidade comum.

As três instituições estiveram juntas no objetivo de reforçar e consolidar a dimensão social da União Europeia. Posso assegurar-vos também que este será um dos temas de debate no quadro da Conferência sobre o Futuro da Europa porque toca a vida dos nossos cidadãos. A construção da Europa social é um caminho, no qual demos no Porto um passo significativo. Fizemo-lo com o apoio deste Parlamento e da Comissão Europeia. Estou convencida de que só assim poderemos responder com determinação às expectativas dos nossos cidadãos, com ações concretas e sem ter que esperar outros quatro anos por uma nova cimeira social.

**President.** – The debate is closed.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Milan Brglez (S&D)**, *pisno*. – Socialni vrh v Portu je po razglasitvi Evropskega stebra socialnih pravic leta 2017 prvi pomembnejši mejnik pri izgradnji socialne Evrope.

Če je v preteklih letih zanj predvsem na strani držav članic zmanjkovalo politične volje, so pandemija Covid-19 in jasno izražena pričakovanja ljudi, da se bo EU razvijala v smeri skupnih ukrepov za zagotavljanje blaginje ter socialne varnosti ljudi, pokazali, da sta konkretizacija ciljev ter politična zaveza za uresničevanje ESSP postali neizogibni. Socialna Evropa je v Portu dobila nov zagon s skupno izjavo voditeljev EU, socialnih partnerjev in nevladnih organizacij ter potrditvijo akcijskega načrta za uresničevanje ESSP. Za doseganje ključnih ciljev do leta 2030 je treba nemudoma oblikovati kazalnike za njihovo implementacijo ter cilje podkrepiti z ustreznimi evropskimi in nacionalnimi sredstvi. V tej luči pozdravljam sprejem okrepljenega Evropskega socialnega sklada plus (ESS+). Gre za poglavitni, a še zdaleč ne zadostni vir sredstev, ki bi sam po sebi lahko zagotovil prehod na zeleno in digitalno gospodarstvo, še posebej upoštevaje gospodarske in socialne posledice pandemije, zato je nedopustno, da bi se navedene izzive skušalo reševati na račun predhodno določenih prioritet za ESS+.

V skladu z zavezo iz Porta ni nobenih dvomov, da morajo nacionalni načrti za okrevanje in odpornost poleg digitalne in zelene vsebovati tudi socialno komponento.

**Estrella Durá Ferrandis (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – El debate giró en torno a la recientemente celebrada Cumbre de Oporto y a su importancia para la implementación de los principios del Pilar Social. Los y las socialistas hemos sido principales precursores de la celebración de esta Cumbre, la cual es sin duda un nuevo punto de partida para Europa: poniendo el bienestar de las personas en primer plano a través del cumplimiento de unos objetivos sociales para 2030, la inclusión por primera vez de indicadores sociales dentro del semestre europeo, y dotando a los objetivos sociales de la misma importancia que los verdes y los digitales para una transición justa y socialmente sostenible. Después de años de austeridad, la pandemia ha revelado una realidad latente: solo a través de impulsar políticas sociales sólidas podremos contribuir a enfrentar esta crisis. Necesitamos por tanto una red social fuerte y robusta, a través de iniciativas (muchas

de ellas de carácter legislativo), que favorecerán la disminución de la pobreza, la creación de un empleo de calidad, la disminución de las desigualdades y de la brecha de género. Europa no puede permitirse repetir errores del pasado, y nuestro grupo seguirá trabajando para garantizar unos sistemas de bienestar fuertes en la UE.

**Lina Gálvez Muñoz (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – El debate giró en torno a la recientemente celebrada Cumbre de Oporto y a su importancia para la implementación de los principios del Pilar Social. Los y las socialistas hemos sido principales precursores de la celebración de esta Cumbre, la cual es sin duda un nuevo punto de partida para Europa: poniendo el bienestar de las personas en primer plano a través del cumplimiento de unos objetivos sociales para 2030, la inclusión por primera vez de indicadores sociales dentro del semestre europeo, y dotando a los objetivos sociales de la misma importancia que los verdes y los digitales para una transición justa y socialmente sostenible. Después de años de austeridad, la pandemia ha revelado una realidad latente: solo a través de impulsar políticas sociales sólidas podremos contribuir a enfrentar esta crisis. Necesitamos por tanto una red social fuerte y robusta, a través de iniciativas (muchas de ellas de carácter legislativo), que favorecerán la disminución de la pobreza, la creación de un empleo de calidad, la disminución de las desigualdades y de la brecha de género. Europa no puede permitirse repetir errores del pasado, y nuestro grupo seguirá trabajando para garantizar unos sistemas de bienestar fuertes en la UE.

**Ibán García Del Blanco (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – El debate giró en torno a la recientemente celebrada Cumbre de Oporto y a su importancia para la implementación de los principios del Pilar Social. Los y las socialistas hemos sido principales precursores de la celebración de esta Cumbre, la cual es sin duda un nuevo punto de partida para Europa: poniendo el bienestar de las personas en primer plano a través del cumplimiento de unos objetivos sociales para 2030, la inclusión por primera vez de indicadores sociales dentro del semestre europeo, y dotando a los objetivos sociales de la misma importancia que los verdes y los digitales para una transición justa y socialmente sostenible. Después de años de austeridad, la pandemia ha revelado una realidad latente: solo a través de impulsar políticas sociales sólidas podremos contribuir a enfrentar esta crisis. Necesitamos por tanto una red social fuerte y robusta, a través de iniciativas (muchas de ellas de carácter legislativo), que favorecerán la disminución de la pobreza, la creación de un empleo de calidad, la disminución de las desigualdades y de la brecha de género. Europa no puede permitirse repetir errores del pasado, y nuestro grupo seguirá trabajando para garantizar unos sistemas de bienestar fuertes en la UE.

**Isabel García Muñoz (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – El debate giró en torno a la recientemente celebrada Cumbre de Oporto y a su importancia para la implementación de los principios del Pilar Social. Los y las socialistas hemos sido principales precursores de la celebración de esta Cumbre, la cual es sin duda un nuevo punto de partida para Europa: poniendo el bienestar de las personas en primer plano a través del cumplimiento de unos objetivos sociales para 2030, la inclusión por primera vez de indicadores sociales dentro del semestre europeo, y dotando a los objetivos sociales de la misma importancia que los verdes y los digitales para una transición justa y socialmente sostenible. Después de años de austeridad, la pandemia ha revelado una realidad latente: solo a través de impulsar políticas sociales sólidas podremos contribuir a enfrentar esta crisis. Necesitamos por tanto una red social fuerte y robusta, a través de iniciativas (muchas de ellas de carácter legislativo), que favorecerán la disminución de la pobreza, la creación de un empleo de calidad, la disminución de las desigualdades y de la brecha de género. Europa no puede permitirse repetir errores del pasado, y nuestro grupo seguirá trabajando para garantizar unos sistemas de bienestar fuertes en la UE.

**Julie Lechanteux (ID)**, *par écrit*. – Selon la Commission européenne, l'Europe est l'endroit où l'on trouve les sociétés les plus égalitaires du monde, les normes les plus élevées en matière de conditions de travail et la protection sociale la plus étendue. Un cadre idyllique qui contraste fortement avec les 15,5 millions de chômeurs enregistrés par Eurostat en mars 2021. Avec la crise de la Covid-19, le chômage a augmenté en un an de 2,019 millions de personnes dans l'UE et de 1,614 million dans la zone euro. Aujourd'hui encore 72 millions d'Européens vivent sous le seuil de pauvreté, ce qui représente une personne sur 6. Dans ce contexte, que fait la Commission européenne ? Elle s'inquiète des effets de la pandémie sur la participation des migrants au marché du travail et préconise la mise en place de nouvelles voies d'immigration légale! Exactement le contraire de ce qu'il faudrait faire en ce moment, à savoir un moratoire généralisé concernant les demandes de séjour des migrants et l'expulsion immédiate des clandestins, de manière à concentrer le peu de ressources disponibles à la baisse du taux de chômage et à la lutte contre la pauvreté. Commençons par aider les nôtres avant d'aider les autres !



**César Luena (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – El debate giró en torno a la recientemente celebrada Cumbre de Oporto y a su importancia para la implementación de los principios del Pilar Social. Los y las socialistas hemos sido principales precursores de la celebración de esta Cumbre, la cual es sin duda un nuevo punto de partida para Europa: poniendo el bienestar de las personas en primer plano a través del cumplimiento de unos objetivos sociales para 2030, la inclusión por primera vez de indicadores sociales dentro del semestre europeo, y dotando a los objetivos sociales de la misma importancia que los verdes y los digitales para una transición justa y socialmente sostenible. Después de años de austeridad, la pandemia ha revelado una realidad latente: solo a través de impulsar políticas sociales sólidas podremos contribuir a enfrentar esta crisis. Necesitamos por tanto una red social fuerte y robusta, a través de iniciativas (muchas de ellas de carácter legislativo), que favorecerán la disminución de la pobreza, la creación de un empleo de calidad, la disminución de las desigualdades y de la brecha de género. Europa no puede permitirse repetir errores del pasado, y nuestro grupo seguirá trabajando para garantizar unos sistemas de bienestar fuertes en la UE.

### **13. Niedawne cyberataki na instytucje UE oraz na wrażliwe krajowe instytucje publiczne i prywatne – Strategia UE w zakresie cyberbezpieczeństwa na cyfrową dekadę (debata)**

**President.** – The next item is the joint debate on

— the Council and Commission statements on the recent cyberattacks on EU institutions and on sensitive national public and private institutions (2021/2713(RSP)), and

— the oral question to the Commission on the EU's cybersecurity strategy for the Digital Decade by Cristian-Silviu Buşoi, on behalf of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (O-000037/2021 – B9-0024/21) (2021/2568(RSP)).

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, Commissioner Hahn, honourable Members, with a growing digitalisation of our lives we are also witnessing an increase in the number of cyberattacks on the Union and on its Member States. These attacks are becoming more frequent and are having a growing impact in our daily lives. We have seen very recent examples of the significant impact of these attacks on critical services for our society and on the functioning of important public and private entities such as our healthcare services during the COVID-19 pandemic.

We must increase our resilience and improve our cybersecurity, which is of utmost importance for ensuring proper functioning of our society, of our democracies, of our economies. This was also called for by the European Council in June 2019 and reiterated this February. I therefore welcome the new EU cybersecurity strategy for the Digital Decade, which the Commission and the High Representative presented at the end of last year. It shows ambition, with a comprehensive set of measures such as legislative proposals, investment and policy instruments, and it has a comprehensive view. The Commission and the High Representative will present a report on its implementation now on 23 June.

The recent Council conclusions on this cybersecurity strategy highlight a number of actions for the coming years related to digital and cybersecurity skills in the workforce, as well as the availability of financial instruments, in particular to support SMEs. We are also seeking to build on the EU's cyberdiplomacy efforts and increase the effectiveness of the EU cyberdiplomacy toolbox.

While much work has already been done, or is under way, much more still needs to be done. The new directive on measures for a high common level of cybersecurity, the so-called NIS2 Directive, will be an important cornerstone of our cybersecurity and, as co-legislators, I hope we can ensure a swift adoption. In the Council, we hope to be in a position to start negotiations by the end of this year.

I also look forward to the future legislative proposals on common rules on information security and common binding rules on cybersecurity for all EU institutions, bodies and agencies, which the Commission has announced and which are expected in October this year. In due time, the Commission will also present its concept on the Joint Cyber Unit, a platform that would help to better protect the EU from the most serious cyberattacks. We also need to enhance cooperation and information-sharing amongst the various cybercommunities within the EU and explore how we can better link the various existing initiatives, structures and procedures.

The EU institutions are taking steps to reinforce their security culture and resilience, including by improving their assessment of security threats to the institutions, and promoting security awareness amongst the EU staff. The EU institutions, bodies and agencies are also actively working on securing their communication and information systems.

Cybersecurity is undoubtedly one of the biggest challenges for the years to come. It will require adapted, coordinated and innovative responses in all Member States and in all of our institutions. The number, magnitude, sophistication, frequency and impact of cybersecurity incidents are increasing every day and generating financial losses, undermining our citizens' confidence and causing major damage in the Union economy and society. Our cybersecurity preparedness and resilience are therefore now more essential than ever. We need to work on this together. Thank you very much for your attention.

**Johannes Hahn**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, cybersecurity is a major global risk and cyber-enabled threats are becoming increasingly widespread, impactful and pervasive. The Commission welcomes the much stronger focus on cyber resilience.

As announced in the cybersecurity strategy of last December, the Commission will consider a comprehensive approach to address the growing importance of the internet of secure things, in coherence with Union law such as product safety. It could include new horizontal rules for all connected products and associated services placed on the internal market. In addition, the Network Code and the Initiative on the Protection of Critical Energy Infrastructure could address the residual physical and cyber risks affecting energy systems.

The Commission, with the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA), is working on such cybersecurity certification schemes, which could become mandatory for essential and important entities under the recent proposal for a network and information system, the so-called NIS 2. This certification scheme could also be instrumental in enhancing the strategic autonomy of our cybersecurity supply chain. Being a directive, NIS 2 only applies to Member States, but the EU institutions are also an important target and attacks are growing dramatically in both number and in sophistication. The COVID-19 pandemic and the shift to teleworking has only exacerbated the situation. The cyber maturity varies a lot amongst institutions, bodies and agencies, but since our systems are all interlinked, the weakest link poses a large risk to all of us.

We are therefore preparing a proposal for a regulation on cybersecurity for the EU institutions, bodies and agencies, which is expected for October this year. Here we will set out a common framework for cyber standards, a joint governance structure, and we will reinforce the mandate and financing of CERT-EU, the computer emergency response team of the Union institutions, bodies and agencies.

The strategic importance of the internet is yet another issue highlighted by the COVID-19 crisis. The Commission is fully committed to increasing the security and resilience of the open internet. It's a task that cannot be handled by a single organisation alone. Our cybersecurity strategy sets out several key actions in this regard. We aim at reinforcing the security of internet critical infrastructure, in particular the global domain name system, the root server system. We will also be collaborating with ENISA, Member States, EU DNS root server operators and the multi-stakeholder community in preparing contingency plans for extreme scenarios that could affect the integrity and availability of the internet, without forgetting that the developed internet standards and good practices will be promoted in partner countries as well.

We will consider the need for a mechanism for more systematic monitoring and gathering of aggregated data on internet traffic and for advising on potential disruptions, and join international partners to improve coordination to address and respond to intentional disrupting attempts. Furthermore, the secure connectivity flagship announced in the action plan on synergies between civil defence and space industries aims to provide a space-based backbone. This will ensure resilient and autonomous access for EU users in case something happens to ground-based connectivity infrastructures.

Finally, let me renew the Commission's strong support for the multi-stakeholder model for internet governance. We will be promoting this model and we will oppose any attempt to establish top-down control of the global internet.

**Cristian-Silviu Buşoi**, *author*. – Madam President, the digital transformation is a key strategic priority of the Union. Cybersecurity means safety and security for any interconnected device, service or phone, be they smart devices or smart washing machines, smart home systems, or online payment services, the online services that governments puts at citizens' disposal, and even the European Parliament's system and website, as well as the cars we drive, or metros and railways. Everything is interconnected and interoperable and could be hacked.

Technological progress, new technologies and the internet of things potentially mean hundreds more devices going online and being interconnected in the near future, with cyber threats then having the ability to endanger on a greater scale and with a greater impact. Moreover, the COVID-19 crisis has again exposed the cyber vulnerabilities of some critical sectors, particularly healthcare.

The associated measures of teleworking and social distancing have increased our dependency on digital technologies and connectivity, while cyberattacks and cybercrime – including espionage and sabotage, as well as malicious and unlawful ways of entering and manipulating ICT systems, structures and networks – are increasing in number and sophistication across Europe.

To address these challenges we need resilience. We need to become less vulnerable to attack and, in the case of a threat or even an attack, we need a quick response mechanism. The EU looks more determined to fight these challenges. Securing network and information systems in the European Union is essential to keeping the online economy running, safeguarding the competitiveness of our industry, and ensuring privacy and prosperity for our citizens, securing their data privacy as well.

The European Union is working on a number of fronts to promote cyber resilience. We welcome the initiatives announced in the EU's cybersecurity strategy for the digital decade, but also note the evolution in the nature and sophistication of cyber threats, the risk of fragmented regulation and opportunity to strengthen our industry. We would therefore call on the Commission to promote the development of secure and reliable network and information systems, infrastructure and connectivity across the Union with a framework laying down horizontal cybersecurity requirements that would also aim to harmonise national measures and avoid fragmentation of the single market.

Therefore, it is essential to further assess the need to propose measures at Union level introducing cybersecurity requirements for applications, software, embedded software and operating systems by 2023, building upon the EU acquis on risk management requirements.

Digitalisation should happen with cybersecurity embedded, and for this, we need to further invest in innovation as well. The new European Cybersecurity, Industrial Technology and Research Competence Centre, based in Bucharest, will aim to retain and develop the cybersecurity, technological and industrial capacities necessary to secure the Union digital single market and will be of paramount importance for creating an interconnected Europe-wide cybersecurity, industrial and research ecosystem. Therefore, the Centre needs to start its activity as soon as possible.

We would welcome on behalf of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE Committee) concrete answers from the Commission to the following questions:

How and when does it intend to draw up a regulatory framework for ensuring that connected products and associated services, including supply chains, are secure by design, resilient to cyber incidents, and can be quickly patched up when vulnerabilities are discovered?

Does the Commission plan to tackle the need to introduce cybersecurity requirements for applications, software, embedded software and operating systems?

What concrete steps will the Commission take to strengthen the EU's strategic autonomy in cybersecurity, namely by reducing its technological dependence and skills gap?

How is the Commission planning to ensure that EU funds are spent in a synergetic way to achieve these goals?

And finally, what actions will the Commission take in order to improve the cybersecurity of the core of the Internet while keeping it free, open and neutral?

**Pilar del Castillo Vera**, *en nombre del Grupo PPE*. – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, desde la primera Directiva sobre ciberseguridad en el año 2016 Europa está desarrollando una política consistente, basada en reforzar nuestra capacidad para prevenir y responder a los ciberataques.

Tengo que decir que la Unión Europea está demostrando un importante valor añadido, contribuyendo a la coordinación de las respuestas a amenazas cibernéticas, invirtiendo en investigación e impulsando el desarrollo de una industria europea de ciberseguridad. Pero es necesario dar un paso más. Es necesario acelerar.

Nos hallamos, en estos momentos ya, en una economía de datos que solo puede prosperar si se garantiza la confianza en los productos y las aplicaciones. Se estima que para el año 2024 habrá más de 23 000 millones de dispositivos conectados en todo el mundo. Por otro lado, Europa cuenta con un importante sector industrial globalmente competitivo y el creciente desarrollo de la internet de las cosas abre una nueva oportunidad para reforzar esa capacidad.

Para ello, es necesario garantizar que la infraestructura y los productos conectados a internet sean seguros a partir del propio diseño, sean resistentes a los incidentes cibernéticos y se reparen rápidamente cuando se descubran vulnerabilidades. Estamos hoy debatiendo una Resolución que es una magnífica contribución de este Parlamento a la hoja de ruta de la ciberseguridad europea.

**Maria-Manuel Leitão-Marques**, *em nome do Grupo S&D*. – Senhora Presidente, informação recente mostra que os ataques que fazem aos sistemas de informação reféns, e exigem resgates aos donos, aumentaram de 150% em 2020 e o valor do resgate duplicou.

A migração crescente das nossas vidas para a esfera *online* e o aumento dos produtos em rede, o armazenamento de muitos dados e a sua utilização, tornaram por demais evidente a importância da cibersegurança. A estratégia europeia de cibersegurança para a década é um contributo fundamental para manter a União segura na era digital.

Precisamos de regras apertadas para as infraestruturas críticas, como os hospitais. Precisamos de acelerar a formação de especialistas, faltavam-nos 219.000 em 2019. Precisamos de investir na literacia digital e também precisamos de combater a desigualdade de género na cibersegurança.

É preciso incentivar a criação de um verdadeiro espaço europeu de cibersegurança, com partilha de informação e respostas comuns. Tal como a segurança *offline*, a cibersegurança é um pilar central para que os cidadãos confiem.

**Christophe Grudler**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, il y a quatre jours, une entreprise familiale en Vendée était victime d'une cyberattaque. 650 employés ont dû rester chez eux, car leurs outils de travail ne fonctionnaient plus. Le 14 mai, le système de santé irlandais était affecté par un rançongiciel empêchant de nombreux patients de recevoir des traitements. Le 9 décembre, l'Agence européenne des médicaments était attaquée. Je pourrais citer des dizaines d'autres exemples.

L'Europe fait bien face à une montée de cyberattaques, et cette marée ne fait que monter à mesure que la numérisation progresse. L'Union doit réagir plus fortement face à ces menaces numériques, qui n'affectent pas seulement le monde numérique, mais aussi la vie concrète des entreprises et de nos concitoyens. Nous avons rédigé cette résolution, qui insiste sur plusieurs points.

Premièrement, il faut plus de coopération face aux cyberattaques, que cela soit entre États membres ou avec les entreprises. Les informations doivent mieux circuler.

Deuxièmement, nous avons besoin de nouvelles réglementations européennes. Produits connectés ou logiciels, de nouvelles règles sont nécessaires pour sécuriser nos outils numériques.

Et enfin, troisièmement, il faut développer une culture de la cybersécurité. Chaque institution, chaque entreprise, chaque citoyen doit prendre conscience des risques qui existent sur le numérique et s'y préparer, car une fois que la cyberattaque est arrivée, il est déjà trop tard.

**Rasmus Andresen**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Angriffe auf den irischen Gesundheitsdienst, die Volksbanken oder das Europäische Parlament: Wenn autoritäre Regime oder Kriminelle unsere europäischen Institutionen oder Firmen angreifen, geschieht dies immer öfter online. Cybersicherheit ist eine der größten Herausforderungen, die wir sicherheitspolitisch haben. Und die Wahrheit ist: Wir sind zu schlecht darauf vorbereitet. Cybersicherheit wird von der Bevölkerung, von Unternehmerinnen und Unternehmern und vielen Politikerinnen und Politikern unterschätzt. Über eine Billion Euro Schaden für die Weltwirtschaft haben Cyberattacken allein 2019 verursacht. Die Folgen für unsere Demokratie sind gravierend.

Für uns Grüne kommt es in der Debatte auf drei Punkte an. Erstens: Wir brauchen eine bessere Koordinierung zwischen Mitgliedstaaten und der EU. Wir kritisieren scharf, dass einige Mitgliedstaaten aus ideologischen Gründen nicht bereit sind, der EU ausreichend Kompetenzen zu geben. Mit nationalistischem Klein-Klein werden wir gegen Cyberattacken keine Chance haben.

Zweitens: Starker Datenschutz verhindert Sicherheitslücken, und offene Standards reduzieren Anbieterabhängigkeiten. Und Drittens: Wir müssen unsere Gesetzgebung ausdehnen und schneller werden. Die Technologie ist schneller als die Politik. Wir brauchen Gesetzgebung für Smart Technologies und einheitliche Standards für kritische Infrastruktur wie Gesundheit oder unser Bildungssystem.

Daran arbeiten wir gemeinsam erfolgreich im Parlament. Es wird Zeit, dass die Mitgliedstaaten aufwachen und uns dabei unterstützen.

**Alessandra Basso**, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Albert Einstein diceva: «I computer sono incredibilmente veloci, accurati e stupidi. Gli uomini sono incredibilmente lenti, inaccurati e intelligenti. E l'insieme dei due costituisce una forza incalcolabile.»

Una cosa è certa: i computer governano le nostre vite e ci sono uomini intelligenti ma criminali che utilizzano macchine stupide per attentare alla nostra sicurezza. Le cronache riportano gli attacchi informatici che, colpendo infrastrutture logistiche industriali, hanno rischiato di mettere in ginocchio intere nazioni.

Un recente studio ci dice che il 2020 è stato un anno disastroso per la cybersicurezza. Ogni ora si verificano tra i 5 000 e i 10 000 attacchi informatici. Va fatta una riflessione sull'importanza di proteggere il nostro spazio informatico ancora largamente dominato da *players* non europei.

La strategia dell'Unione europea in materia di cybersicurezza deve basarsi su alcuni punti fondamentali, come lo sviluppo di sistemi avanzati di elaborazione situati nel territorio dell'Unione, su una gestione interna dei dati sensibili e su un'analisi dei flussi di dati diretti all'estero da dispositivi importati nell'Unione. Ci impegneremo a migliorare le proposte della Commissione in questo campo, avendo sempre come guida la tutela delle imprese e dei cittadini dei paesi dell'Unione, della loro libertà e della loro sicurezza.

**Izabela-Helena Kloc**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Sponsorowani przez wrogie rządy hakerzy zdalnie atakują europejskie szpitale, elektrownie atomowe, instytucje publiczne, a także osoby publiczne. To nie jest science fiction, to powoli staje się rzeczywistością. Na geopolitycznej arenie pojawił się nowy front, kolejny front – cyberprzestrzeń.

Oto jeden tylko przykład z tego tygodnia: Wczoraj nastąpił atak hakerski na skrzynkę mailową i konta w serwisach społecznościowych szefa kancelarii premiera Polski. Jednocześnie konto jego żony zostało wykorzystane do opublikowania fałszywego oświadczenia sugerującego ingerencję Polski w wewnętrzne sprawy Białorusi. Jest to klasyczna dezinformacja i nie ulega wątpliwości, że ma to związek z faktem, że osoba ta, Michał Dworczyk, od wielu lat aktywnie wspiera przemiany demokratyczne na terenie byłego Związku Radzieckiego. Co więcej, przez wiele lat miał zakaz wjazdu na teren Białorusi i Rosji.

Im bardziej jesteśmy uzależnieni od internetowych technologii, tym bardziej stajemy się bezbronni. Rosja, Chiny czy Iran doskonale to rozumieją, a ich ataki na nasze obiekty stwarzają coraz większe zagrożenie dla naszego życia i zdrowia. Nie możemy pozostać bierni. Na cybernetycznym froncie państwa Unii Europejskiej muszą wykazać jedność i energicznie współpracować.

**Marisa Matias**, em nome do Grupo *The Left*. – Senhora Presidente, com a crise pandémica a nossa exposição aos ciberaques aumentou exponencialmente e, em alguns casos, esse aumento está reportado em 150%. Mas não podemos apenas deter-nos às Instituições Europeias ou às grandes empresas. Devemos pensar também nas pequenas e médias empresas e nos trabalhadores e trabalhadoras que, muitas vezes, não têm sequer as ferramentas para identificar esses mesmos ataques.

Numa altura em que a transição digital está no centro da nossa agenda política e que é uma parte substancial dos fundos de recuperação e resiliência em cada um dos países, apelamos para que as medidas tomadas não reforcem as desigualdades já existentes e para que a transição digital chegue a toda a gente. Para isso é importante, também, garantir que os dados pessoais são protegidos, sempre, e não podem ser usados como um efeito colateral. E é também, ainda, importante garantir a neutralidade e o acesso aberto a todos os mecanismos que possam estar disponíveis no quadro da integração digital.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI)**. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Commissario, gentile Segretaria di Stato, dalla nostra resilienza agli attacchi informatici, dalla capacità di reazione ad essi e dagli strumenti di deterrenza dei quali ci doteremo non dipenderà solo il corretto funzionamento di tutte quelle attività che si svolgono ormai interamente nel mondo digitale, ma anche e soprattutto la capacità dell'Unione di elevarsi al ruolo di attore geopolitico di primo piano.

La linea di demarcazione tra sicurezza interna ed esterna dell'Unione si sta erodendo in tutti i domini, e in quello digitale, in realtà, queste due dimensioni si sovrappongono in maniera pressoché totale. Poter contare su livelli elevati di sicurezza cibernetica s'impone come un diktat strategico.

A oggi abbiamo compiuto enormi passi ma serve fare di più. Oltre a metterci al riparo da attacchi esterni dovremmo ancora una volta farci campione di un mondo libero, sicuro e basato sul rispetto di norme, spingendo per l'installazione di regolamenti vincolanti in ottica multilaterale e utilizzando appieno gli strumenti di *cyber diplomacy* del nostro arsenale. Da settant'anni l'Unione europea è sinonimo di libertà e sicurezza. Per i prossimi settant'anni dovrà essere il nostro obiettivo quello di espandere tale assunto anche al mondo digitale.

**Riho Terras (PPE)**. – Lugupeetud istungi juhataja, head kolleegid! Ma pean väga õigeks arutada küberjulgeoleku küsimusi ka parlamendi täiskogu istungil. Olen veendunud, et küberrünnakute all kannatab nii Euroopas kui maailmas laiemalt palju rohkem inimesi ja ettevõtteid, kui me endale ette kujutada oskame. Viimase paari aasta jooksul on avalikkuse ette toodud mitmed laiaulatuslikud rünnakud, mis on olnud suunatud suurte IT-ettevõtete või kriitilise tähtsusega taristu vastu. Me teame, et küberrünnakute omistamine on keeruline ja rünnaku toimepanija tuvastamine võib väga pikalt aega võtta. Samas on selge, et mitme suuremahulise rünnaku taga, nagu SolarWinds või Microsoft Exchange, näeme autoritaarsete režiimide Venemaa ja Hiina tegevust. Üha rohkem leiab aset lunavara rünnakuid, mis puudutavad üksikisikuid, väikese ja keskmise suurusega ettevõtteid, aga ka börsiettevõtteid. Kurjategijate *modus operandi* on muutunud lihvitudumaks, näiteks ligipääs suurte börsiettevõtete arvutisüsteemidele võimaldab manipuleerida ja ähvardada väga masstaapsete ettevõtete tegevust. Olen seda meelt, et Euroopa Liit peab tugevdama just liikmesriikide vahelist koostööd küberjulgeoleku tagamisel. Meil on kohustus kaitsta oma ettevõtteid ja oma kodanikke.

**Łukasz Kohut (S&D)**. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Żyjemy w czasach czarnego lustra, czarnego zdraństwa, cyberataków i dezinformacji. Jak się przed tym bronić? Niezależnie od zabezpieczeń na końcu każdego łańcucha bezpieczeństwa jest człowiek, to często jego najsłabsze ogniwo. Wczorajsze włamanie do prywatnej skrzynki szefa kancelarii polskiego premiera. Wykradzione dokumenty służbowe są chwilę później na popularnym na Wschodzie komunikatorze Telegram. Dotyczą imigrantów z Białorusi. Jeżeli urzędnik miał takie dokumenty na swoim prywatnym mailu, to zabezpieczenia sieci są drugorzędne. Taki mamy klimat. Sieć kształtuje świat realny. Jeden tweet Muska i kurs bitcoina drastycznie spada. Fabryki trolli i ordynarna antyeuropejska propaganda mediów narodowych napędzają hejt na projekt europejski. Cyberataki na wolność myśli i prawo do informacji nie są spektakularne. Cyberpropaganda syczy się powoli, ale czy jest mniej niebezpieczna? Od odpowiedzi na to pytanie zależy nasza wolność.

**Bart Groothuis (Renew).** – Madam President, at a time when worldwide ransomware incidents have, according to the FBI, tripled over the past year, making tens of millions of victims on this continent – just look at the Emotet hackers that have been apprehended – and at a time when ransomware gangs are increasingly going after critical infrastructure – look at Ireland – and also at a time when ransomware criminals are beginning to match the skills, technology and capabilities of state hackers, this Parliament is working on the best cybersecurity legislation this continent has ever seen, and it will be very ambitious.

But as we are debating the most effective measures against ransomware, technically the most effective measure is also the most cynical. Probably, we should all attach a Russian keyboard to our computers. I'm deadly serious. Close reading of malware reports, which is my night-time hobby, shows that oftentimes the malware first checks whether a Russian keyboard is present, and then it decides whether to penetrate and hack the rest of the network. This is the technical affirmation of that which police forces have been telling us: many gangs operate under the tacit approval of the Russian state, as long as they don't attack Russian citizens.

And the political conclusion must be that ransomware is not just a technical problem solved by the Directive on Security of Network and Information Systems (NIS 2 Directive); it is also a foreign policy problem. We have to hold Russia accountable for offering safe havens to ransomware criminals, which is totally unacceptable.

In the end, I argue that cybersecurity should be a *Chefsache*. And I urge the Commission and Council that this safe haven problem should be a *Chefsache* for them as well.

**Ciarán Cuffe (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, I listened carefully to the previous speaker's comments, and it may well be that some nation states are complicit in the attack on our citizens by cybercriminals. These attacks are a plague on society. We've seen more of them in recent months, and I have no doubt that this will continue.

We've seen patients blackmailed for their medical information in Finland, hospital IT systems in France attacked, and in my own home country of Ireland, the Irish health system was reduced to a 1970s level of functioning by ransomware attacks in recent weeks. So I welcome the Commission's strategy on cybersecurity, but we do need laws that match the rapid pace at which the digital world is developing, and Member States do need to coordinate their cybersecurity plans and responses. We need to protect our power grids, our water, our wastewater systems from cyberattacks.

We've seen the US gas pipeline cyberattack. So we need to take this seriously. We need joined-up thinking. There are physical threats, there are political threats and there are now cyberthreats. We need to treat them with the urgency that they deserve.

**Jean-Lin Lacapelle (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, pour certains intervenants, ce débat sur la cybersécurité sert visiblement de prétexte à d'énormes attaques idéologiques à l'encontre de la Russie.

Or, ce sujet sérieux mérite une réflexion plus large et plus juste. Vous dénoncez la menace que représentent pour l'Europe les opérations de piratage menées contre nos institutions, car il est vrai que l'Europe est sensible et vulnérable à ces attaques. Vous évoquez leur origine russe potentielle, mais vous vous murez dans un silence absolu quand les agences d'espionnage des États-Unis mettent sur écoute les dirigeants européens. Silence également lorsque les services de renseignement français collaborent avec la société américaine Palantir, proche de la NSA, donnant ainsi aux Américains un pied dans notre souveraineté la plus confidentielle. Silence toujours lorsque le géant chinois Huawei, derrière lequel se profile le Parti communiste chinois, investit toute l'Europe en déployant ses réseaux 5G. N'oublions pas la leçon du vice-amiral français Arnaud Coustillière, qui déclarait devant le Sénat que tous nos matériels informatiques, du petit logiciel jusqu'à la puce électronique, nous exposaient aux infiltrations étrangères.

Depuis la révélation par Edward Snowden de l'espionnage américain en Europe, l'Union européenne a beaucoup parlé, mais a bien peu agi. Nous aurions dû et devons favoriser le développement de filières européennes dans l'industrie du numérique. Cela doit passer par un financement préférentiel de nos capacités de formation technologique, d'approvisionnement en matériaux, de création de logiciels et de matériels d'assemblage et d'équipements. Ici comme ailleurs, la souveraineté doit rester le maître mot de notre action politique.

**Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! To jest wojna, bo cyberataki to współczesna wojna. I tak naprawdę nie chodzi tutaj o pojedynczych hakerów, którzy włamują się na konta bankowe, ale o zatrudniane przez całe państwa armie sówicie opłacanych hakerów, którzy destabilizują nasz świat – świat Zachodu. Mam tutaj spis, mogę czytać. Co kilka tygodni tak naprawdę dochodzi do ataków na instytucje państwowe naszych państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej, ale także do ataków poza Unią Europejską, a zwłaszcza w tych krajach, które kandydują do przyszłego członkostwa w naszych strukturach.

Tak, to jest wojna. Myślę, że trzeba robić wszystko, aby w tej wojnie być solidarnym, żeby również w tej wojnie być solidarnym ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi, i żeby w tej wojnie jeden był za wszystkich i wszyscy za jednego.

**Lars Patrick Berg (NI).** – (*Beginn des Redebeitrags bei ausgeschaltetem Mikro*) ... in den USA, die die Pipeline-Branche und auch die fleischverarbeitende Industrie zur Zielscheibe hatten, veranschaulichen die Anfälligkeit hochgradig vernetzter Gesellschaften gegenüber Cyberkriminalität.

Mir ist bewusst, dass die Gespräche innerhalb der Vereinten Nationen voranschreiten, wenn auch langsam – zu langsam. Und der Vorschlag für eine Genfer Digitalkonvention der UNO liegt auf dem Tisch. Wenn man dies nur gutheißen kann, ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass diese Gespräche mit dem Tempo der aggressiven Bedrohungen Schritt halten können.

Ich begrüße deshalb den Vorstoß, die Mitgliedstaaten resilienter gegenüber solchen Angriffen zu machen. Ein engerer Zusammenhalt der Mitgliedstaaten ist erforderlich, eine bessere, eine schnellere Abstimmung, um diesem auch teilweise staatlich geförderten Cyberterrorismus erfolgreich die Stirn zu bieten.

Wir müssen jedoch die richtige Balance zwischen Sicherheit und Freiheit im Internet finden, da es totalitären Regimes ein Leichtes wäre, den Zugang zum Internet im Namen der Sicherheit einzuschränken.

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – Madam President, the pandemic has accelerated the shift towards digitalisation, which has now become integrated in virtually every aspect of personal and working lives. This comes with a significant rise in cybercrime as criminals take advantage of the massive shift towards remote work.

A few weeks ago, Ireland's healthcare system suffered the biggest cyberattack in the history of our state, which affected most of the country's health services, including coronavirus testing, maternal care services, cancer care, COVID-19 tracking and routine referrals for secondary care.

Cyberattacks on healthcare systems have risen significantly since the pandemic began last year, with criminals taking over servers, stealing personal data and then charging money to allow officials to get it back. The callousness of such attacks during a pandemic, where many people have sadly lost their lives, is beyond reproach. We must be aware that cyberthreats are rapidly evolving in nature and sophistication.

The EU and all Member States need a digital security architecture that defends us robustly against cyberattacks. This will be central to ensuring security in the digital world and to protecting the health and well-being of citizens.

The attack on the Irish health system should stand as a stark warning, for ransomware operators are becoming more effective at targeting larger and larger organisations. We need a strong European-level approach and cybersecurity policy to combat this new form of advanced criminality.

**Цветелина Пенкова (S&D).** – Г-жо Президент, г-н Комисар, кризата, предизвикана от COVID-19, ни показа, че е необходимо да засилим мерките и в областта на киберсигурността, както на европейско, така и на национално ниво. През април бяхме свидетели на кибератаки срещу европейските институции. Само преди две години в България се случи най-мощната кибератака над национална институция и данните на над 5 милиона европейски граждани бяха направени публични.



В тази резолюция искаме да подчертаем, че киберсигурността трябва да бъде основополагаща в процеса на цифровизация. Тя трябва да бъде вградена във всеки един технологически процес на настоящето и бъдещето. Ключов е и човешкият фактор. Подготвянето на кадри в областта на киберсигурността трябва да бъде приоритет на всяко едно правителство.

И не на последно място, държавите членки не могат да разчитат само на европейско сътрудничество за борба с киберпрестъпленията. Те трябва да развият собствени стратегии за превенция и устойчивост и да носят отговорност при неспазването на мерките.

**Billy Kelleher (Renew).** – Madam President, 27 days ago, there was a massive cyberattack on the health service in Ireland. This was not a malicious attack by some few individuals, but it was done with the tacit approval of Russia. And let us be very clear as well, it was not just an attack on some abstract computer system. This was an attack on citizens, an attack on European citizens. Healthcare had to be cancelled in many cases. It could have even cost lives in terms of delayed diagnostics or cancellations of operations.

So this is a significant issue that has to be addressed. And we do need to ensure that it is coordinated at European level. I do welcome the fact that there is a cybersecurity strategy, but we have to ensure that there are additional resources by Member States and by the Commission itself to ensure that we can coordinate and hold rogue elements in countries outside of the European Union to account if they continue to facilitate the undermining of institutions, of facilities, of services in the European Union. And those countries must be held to account. And I include Russia in that.

**Christine Anderson (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin! Vielen Dank an den Kollegen Buşoi für die Fragen an die Europäische Kommission zum Thema Cybersicherheit. Die offensichtlichste Bedrohung durch Spionage und Sabotage auf IT-Infrastrukturen durch die USA und China – nicht selten auf Veranlassung staatlicher Stellen – geht die EU nicht entschlossen an, sondern setzt hier weiter auf einen Kuschelkurs und macht sich allein dadurch schon unglaublich.

Die Fragen sind aber berechtigt und zeigen auf, dass bei den Themen Cybersicherheit und somit auch Digitalisierung noch immer deutliche und nicht nachvollziehbare Defizite bestehen. Es wird in den Vorworten richtig angemerkt, dass Cybersicherheit als elementare Voraussetzung doch bereits vollumfänglich implementiert sein muss, bevor digitale Infrastruktur vollumfänglich genutzt werden kann.

Während vor Jahren für die deutsche Bundeskanzlerin Merkel das Internet immerhin schon Neuland war – das setzt ja zumindest mal voraus, dass man es entdeckt hat –, war es für die EU offenbar noch nicht einmal das. Sie hatten es sehr lange gar nicht auf dem Schirm.

Bei völlig belanglosen Themen wie zum Beispiel dem Anbau von genmanipuliertem Mais in Indonesien ist die EU natürlich ganz vorne mit dabei. Sobald es aber um wirklich wichtige und bedeutsame Themen geht, ist die EU lange inaktiv, um dann hektisch zu reagieren. Aber Proaktivität wäre hier gerade nötig, um von den USA und China in Sachen Forschung und Entwicklung nicht abgehängt zu werden. Und genau das ist aber nun für jeden ersichtlich eingetreten.

Der Bürokratieapparat EU wird diesen Rückstand auch nicht mehr aufzuholen imstande sein. Dies wird insbesondere deshalb nicht gelingen, weil anstelle des Vorantreibens von Forschung und Entwicklung der Digitalisierung sich die EU lieber auf ideologisch motivierten, aber völlig irrelevanten Nebenkriegsschauplätzen wie *Gender Equality*, *Gender Budgeting* und *CO<sub>2</sub>-Neutralität* austobt. Wobei hier die Faustformel gilt: ...

*(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)*

**Ivan Štefanec (PPE).** – Pani predsedajúca, v Európskej únii musíme byť pripravení výrazne posilniť bezpečnosť internetu a iných kritických sietí a informačných systémov. Ako môžeme vidieť na aktuálnych prípadoch vo svete, útoky na naše dáta budú čoraz sofistikovanejšie a dopady nebezpečnejšie.

Nedostatočná systematická ochrana môže ohroziť nielen fungovanie jednotného trhu, ale aj bezpečnosť či životy našich obyvateľov.

Do roku 2024 bude na celom svete na internet napojených viac než 22 miliárd zariadení. Víтам a oceňujem preto rozhodnutie Rady z apríla tohto roku, v ktorom schválila zriadenie centra kompetencií v oblasti kybernetickej bezpečnosti.

Je dôležité, aby sme danú oblasť rozvíjali a aby Európska komisia predstavila ďalšie návrhy, ktoré doplnia akt o kybernetickej bezpečnosti z roku 2019.

Kybernetická bezpečnosť je kľúčom pre budovanie odolnejšej, environmentálne prijateľnejšej a digitálnej Európy.

Dôležité je dosiahnuť nielen strategickú autonómiu v tejto oblasti, ale aj zároveň zachovať otvorené hospodárstvo.

Musíme preto posilniť svoju schopnosť prijímať autonómne rozhodnutia, ktoré sa týkajú kybernetickej bezpečnosti, aby sme si udržali naše postavenie v digitálnej oblasti.

No a na záver, dovoľte mi tiež zdôrazniť aj moju osobnú prioritu, ktorou je ochrana detí na internete, a verím, že Európska komisia dodrží termín a predstaví aj v tejto oblasti plánovanú legislatívu s cieľom dlhodobého riešenia v tejto oblasti.

**Nicolás González Casares (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, una de las repercusiones de esta pandemia es el papel absolutamente crucial de las redes de telecomunicaciones. Si hemos seguido funcionando, si hemos sido capaces de mantener un mínimo de vida, ha sido gracias a estas redes que sustentan la conectividad. Son cruciales ahora y van a seguir siéndolo en el futuro con el desarrollo de la 5G y la internet de las cosas.

Por lo tanto, cualquier atisbo de duda va a facilitar que se entrometan en nuestra vida los ciberataques, como lo estamos viendo cada día en las redes de telecomunicaciones, en redes industriales, en redes de distribución de energía, incluso en el coche autónomo, en nuestros transportes.

Por lo tanto, la Unión debe seguir avanzando para blindarse frente a los ciberataques, y debe hacerlo con sus propias capacidades -de ahí el Centro Europeo de Competencia Industrial, Tecnológica y de Investigación en Ciberseguridad, que aprobamos durante el pasado Pleno- y extendiendo el nivel máximo de exigencia en ámbitos vitales, como se propone en la Directiva SRI 2. Debe hacerlo, además, para blindar nuestro propio sistema democrático frente a injerencias externas. No debemos permitir las.

**Salvatore De Meo (PPE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la nostra economia e la nostra vita quotidiana dipendono sempre più dalle tecnologie digitali e sono quindi a rischio di cyberattacchi. Tantissimi tentativi di intromissione nei sistemi di sicurezza delle nostre infrastrutture strategiche pubbliche e private, grandi e piccole, ed ognuno di noi è a rischio nell'utilizzo dei suoi dispositivi digitali.

La pandemia ha accelerato la transizione digitale, ma ha anche dimostrato le forti carenze in termini di sicurezza e competenze, per le quali è necessario investire per rendere la transizione sicura e garantire un rafforzamento globale dell'Unione europea. Purtroppo, tra le criticità emerse ci sono anche le ingerenze di paesi terzi che cercano di indebolire la nostra democrazia e la nostra economia. L'attacco informatico subito dalla Commissione europea è stato l'ennesimo campanello di allarme.

Esprimo apprezzamento per la recente iniziativa del Consiglio di affiancare alla Agenzia europea per la cybersicurezza anche un nuovo centro di ricerca con competenze specifiche, e condivido la decisione presa il mese scorso di sanzionare gli hacker sponsorizzati dalla Cina e da paesi ostili. L'Europa deve rafforzare le sue difese digitali per salvaguardare la sua indipendenza democratica e difendere le sue strutture strategiche.

**Иво Христов (S&D).** – Г-жо Председател, нарастващият брой и сложност на кибератаките от началото на пандемията показва неотложната нужда Европа да постигне високо ниво на киберсигурност. Болниците, научноизследователските центрове и националните администрации се оказваха предпочитаната мишена на хакерите. Притеснително е, че през последните две години редица държави и европейски органи станаха обект на хакерски атаки, с което бе компрометирана защитата на личните данни на милиони европейски граждани. За съжаление и моите сънародници в България също пострадаха от безпрецедентна кибератака срещу Националната агенция по приходите и срива на търговския регистър. Неотдавна системата за електронно записване за час за ваксиниране също се срива вследствие на хакерска атака.

Новата стратегия на Европейския съюз за киберсигурност следва да заложи на три принципа. Първият е укрепването на устойчивостта на критичната инфраструктура, вторият е осигуряването на стратегическата автономност на Съюза чрез намаляването на технологичната зависимост от външни партньори, третият е преодоляването на недостига на умения сред гражданите. Това е задължително предусловие за прекриването в света на дигитализирани услуги, които не бива да маргинализира по-възрастните и ниско образованите.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, europske institucije i države članice trpe snažne, koordinirane i kontinuirane kibernetičke napade. Jučer su pak poteškoće u radu imale i velike medijske platforme te popularni internetni alati uzrokujući neugodnosti tisućama korisnika diljem svijeta.

To nas još jednom podsjeća koliko smo ranjivi i koliko je ranjiva naša infrastruktura, što može biti kobno. Moderna tehnologija korisna nam je jedino ako je sigurna i ako je pouzdana, a to je nemoguće bez značajnijih investicija u kibernetičku sigurnost.

Danas više nego ikada ranije pitanje nacionalne i europske sigurnosti i suverenosti ujedno je i neodvojivo i pitanje sigurnosti računalnih procesa.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhora representante da Presidência, a resposta europeia às ameaças de cibersegurança é um desafio de soberania, de sobrevivência, de capacitação tecnológica e de organização económica e social, para enfrentar com sucesso os desafios da próxima década. Exige que a resposta sistémica, prevista na estratégia europeia, se concretize, desde já, com eficácia e cooperação.

Combatendo a fragmentação regulatória e processual e definindo legislação horizontal. Encorajando a partilha de informação entre os Estados-Membros. Promovendo a ciberliteracia em todos os patamares da sociedade. Reduzindo a dependência tecnológica da União e usando os novos programas de apoio à inovação e ao desenvolvimento, para garantir a autonomia estratégica europeia em toda a cadeia de valor e a liderança em segmentos críticos do mercado. Apoiando as PME para reforçarem a sua capacidade de proteção, desenvolvendo *standards* seguros de conectividade e interoperabilidade, acessíveis aos diferentes utilizadores. Finalmente, introduzindo critérios de proteção e segurança robustos na regulamentação dos serviços e dos mercados digitais.

É este o caminho que, com determinação, temos que percorrer juntos.

**Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, Agence européenne des médicaments, centres de stockage des vaccins, hôpitaux, Autorité bancaire européenne, parlements nationaux ou régionaux, boîtes mail des campagnes électorales: la liste des cibles européennes des cyberattaques est longue, et ce n'est qu'un début.

Nous ne sommes pas en guerre, mais nous ne sommes plus vraiment en paix. Nous évoluons dans un entre-deux fluctuant, nébuleux et dangereux. Un état dit «de guerre hybride». Il est temps de saisir à quel point nous sommes vulnérables, temps de renforcer nos défenses et d'investir massivement dans la cybersécurité.

Chers collègues, nous ne sommes pas attaqués par des hackers isolés, mais par des régimes autoritaires hostiles qui considèrent la piraterie comme une stratégie politico-militaire efficace et peu coûteuse. Et comment leur donner tort? Jusqu'ici, le coût imposé aux régimes russes ou chinois pour leurs attaques est risible. Alors, réveillons-nous! Pour être dissuasif, il ne faut pas simplement sanctionner les hackers, il faut sanctionner les États qui sont derrière les hackers. Il en va de notre sécurité à tous.

**Johannes Hahn, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, the tactics, techniques and procedures employed by threat actors continue evolving in their attempt to avoid further detection and remediation efforts by our cyber defence. The pace at which these threat actors conduct cyberattacks is higher than ever, while their campaigns are increasingly sophisticated and automated, quickly exploiting vulnerabilities.

The Union's cybersecurity strategy stresses that technological sovereignty is key to building a more resilient Union. The Cybersecurity Industrial, Technology and Research Competence Centre will play a key role in delivering on the ambitious cybersecurity objectives of the Digital Europe and Horizon Europe programmes.

We call on the Member States to make these investments. The Recovery and Resilience Facility funding will also be crucial to reinforce the EU cybershield through enhanced detection and response capabilities, for instance in security operations centres and quantum computing infrastructure.

The funds could be used to increase the preparedness of sectors, and for skills and training and reinforcing research and development. The Digital Europe programme will also fund the design and delivery of specialised programmes and traineeships for future experts in cybersecurity.

With the European Defence Fund, the Commission will co-fund joint defence R&D projects, including in the areas of cybersecurity and cyber defence.

Lastly, the Commission, as part of its action plan on synergies between civil defence and space industries, will set up an EU observatory of critical technologies using its own resources. The proposal for a regulation on cybersecurity for the institutions in October 2021 will be the Commission's commitment to maintain high cyber standards also in the European institutions, bodies and agencies.

Your commitment is needed to maintain the ambition in the NIS 2 directive. This means keeping its scope. It means a commitment to an open but trustworthy core internet in Europe. It means confirming the legal obligation to making an agile response to incidents.

Our operational teams are ready to embrace a mandatory 24-hour notification of major incidents to the competent authorities in the EU institutions. In fact, they believe it's crucial to allow us to get an overview of the scope of an attack and coordinate.

So we should not ask Member States to be less ambitious. This is no time to lower our guard. We are deeply committed to keeping the ambition high, so I expect that we can count on you to do the same.

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *Presidente em exercício do Conselho*. – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, resulta claro deste debate que se a transformação digital em curso nos oferece enormes oportunidades, ela acarreta, ao mesmo tempo, enormes desafios, incluindo os da segurança cibernética.

Ouvimos como os incidentes de cibersegurança estão a aumentar em escala e sofisticação, como atestam os casos do SolarWinds, Microsoft Exchange Server, o ataque cibernético contra a Agência Europeia de Medicamentos ou o recente caso que visou o Sistema Nacional de Saúde da Irlanda.

Estamos confrontados com ameaças aos nossos processos democráticos, às nossas Instituições e às nossas empresas, que resultam em perdas financeiras muito significativas para vários setores. Estes incidentes visam explorar as vulnerabilidades dos nossos sistemas de informação e comunicação, o que torna a nossa preparação e resiliência em matéria de cibersegurança mais vital do que nunca.

É, por isso, fundamental que as Instituições Europeias e os Estados-Membros colaborem para melhorar a nossa resiliência. A estratégia de cibersegurança da União Europeia é, sem dúvida, um instrumento fundamental para manter a União segura na era digital. Mas todos sabemos que temos que ser vigilantes, porque as ameaças e a desinformação estão sempre um passo à nossa frente e os desafios tecnológicos são contínuos.

Muitas medidas foram já tomadas e aqui referidas neste debate, incluindo a recente regulamentação sobre a Agência Europeia para a Segurança das Redes e da Informação (ENISA) e o Centro de Competências Europeu em Cibersegurança. Mas temos que, em liberdade e em segurança, ser capazes de continuar a tomar as medidas adequadas e a utilizar os instrumentos financeiros necessários para reforçar a nossa capacidade nesta área.

Aguardamos, também, com expectativa, as novas propostas da Comissão sobre regras comuns em matéria de segurança e informação sobre a cibersegurança para todas as Instituições e organismos da União Europeia e contamos com o apoio do Parlamento Europeu para avançar, com celeridade, nas negociações sobre estas propostas, assim que forem apresentados os respetivos instrumentos pela Comissão.

É tempo de sermos ambiciosos. Muito obrigada. Agradeço uma vez mais a atenção que me dispensaram.

**President.** – The joint debate is closed.

The vote on the amendments will take place today, and the final vote will take place tomorrow, 10 June 2021.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Patryk Jaki (ECR), na piśmie.** – Niestety można odnieść wrażenie, że UE we współczesnym świecie jest bezbronna wobec cyberataków. Niestety brakuje nam skutecznych narzędzi do walki. Niestety brakuje nam solidarności europejskiej w tym względzie. Potrzebne jest współdziałanie i wymiana informacji. Mamy jednych z najlepszych informatyków na świecie, ale nie wykorzystujemy tego potencjału do ochrony. To jest w naszym wspólnym interesie, aby pilnie zacząć działać i nadrabiać ten stracony czas.

**Eva Maydell (PPE), in writing.** – Last year, as the world was brought to a halt by the Covid-19 pandemic, we witnessed a global shift to remote and hybrid work, forcing organisations to re-invent the way they operate, and to go digital practically overnight, with little to no preparation whatsoever. This was an excellent opportunity for cyber-criminals to take advantage, and there is almost not a single day that goes by without hearing about a cyber-attack. In the recent months, the cases such as Solar Winds, Colonial Pipeline, AXA in France, the Irish Health Executive Agency and the Department of Health, are clear proof that we are very vulnerable in the digital territory. Organised cyber-crime groups and foreign states attack our digital infrastructure, our businesses and institutions on an unprecedented scale. Normalising cyber incidents I believe is not the right path ahead of us.

We must have a clear and robust answer: A strong European cyber security and defence, investments in technological know-how for countering such attacks and high-level of cyber resilience through skilled professionals. The NIS2 and the CER have to be a priority, a constant instrument in our toolbox for a free, open and protected digital future of Europe.

**Edina Tóth (NI), írásban.** – A kiberfenyegetések jellege és összetettsége folyamatosan változik, így az Unió egyik kulcsfontosságú prioritását jelentő digitalizáció a kiberbiztonságon múlik. Üdvözlöm a digitális évtizedre vonatkozó uniós kiberbiztonsági stratégiáról szóló állásfoglalási indítványt, amely megfelelő intézkedéseket hoz a kibertér biztonságosabbá tétele érdekében. A cél az, hogy megerősödjön Európa kiberfenyegetésekkel szembeni ellenállóképessége, valamint hogy minden polgár és vállalkozás megbízható szolgáltatásokat és digitális eszközöket vehessen igénybe, és ezek előnyeit teljes mértékben ki tudja használni. Véleményem szerint az EU-nak ezért komoly erőfeszítéseket kell tennie annak érdekében, hogy megvédje magát a harmadik országokból érkező kibertámadásokkal szemben. Úgy gondolom, hogy a technológiai függőség csökkentése érdekében az Uniónak nagyobb stratégiai autonómiára van szüksége a kiberbiztonság terén. A pandémia megmutatta, hogy milyen sérülékeny Európa, ezért csökkentenie kell a függőségét a globális beszállítói láncoktól. Törekednünk kell az európai fejlesztések erősítésére a kritikus fontosságú infrastruktúrákban, s a védekező képesség megerősítésére, hiszen így válhat Európa egy biztonságos térséggé.

## 14. Skład komisji i delegacji: patrz protokół

## 15. Przepisy i ogólne warunki regulujące wykonywanie funkcji Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich (debata)

**President.** – The next item is the debate on the report by Paulo Rangel, on behalf of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, on a draft regulation of the European Parliament laying down the regulations and general conditions governing the performance of the Ombudsman's duties (Statute of the European Ombudsman) and repealing Decision 94/262/ECSC, EC, Euratom (2021/2053(INL)) (A9-0174/2021).

**Paulo Rangel, Relator.** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Secretária de Estado, Senhora Comissária, Senhora Provedora de Justiça, não há dúvida de que os europeus, os cidadãos europeus, esperam pela defesa intransigente dos seus direitos mesmo quando lidam com as Instituições Europeias. Fala-se muito na administração pública nacional e nos direitos e garantias dos administrados. Mas, existe hoje e, cada vez mais próxima dos cidadãos europeus, uma administração pública europeia que também tem capacidade não só de realizar os seus direitos, liberdades e garantias, mas também de agredir a sua esfera de direitos fundamentais. E, por isso mesmo, desde muito cedo, a União Europeia quis criar essa figura, que tem pergaminhos históricos nos países escandinavos, mas que se espalhou por quase todos os países europeus, que é a figura do Provedor de Justiça, a figura do *Ombudsman*.

E a verdade é que nós não fomos capazes, durante estes anos que correram até 2021, de adequar o Estatuto do Provedor de Justiça ao Tratado de Lisboa. E isto era, na verdade, um bloqueio muito importante, porque este Parlamento luta todos os dias pelos direitos dos cidadãos europeus, mas também luta todos os dias por ser um Parlamento com competências plenas, entre elas o direito de iniciativa legislativa. E, se há matéria em que os Tratados reconhecem iniciativa legislativa ao Parlamento, essa matéria é a matéria do Provedor de Justiça, como é a das comissões de inquérito, como é, em certa medida, mas diferente, a das leis eleitorais. E, numa matéria crucial em que tínhamos iniciativa legislativa e em que queríamos cumprir o Tratado de Lisboa, estávamos num impasse e num bloqueio. E julgo que conseguimos aqui, primeiro num diálogo franco com a Presidência finlandesa e croata, mas depois num diálogo muito, muito frutuoso, muito aberto, que é um exemplo de trabalho interinstitucional com a Presidência alemã e com a Presidência portuguesa, encontrar uma via de solução, em que se reconhecesse a ampla iniciativa legislativa do Parlamento, mas que o consentimento do Conselho significa uma verdadeira etapa do procedimento legislativo e, por isso, não pode ser desconsiderada a posição do Conselho, mesmo naqueles casos em que a iniciativa é exclusiva do Parlamento.

E organizámos consultas informais: primeiro com a Presidência alemã e depois com a Presidência portuguesa, e queria aqui, em particular, agradecer a contribuição do Governo português, mas, em particular, da senhora Secretária de Estado aqui presente, e também dos meus colegas relatores-sombra, porque todos fomos capazes de ceder e, neste caso também dos Estados-Membros, porque sei que foi preciso também que muitos deles abdicassem de posições que para eles eram importantes para darmos um exemplo de que os cidadãos europeus estão primeiro do que estão as Instituições.

Porque o Provedor de Justiça – e com isto entrava já em matéria substantiva –, o Provedor de Justiça Europeu não controla apenas a Comissão ou as agências, que nos parecem uns corpos executivos, controla o Conselho e controla o Parlamento. E, portanto, estamos todos nós a dizermos que queremos ser escrutinados, que sabemos que, em alguns dos nossos procedimentos, aqui ou ali, nós ferimos e atropelamos direitos dos cidadãos europeus e queremos que uma Instituição independente, com capacidade de atuação, como eu diria «liberdade de atuação», e por isso o Parlamento foi inflexível na ideia de que não podíamos definir o conceito de má administração e de mal *administration*, porque a imaginação dos corredores do poder é sempre mais rápida do que as leis que nós podemos fazer, demos ao Provedor de Justiça a capacidade para atuar em defesa dos cidadãos.

Tenho a certeza de que esta proposta é uma proposta ambiciosa, que inaugura uma nova era e que, especialmente, para lá de tudo o que traz aos cidadãos europeus e do que traz essa figura ímpar do Provedor de Justiça Europeu, iniciou também um procedimento de colaboração entre as instituições nos casos em que a iniciativa legislativa é dada ao Parlamento. E, aqui, pode estar um precedente importante para matérias tão decisivas para os cidadãos europeus como são, por exemplo, as comissões de inquérito parlamentar ou como são, por exemplo, as leis eleitorais, que têm estado permanentemente bloqueadas, porque não houve este espírito de colaboração e a abertura de um precedente institucional que pudesse criar uma espécie de procedimento especial para as matérias em que a competência do Parlamento, em termos de iniciativa legislativa, é exclusiva.

Creio que estamos a fazer um pequeno passo na História que pode significar muito para os direitos dos cidadãos e para os poderes do Parlamento, enquanto único órgão diretamente eleito na União Europeia.

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, thank you for giving me the floor in this important debate. This is your debate and you will be voting on your report, but the Portuguese Presidency is glad to contribute to this exchange.

The Statute of the European Ombudsman is a dossier that was identified as a priority for the Portuguese Presidency in the area of interinstitutional affairs. The European Ombudsman plays an important part in our EU institutional framework, notably to ensure the trust of our citizens by promoting good administration by our institutions. We aimed at providing the EU Ombudsman with a new statute that reflects the evolution of the institutional architecture of the European Union since it was first created in 1994, and bringing it into line with the Treaty of Lisbon.

As the rapporteur has just said, a lot has changed in the institutional framework of the Union since the creation of the European Ombudsman by the Maastricht Treaty and the adoption of its statute in 1994, and a lot of experience has also been accumulated during the mandates of the three holders of the office. The time is now ripe to provide the EU Ombudsman with a new statute in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty, and it was indeed a great pleasure to do so during the Portuguese Presidency, following the work of previous presidencies. I would also like to commend and sincerely thank Mr Rangel and the shadow rapporteurs for their engagement and spirit of compromise, which made it possible to bring the positions of the Council and of the Parliament together, with the valuable contribution of the European Commission.

The file is under an unusual procedure in which the Council gives its consent and the Commission its opinion to the proposal by Parliament prior to the final adoption by Parliament. Such a procedure requires good interinstitutional cooperation and indeed we found such a cooperation, which led to this result. Therefore, should this House confirm the proposal under discussion, the Council will be in a position to offer its consent swiftly – as soon as next week – in time for your final vote at the plenary session that will take place at the end of this month.

I believe the Member States will unanimously consider that this text allows the European Ombudsman to exercise her duties under a strong and clear mandate. Many of the provisions have indeed been clarified: access to information, eligibility criteria, own-initiative reports, to name but a few, allowing the European Ombudsman to act in a renewed, reinvigorated manner.

Thank you again for the cooperation of Parliament. We look forward to the new updated Statute of the Ombudsman coming into force shortly, for the benefit of the citizens of Europe.

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, I am able to confirm that the Commission is ready to deliver its positive opinion on the proposal reviewing the statute of the European Ombudsperson put for a vote today. I thank the rapporteur, Mr Paulo Rangel, the coordinators of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs and all its members that have been involved in this valuable work.

The new statute, subject to a compromise reached by all three institutions, would ensure coherence with the legal framework of the European Union as established by the Lisbon Treaty. It would consolidate existing good practices in several areas, such as compliance with the EU data protection rules, and explicitly mention strategic enquiries or the possibility for the Ombudsperson to submit proposed solutions or suggestions for improvement. It would also put more emphasis on important issues such as harassment, whistle-blowing and conflicts of interest. Finally, it would also clarify provisions on access to documents.

Constructive cooperation with the European Ombudsperson is key for the Commission, particularly as approximately two thirds of the inquiries launched by the European Ombudsperson concern the European Commission. Based upon this new statute, the Commission will continue developing this constructive relationship in the interests of European citizens, businesses and associations. I thank Ms O'Reilly again for this excellent cooperation and her personal commitment and dedication.

Honourable Members, I look forward to hearing your views, and I thank you all for your attention.

**Emily O'Reilly, Ombudsman.** – Madam President, honourable Members, I'd like first of all to thank the rapporteur, Mr Rangel, and all the shadow rapporteurs for their quite extraordinary efforts to reach agreement across political groups and with the Council on this very important file for the Office of the European Ombudsman. A lot of credit is also due to the Portuguese Presidency for facilitating the agreement and to the Commission for their support during the revision process.

This is one area where the Parliament has the right of legislative initiative, and so from a constitutional perspective, it is a victory for Parliament to achieve such an important agreement.

The revision is a well-balanced document. It retains and even strengthens the Office's powers of inquiry and codifies many current working practices. There are important improvements to protect the future integrity of the Office, such as the cooling-off period for politicians as candidates for the office and the need for an appropriate budget.

The Parliament and the Ombudsman have always enjoyed a very close and a very constructive relationship. This new statute strengthens that bond between our institutions. It shows the Parliament's continued determination to make the EU more citizen-friendly and to continue to hold the EU administration accountable to the highest standards.

Since I was elected by this House in 2013, together with our dedicated staff, I have restructured and reformed the Office, making it more efficient and more effective to the benefit of European citizens and residents.

Thank you again for your support for our work, for a small office with a big mandate. I look forward to the vote and to the final adoption later this month in Brussels.

*(Applause)*

**Danuta Maria Hübner, on behalf of the PPE Group.** – Madam President, the European Parliament has always had a particular connection to the European Ombudsman. The reform of its statute is for us very important, given the Ombudsman's role as the independent guardian of accountability and transparency, ensuring that the EU institutions adhere to the principle of good administration, and respect EU citizens' rights.

Beyond the role of mediator set out in the statute, the Ombudsman's task also includes the wider role of providing best practices. This role has facilitated broad adherence by the EU institutions to the Ombudsman's solutions and recommendations. We are here today with the aim to further strengthen and improve the Ombudsman's role and effectiveness.

The European Parliament has proposed changes to the Statute of the European Ombudsman in order to modernise it, bring it under the legal framework of the Lisbon Treaty, and into the 21st century.

The Portuguese Presidency has made Ombudsman's statute one of its priorities. There were long negotiations, a lot of goodwill and pragmatism from all sides to reach a text that reflects the position of both the Parliament and the Council.

The satisfaction with the outcome is shared by a large majority of this House: no amendments were tabled in the Committee on Constitutional Affairs or in plenary. With the new statute, the Ombudsman is definitely better equipped to act. A stronger Ombudsman will benefit citizens.

**Brando Benifei, a nome del gruppo S&D.** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, saluto la nostra Mediatrice europea Emily O'Reilly, come sempre è più che un piacere averla con noi, un sincero ringraziamento per il lavoro quotidiano che svolge nell'interesse dei cittadini europei.

È stato un vero onore e un impegno significativo l'aver collaborato insieme al relatore Paulo Rangel e ai colleghi relatori ombra al nuovo statuto del mediatore europeo in commissione per gli affari costituzionali.

Credo che il risultato di oggi dimostri la capacità di questo Parlamento di produrre testi legislativi di qualità, la migliore pubblicità per rafforzare il diritto di iniziativa legislativa del Parlamento europeo su cui lavoreremo in questa legislatura.



Lo statuto del mediatore esce rafforzato dai negoziati. Abbiamo potenziato il margine di iniziativa, salvaguardando l'indipendenza nei confronti delle altre istituzioni; abbiamo inserito un periodo cosiddetto di raffreddamento di due anni in modo da scongiurare conflitti di interessi; abbiamo ampliato le competenze per indagini relative a molestie e *whistleblowing*; abbiamo stabilito norme chiare sull'accesso a informazioni classificate.

Nella sessione di voto odierna daremo un appoggio pieno al testo del nuovo regolamento per sostenere una maggior tutela dei diritti dei cittadini europei.

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa**, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señora presidenta, señorías, el Eurobarómetro de noviembre nos mostró que una abrumadora mayoría de europeos —un 92 % es una abrumadora mayoría— considera que su voz debe tenerse más en cuenta en las decisiones sobre el futuro de Europa. Y no me he equivocado de debate. Quieren ser tenidos en cuenta. Quieren tener respeto. Quieren que su voz se escuche también para las quejas, para que se les atienda cuando algo no funciona bien.

Y las instituciones europeas estamos obligadas a responder de una manera eficaz a esa voz de los europeos que nos exige respuestas. Hoy debatimos la propuesta de reforma del Estatuto del Defensor del Pueblo Europeo, que tan bien ha liderado el señor Rangel y que ampliará competencias para que podamos ser más eficaces en esa respuesta a las voces de los europeos.

El ponente ha realizado una presentación clara. Yo destacaré solo dos aspectos: garantizar la neutralidad e independencia del Defensor y contar con herramientas y competencias suficientes para satisfacer esas demandas. Se ha conseguido: deben transcurrir dos años antes de que un miembro de un Gobierno nacional o institución europea pueda ser candidato a defensor y se conceden poderes de iniciativa para poder realizar investigaciones de oficio. Gracias, señor Rangel, por su tenacidad y su fuerza.

Y es importante también otro aspecto de la propuesta, el que refleja la cooperación que debe existir entre el Defensor del Pueblo Europeo y las autoridades de los Estados miembros. Según el último informe anual, 1 300 reclamaciones presentadas por los ciudadanos europeos fueron declaradas inadmisibles, y de ahora en adelante tendremos que tener en cuenta que esto no puede ocurrir.

Que los ciudadanos no se sientan desamparados, que sepan dónde tienen que llevar sus quejas, que la cooperación entre instituciones pueda evitar ese tipo de situaciones y, sobre todo, que evitemos, en la medida de lo posible, la frustración del ciudadano y el deterioro de la imagen de nuestras instituciones y la impunidad. Es muy necesario para el futuro de Europa. Enhorabuena a todos.

**Daniel Freund**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, the Office of the EU Ombudsman is modelled on the Scandinavian examples of Ombudsmen, but the EU version is slightly weaker. There are no binding recommendations, for example, on access to documents and so on. So the revision of the statute could have been an opportunity to further strengthen the Ombudsman, to building towards the good examples of Ombudsmen and that we have in a couple of European countries.

But I guess the good work that the Ombudsman has been doing for many years – holding those in power to account, fighting for more transparency against excessive revolving doors, for more transparency in the Council, for example – has not only created fans of the institution of the Ombudsman.

So in this situation, thank you to you Paolo for having negotiated what remains a good compromise. I would have liked to see it stronger, but I'm glad we managed this revision of the statute.

**Virginie Joron**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, mes chers collègues, chère Madame, face au mur géant des frais d'avocat ou de justice, beaucoup de nos concitoyens renoncent à saisir les tribunaux. Si le Médiateur européen n'existait pas, qui apporterait la contradiction au cœur de l'administration européenne? Qui porterait la voix de nos concitoyens?

Le Médiateur européen, parce que sa saisine est gratuite, parce que son action est rapide – moins de cinq mois en moyenne –, a entre autres permis d'ouvrir la question de la mauvaise administration de la Commission. Combat pour la transparence des contrats d'achat des vaccins AstraZeneca ou Pfizer, dénonciation du pantouflage du chef de l'Autorité bancaire européenne: le Médiateur est un rempart contre cette Union européenne désincarnée et souvent loin des préoccupations des citoyens européens.

Maintenant, je regrette que le statut du Médiateur dont nous parlons aujourd'hui n'évoque pas la question du respect de ses décisions par les institutions de Bruxelles. J'ouvre d'ailleurs ici une autre piste pour le Médiateur: outre le scandale du remdesivir, pourquoi les experts auditionnés par des membres du Parlement européen ne sont-ils pas tenus responsables de leurs propos ou de leur non-réponse aux questions qui leur sont posées lors d'auditions parlementaires?

Pour terminer, je n'ai qu'un seul reproche: c'est la question du siège de Strasbourg. Il est clair que les conditions sanitaires auraient permis de maintenir les sessions à Strasbourg. À cet égard, le Médiateur, que nous avons saisi pour défendre l'Alsace, aurait dû être plus respectueux du droit, de l'histoire et des Strasbourgeois.

**Jorge Buxadé Villalba**, *en nombre del Grupo ECR*. – Señora presidente, las fronteras de Europa en peligro, desde Canarias hasta Grecia; millones de europeos desempleados; nuestra industria en proceso de destrucción; derechos ganados por nuestros mayores, como el derecho a la vida o a la libertad de opinión, en riesgo... Pero esta tarde se nos trae la actualización del Estatuto del Defensor del Pueblo Europeo para, por supuesto, ampliar el ámbito de competencias, permitir que se puedan realizar investigaciones de oficio, sin reclamación de un ciudadano, y, por supuesto, establecer la paridad de género. Más competencias y más gasto.

El año pasado esa institución nos costó a los europeos doce millones y medio de euros. Todo para 728 reclamaciones, de las cuales la mitad solo se convirtieron en verdaderas investigaciones. Calculen: 34 000 euros por investigación, un ejemplo de gasto político eficiente.

¿Qué valor añadido da esta institución? ¿Por qué están empeñados en crear instituciones, dotarlas de competencias y generar más gasto? En un momento en el que a los europeos se les dice que tienen que pagar los test, que tienen que pagar las mascarillas, y se suben los impuestos para sufragar una crisis económica, nosotros estamos por ampliar las competencias de las instituciones.

Creo que se está dando un mensaje muy claro y es que a esta Cámara no le importa nada el futuro de Europa. Aprovechen la Conferencia sobre el Futuro de Europa para proponer la desaparición de esta institución.

**Helmut Scholz**, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Ministerin, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Bürgerbeauftragte, lieber Paulo! Seit Jahren haben wir über das Statut des Europäischen Bürgerbeauftragten verhandelt. Der Rat zielte seit langem darauf, das Mandat dieses Gremiums einzuschränken. Und nun gelang endlich das Wunder: Es gibt eine Einigung. Dafür ausdrücklich Anerkennung der portugiesischen Ratspräsidentschaft.

Meine Fraktion begrüßt die Neuerungen des Statuts, vor allem den Vorschlag des Parlaments von Anfang des Jahres, eine zweijährige Karenz für Europaabgeordnete, Ministerinnen und Minister oder EU-Kommissions-Mitglieder, die Europäische Bürgerbeauftragte werden möchten, einzuführen.

Wir begrüßen auch ausdrücklich, dass die Bürgerbeauftragte nun auch für den Schutz von Whistleblowern zuständig ist. Wir befürworten auch die rechtliche Einigung auf die derzeitige Praxis, die der Bürgerbeauftragten das Recht verleiht, auf eigene Initiative Untersuchungen durchzuführen und Empfehlungen auszusprechen. Der Jahresbericht 2020 macht deutlich, wie wichtig das ist – gerade im Interesse des Vertrauens von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern in die Politik, in die EU-Institutionen.

Deshalb unserer Bürgerbeauftragten viel Kraft und weiterhin auch Engagement! Und ich versichere, das Europäische Parlament wird das Seinige dafür tun, dass es so erfolgreich weitergeht.

**Alex Agius Saliba (S&D)**. – Madam President, this is a wonderful example of the European Parliament maintaining democracy. I want, first of all, to congratulate my colleagues in the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO) for this important achievement that preserves the autonomy of the mandate of the European Ombudsman.

This long-awaited statute will increase the role, and also the capacity, of the European Ombudsman as an independent and impartial body in charge of supporting our citizens, businesses and organisations in the face of problems with the EU administration by investigating complaints about maladministration by EU institutions and bodies.

The Committee on Petitions (PETI) is playing a crucial role in the Ombudsman's election by holding hearings where the candidates running for the post of European Ombudsman present their priorities. Therefore, for us, the introduction of the new cooling-off period of two years is a key priority and also a guarantee of the independence of this position, which is also a crucial element for the functioning of the EU in a transparent and democratic way.

**Margrete Auken (Verts/ALE).** – Fru Formand! Som dansk politiker med lang erfaring fra Folketinget med ombudsmanden, ved jeg, at en ombudsmand dels skal være helt uafhængig af partipolitik, dels altid være klar til at kritisere myndighederne, hvis de ikke overholder god administration eller på anden måde krænker borgernes rettigheder. En dygtig ombudsmand er ofte upopulær hos magten, og sådan skal det være. Jeg fik et mindre chok, da jeg i 2004 kom til EU-Parlamentet, og ved valg af ombudsmanden opdagede et heftigt forsøg på partipolitisk styring, som vi hver gang kun med nød og næppe afværgede. I arbejdet med denne revision, har vi da også set flere regeringer prøve at svække embedet. Det er derfor befriende, at vi nu sikrer ombudsmandsvalget mod partipolitik og også gør hendes ret til at indlede egenundersøgelse af EU's institutioner aldeles klar. Det er af stor betydning for demokratiet at have en uafhængig og kompetent ombudsmand. Og jeg vil anbefale de medlemslande, der ikke har en rigtig ombudsmand, snarest at få det. I kan bruge den danske som model, men nu også den europæiske. Det er godt.

**Gilles Lebreton (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, l'Union européenne est une lourde machine administrative dont les dysfonctionnements peuvent avoir de graves conséquences pour les administrés. Le rôle du Médiateur est précisément de remédier à ces dysfonctionnements.

Le Médiateur s'est correctement acquitté de cette tâche depuis sa création en 1995, mais s'avoue parfois impuissant. Il est donc essentiel d'accroître ses pouvoirs pour augmenter son efficacité. C'est précisément l'objet du projet de règlement dont nous débattons. Il vise notamment à permettre au Médiateur de mener des enquêtes de sa propre initiative, indépendamment de toute plainte. Il contraint aussi plus clairement qu'auparavant les institutions, organes et organismes de l'Union à lui fournir loyalement les informations qu'il demande dans le cadre de ses enquêtes.

Je soutiens donc cette réforme, car elle permettra au Médiateur de lutter plus efficacement contre les dysfonctionnements de l'Union, même si elle ne suffira pas, loin s'en faut, à résoudre tous les problèmes.

**Gabriele Bischoff (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin! Ich begrüße ganz herzlich die Bürgerbeauftragte, Frau O'Reilly, hier. Es ist ein gutes Signal, eine solche Einigung zu haben für die Bürgerinnen und Bürger Europas.

Und ich glaube, das ist genau der Grund, warum die rechte Seite hier versucht, das schlechtzureden: Weil sie wissen, dass das Amt des Bürgerbeauftragten in den letzten Jahren wesentlich dazu beigetragen hat, das Vertrauen und das Ansehen der europäischen Institutionen zu stärken und vor allen Dingen auch den Anspruch zu untermauern, ein Recht auf eine gute Verwaltung zu haben.

Deshalb freue ich mich ganz besonders, dass es dem Kollegen Paulo Rangel gelungen ist, zusammen mit Kommissarin Dalli, zusammen mit der portugiesischen Ratspräsidentschaft, Ihnen, Frau Zacarias, diese Einigung hinzubekommen, weil ich glaube, dass es wirklich ganz wichtig ist, auch hier nach einer so langen Zeit – nach über 25 Jahren – einen Schritt vorwärts zu gehen.

Viele hätten gerne noch größere Schritte gemacht, aber so ist das in der Politik, wenn drei Institutionen zusammenarbeiten. Deshalb kann ich allen nur gratulieren und hoffe, dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger das auch bald gut mitbekommen.

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, I would like to thank honourable Members for this discussion and for their statements and comments.

I reiterate that the European Commission is satisfied with the negotiated proposal and is ready to issue a positive opinion. Good administration, which is the main aim of the work of the European Ombudsperson, as enshrined in Article 41 of the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights, helps to deliver an open, accessible and well-managed EU administration for all citizens, companies and associations with whom all our institutions, agencies, bodies and offices interact on a daily basis. The European Commission should, in principle, issue its opinion on your proposal on 18 June, allowing the new regulation to be voted as planned at the coming plenary session.

Thank you once more for your attention and for the good work on this file.

**VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND**

*Vizepräsident*

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *Presidente em exercício do Conselho*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, Senhores Deputados, apenas para, brevemente, agradecer o trabalho dedicado da Senhora O'Reilly e o trabalho que tem sido quotidiano e intenso e desejar muito êxito nas suas funções na base do novo Estatuto ampliado do Provedor de Justiça.

Gostaria também de, mais uma vez, agradecer o trabalho, a dedicação, o profundo conhecimento jurídico e o pragmatismo do relator Paulo Rangel e da sua equipa. Agradecer, também, o espírito de compromisso dos relatores-sombra das diferentes famílias políticas deste Parlamento, da Comissão Europeia e também dos Estados-Membros, que apoiaram a Presidência portuguesa durante as consultas informais que permitiram alcançar o presente resultado.

Confirmada a opinião positiva da Comissão, resta-me também, pelo meu lado, reiterar que, se esta casa aprovar a proposta em debate, o Conselho estará em posição de dar o seu consentimento a tempo da próxima sessão plenária de junho.

**Der Präsident**. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet heute, Mittwoch, 9. Juni 2021, statt.

## **16. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania: patrz protokół**

## **17. 80. rocznica masowych deportacji z 14–18 czerwca 1941 r. (debata)**

**Der Präsident**. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Kommission zum 80. Jahrestag der Massendeportationen vom 14.–18. Juni 1941 (2021/2746(RSP)).

Ich weise die Mitglieder darauf hin, dass im Zuge dieser Aussprache eine Rednerrunde der Fraktionen vorgesehen ist.

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, I thank you for this debate. Our collective history is fundamentally important for Europe's present and future. The EU was born from the ashes of World War II and the Holocaust and in opposition to totalitarian states and thought.

These historical facts are undeniable and preserving their memory is among the main pillars of the European project, but also our responsibility for its future. The signature of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union on 23 August 1939 opened a dark chapter in European history and paved the way for World War II. The Nazi-Soviet Alliance enabled the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and soon afterwards by Soviet troops that subsequently annexed also the Baltic republics and Bessarabia.

Today's commemoration shows that we must highlight the horrors committed by both regimes. The Nazi occupation led to the countless crimes against civilians and to the Holocaust. The Soviet occupation which followed the invasion of 1939 and annexations of 1940, led at the same time to massive crimes against the population in the occupied territories of Poland, as well as in the Baltic states and other areas under Soviet occupation. The mass deportation of political, economic and intellectual elites to the wastelands of the Soviet Union was a brutal act meant to establish Bolshevik control over these countries. They were meant to suppress and destroy part of society that Stalin and his henchmen saw as threats or just undesirable. Most of the deportees – men, women and children – were sent to Siberia, and many of them died. I know that there are many among you who have relatives that were victims of the deportations. We will never forget them.

The Soviet occupation had devastating consequences for a large part of Europe. Yes, history is complicated and we cannot forget about the role that the Red Army soldiers played in the crucial part of the war when Hitler betrayed Stalin and launched an attack of unprecedented size and leading to immense suffering of the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is a fact that these soldiers pushed out the German soldiers from Central and Eastern Europe after heroic sacrifices. It is a fact that they played a key role in liberating Central and Eastern Europe from Nazism. However, after the end of World War II, Central and Eastern Europeans continued to endure suffering under the totalitarian communist regimes for decades. This is why we have established 23 August as the official day of the memory of the millions of victims of totalitarian regimes.

The Commission encourages Member States to examine the possibility to adhere to this Europe-wide day in the light of their own history and specificities. Preserving and promoting the shared memory of the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes is also crucial to educate younger generations. It shows how important it is to defend democracy and fundamental rights. I am looking forward to your discussion today.

**Rasa Juknevičienė**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, 80 years ago, my 9-year-old mother, with her family, was deported to Siberia. Her father and her little brother never came back. My mother's dream today is that the memory of her father and millions of other Gulag victims will one day be honoured by EU leaders together with a future president of a free Russia.

Future is the main idea of this debate today. We have also drafted a comprehensive resolution on this. While I am thankful for the debate time, I express my regret that other groups did not support the EPP-proposed resolution by including it in the agenda of this session. I hope we will unite efforts and find time for the resolution in the next plenaries. Crimes of communism – deportations and Gulags – are part of the history of the whole EU. They must be evaluated and told to everyone from the European continent, in the south, north and east.

Unevaluated and forgotten crimes give birth to today's totalitarianism. Next to the EU border, we see a 21st-century Stalinist regime. Two dictators in the east of Europe are like two in one. They use history to divide the EU, to justify their regimes, to hold their people hostage. The consequences of the Ribbentrop–Molotov Pact still exist on the Molotov side.

We are responsible for our history so that we can learn from it. The crimes of communism have never received a moral or legal evaluation by the international community. Entire Gulag system and mass deportations, ordered, planned and executed by the Soviet communist regime must be recognised as crimes against humanity.

**Juozas Olekas**, *S&D frakcijos vardu*. – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, šiandien Europos Parlamente mes minime 80-ąsias birželio 14 d. tremties metines. Tai liūdna diena, nudažyta daugybės žmonių raudomis, skausmu ir netektimis. Ištisos nekaltų žmonių šeimos, giminės buvo ištremti į sovietų Rusijos gilumą. Tremtiniai turėjo išverti žvėriškus išbandymus, nepriteklių, žiaurų NKVDistų elgesį. Nuo valstybinio sovietinio teroro nukentėjusių žmonių skaičius yra milžiniškas – tik per kelias dienas 1941 metais sovietai iš Baltijos valstybių ištrėmė virš 200 tūkstančių žmonių. Mano tėvai, ištremti 1948 m., į Lietuvą galėjo grįžti tik po Stalino mirties. Iš viso sovietinių trėmimų aukomis tapo virš šešių milijonų žmonių.

Šią baisiąją istorijos patirtį mes turime prisiminti, apie ją kalbėti ir dėl to, kad jaunoji karta žinotų nepagražintą istorijos pusę. Labai neramina, kad dabartinis Rusijos režimas, vis dažniau slepia Stalino ir kitų raudonojo teroro architektų nusikaltimus, istorija vėl pradedama naudoti propagandiniais tikslais, mokslininkams neleidžiama tyrinėti istorinių archyvų.

Manyčiau, kad mes – Europos Parlamentas, Europos Komisija – galėtume ir turėtume dėti daugiau pastangų tyrinėjant, įvertinant, įamžinant šią istorinę patirtį. Dedikuotos tyrimų programos, parodos Europos istorijos namuose, oficialus Gulagų sistemos pasmerkimas būtų gera pradžia, siekiant gilinti europiečių supratimą apie šį Europos istorijos etapą, kad tai niekad nepasikartotų, kad mes galėtume kurti laimingesnę Europos ateitį.

**Petras Auštrevičius**, *RENEW frakcijos vardu*. – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, gerbiama Komisijos nare, mieli kolegos, šiandien minime vieną judžiausių Europos istorijos įvykių, kurį apsprendė sovietų ir nacių 1939 m. rugpjūčio 23 d. pasirašytas susitarimas, mums žinomas kaip Molotovo-Ribentropo paktas.

Tuomet Europos diktatoriai nusprendė daugelio Europos tautų ir valstybių likimus, pateisinant kruviniausias ideologijas žmonių sudaužytais ir sulaužytais likimais ir atimtomis gyvybėmis.

Komunistinis-sovietinis režimas siekė besąlygiškai pajungti okupuotų valstybių, tame tarpe ir mano tėvynės Lietuvos, visuomenes ir iš anksto numatė sistemingą pilietinės visuomenės ir jos aktyviausių narių izoliavimą ir galutinį sunaikinimą. Todėl 1941 m. birželio 14 d. naktį visoje Lietuvoje pradėti suėmimai, o po to sekusi nekaltų žmonių deportacija į tolimąjį Sibirą ir Šiaurę laikytini nusikaltimu žmoniškumui.

Jei nacizmas sukūrė koncentracijos stovyklas, tai sovietizmas sukūrė lagerių sistemą, kuri pradėjo byrėti tik 1950-ųjų viduryje. 1941 m. birželio 14–18 d. iš Lietuvos deportuota apie 18 000 žmonių, tame tarpe moterys ir vaikai. Nekaltai suimti prekiniais vagonais, kelionei trunkant keletą mėnesių, buvo gabenami į lagerius ir gyvenimui netinkamas tremties vietas. Dalis susirgo ir mirė kelionės metu. Į Lietuvą grįžo kiek daugiau nei 30 proc. ištremtųjų, 26 proc. žuvo tremties ar kalinimo vietose, apie 40 proc. mes neturime jokios informacijos.

Smerktina, kuomet trėmimus organizavusi sovietinė valdžia turi įstatymų apsaugą dabartinėje Putino Rusijoje. Kuomet pasakojimai apie trėmimus prilyginami nusikaltimui, naikinami trėmimų muziejai ir persekiojami istorikai.

Praradimai, kai per sovietų pradėtą deportaciją buvo ištremta 300 tūkstančių Lietuvos gyventojų, gerbiamas Pirmininke, tai yra, du trečdaliai dabartinio Strasbūro gyventojų, laikytini nusikaltimu, kuri mes turime pasmerkti.

**Dace Melbārde, ECR grupas vārdā.** – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Padomju varas īstenotās deportācijas bija masu genocīds pret daudzām neatkarīgām tautām, nācijām un etniskajām grupām — īstenots, lai apmierinātu Staļina varas ambīcijas un lai padomju armijas okupētajās teritorijās salauztu cilvēku brīvo gribu un nepieļautu pakļauto nāciju pašnoteikšanās centienus.

Jau pirmajos Otrā pasaules kara gados no padomju okupētajām teritorijām tika deportēti vairāk nekā 1,2 miljoni poļu. 1941. gada 14. jūnijā no manas dzimtās zemes Latvijas vienas diennakts laikā lopu vagonos izsūtīja vairāk nekā 15 tūkstošus cilvēku, tostarp bērnus, zīdaiņus un vecus cilvēkus. Daudzi no viņiem mira jau ceļā. Daudzi gāja bojā no bada, slimībām un necilvēciskā darba salauzti.

Fakti par deportācijām ilgstoši ir slēpti, bet šodien zināšanas par komunistiskā režīma noziegumiem veido būtisku Eiropas sociālās atmiņas daļu. Bet atmiņas mums ir dotas, gan lai pieminētu, gan lai mācītos un rīkotos. Masu deportāciju stāstam ir jābūt iekļautam jauno eiropiešu izglītības saturā. Šiem notikumiem ir jābūt spēcīgi atainotiem Eiropas vēstures mājas pastāvīgajā ekspozīcijā un citās vēstures un atmiņas institūcijās — arī mākslas darbos.

Mums ir arī jārikojas, lai atspēkotu vēstures noklusēšanas un falsifikācijas centienus. Mums — Eiropas Savienībai — ir jāturpina nenogurstoši iestāties pret jebkuru noziedzīgu un totalitāru režīmu, jo īpaši mūsu kaimiņos, kas iznīcina nevainīgu cilvēku dzīves un dzīvības.

**Martin Schirdewan, im Namen der Fraktion The Left.** – Herr Präsident! Bitter ist die Wahrheit der Geschichte, doch besser scheint es, sie auszusprechen, als sie zu verheimlichen, sagte Alexander Solschenizyn. Den Opfern des Gulag-Systems und ihren Angehörigen, darunter auch viele Kommunisten, gilt unsere Hochachtung und Anteilnahme. Bis heute lastet diese Geschichte mit großem Gewicht auf einer Bewegung, die die Befreiung des Menschen von Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung in das Zentrum ihrer Politik stellt und nicht, wie der Faschismus, auf Vernichtung und Ungleichheit ausgerichtet war und ist.

Richtig ist es, sich kritisch mit der Geschichte auseinanderzusetzen. Falsch jedoch ist es, so wie manche es auch hier im Hause versuchen, die Geschichte mithilfe der Totalitarismustheorie zu instrumentalisieren, um einerseits das aktuelle Streben nach einer von Kapitalismus und Faschismus befreiten Gesellschaft zu diskreditieren und andererseits die Konfrontation mit dem heutigen Russland weiter anzuheizen.

Gedenken wir daher heute auch des Überfalls Hitlerdeutschlands auf die damalige Sowjetunion, die unter größten Menschenopfern maßgeblich dazu beigetragen hat, dass Europa 1945 vom Faschismus befreit worden ist!

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, the Commission is committed to contributing, within the scope of its powers, to the promotion of the shared memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes in Europe. From 2014 to 2020, we supported many initiatives under the European remembrance strand of the Europe for Citizens Programme. We helped raise awareness of the lessons learned from the horrible actions of totalitarian regimes and preserved the memory of their victims.

In 2020, 49 European remembrance projects were selected for funding for a total amount of EUR 4 422 000. We will carry on supporting similar projects after 2021. The new Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values Programme will strengthen the support to activities that deal with the causes of totalitarian regimes in Europe's modern history, in particular Nazism, which led to the Holocaust, fascism, Stalinism and totalitarian communist regimes, and commemorate the victims of their crimes.

A EUR 4.5 million call for proposals on European remembrance is currently open for applications. We will finance projects that raise awareness of defining moments in European history and projects that analyse and highlight resistance to totalitarian rule leading up to democratic transition, looking to democratic consolidation in the EU.

We do so not just because it is the right thing to do, but because it is a necessity. We share European history and we must remember it. Preserving our common memory of the dark experience and the tragic consequences of totalitarianism is essential to reaffirm our joint commitment to safeguarding our common values of human dignity, fundamental rights, the rule of law and democracy. We must fight for these values every day.

**Der Präsident**. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

*(Die Sitzung wird um 19.34 Uhr unterbrochen.)*

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)*

**Anna Fotyga (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – 17 września 1939 roku, atakując Polskę, Związek Sowiecki wdrożył w życie układ z nazistowskimi Niemcami. Hitler i Stalin, realizując wspólne plany podboju Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej, nie zawahali się sięgnąć po politykę eksterminacji i ludobójstwa. Dziś oddajemy hołd ludobójczej polityce deportacji na Sybir. 80 lat temu miała miejsce kulminacja wywózki z podbitych państw bałtyckich. Deportacje z okupowanych terenów polskich odbywały się jeszcze w przeddzień wybuchu wojny niemiecko-sowieckiej. Cztery fale deportacji z lat 1940-1941 miały doprowadzić do zniszczenia śladów polskiej państwowości na zajętych obszarach oraz ich unifikacji ze Związkiem Sowieckim. Wiedza o zbrodniach reżimu komunistycznego jest istotną częścią społecznej pamięci Europy. Wydarzenia te muszą być silnie reprezentowane na stałej wystawie Domu Historii Europejskiej oraz w innych instytucjach historii i kultury, by na trwałe zapisać się w pamięci. To niezbędny warunek, by zapobiegać próbom ukrywania i fałszowania historii, ale także, by przeciwdziałać każdemu zbrodniczemu i totalitarnemu reżimowi. To nie jest wcale wyzwanie na odległą przyszłość. Dziś w naszym najbliższym sąsiedztwie działa reżim gloryfikujący Stalina, niszczący życie niewinnych ludzi – zarówno swoich obywateli, jak i pokojowych sąsiadów. To dobrze, iż Parlament pamięta o tragicznej przeszłości, by nie powtarzać błędów, które doprowadziły do cierpień i śmierci milionów mieszkańców Europy.

## 18. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(Die Sitzung wird um 20.00 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)*

## 19. Druga część głosowania

**Der Präsident**. – Vor der Eröffnung der zweiten Abstimmungsrunde des heutigen Tages möchte ich Herrn Kollegen Rangel das Wort erteilen, der beantragt, die Schlussabstimmung über seinen Bericht betreffend die Regelungen und allgemeinen Bedingungen für die Ausübung der Aufgaben des Bürgerbeauftragten gemäß Artikel 46 der Geschäftsordnung zu verschieben.

**Paulo Rangel**, *Relator*. – Senhor Presidente, de acordo com o artigo 46.º do Regimento, *Rules of Procedure*, após a votação do ato proposto, eu venho requerer, como relator, o adiamento da votação da proposta de resolução legislativa até que o Conselho dê o seu consentimento, a Comissão tenha apresentado a sua opinião e nós estejamos em condições de, depois, finalizar o voto na próxima sessão que decorrerá no final de junho.

**Der Präsident**. – Dieser Antrag wird nach der Abstimmung über den Anhang im Entwurf der Verordnung zur Abstimmung gestellt.

Wir kommen nun zur zweiten Abstimmungsrunde des heutigen Tages. Die Dossiers, über die wir abstimmen, sind der Tagesordnung zu entnehmen. Die Abstimmungsrunde ist von 20.00 Uhr bis 21.15 Uhr geöffnet. Es kommt dasselbe Abstimmungsverfahren zur Anwendung wie in den vorangegangenen Abstimmungsrunden. Alle Abstimmungen sind namentliche Abstimmungen.

Ich erkläre die zweite Abstimmungsrunde für eröffnet. Sie können bis 21.15 Uhr abstimmen. Die Ergebnisse der zweiten Abstimmungsrunde werden morgen um 9.00 Uhr bekannt gegeben.

Die Aussprachen werden um 20.30 Uhr mit den Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission – Frauen in der Politik – Bekämpfung von Online-Missbrauch – wieder aufgenommen.

*(Die Sitzung wird um 20.05 Uhr unterbrochen.)*

## PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. FABIO MASSIMO CASTALDO

*Vicepresidente*

### 20. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è ripresa alle 20.32)*

### 21. Kobiety w polityce – zwalczanie nadużyć w internecie (debata)

**Presidente**. – Buonasera cari colleghi. Proseguiamo adesso con le discussioni.

L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulle dichiarazioni del Consiglio e della Commissione sul tema delle donne in politica: lotta contro gli abusi online (2021/2704(RSP)).

Do quindi subito la parola a nome del Consiglio alla Sottosegretaria per gli Affari europei Zacarias.

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, dear Commissioner Dalli, honourable members, thank you for organising this debate.

As the Council has often noted, women continue to be seriously under-represented in decision-making, including in politics and business. The situation is improving, but much too slowly. Meanwhile, gender-based violence remains a grim reality for millions of European women and girls – a severe manifestation of gender inequality. It is also a human rights violation and a cause of suffering.

In your resolution on the Commission's gender equality strategy adopted in January this year, you rightly pointed out that cyberviolence disproportionately affects women and girls. Its manifestation ranges from online harassment and cyberbullying to sexist hate speech. Your resolution also stresses that cyberviolence particularly affects activists, women politicians and other public figures. In this strategy, the Commission has wisely undertaken to address this problem in the context of the digital policy.



Sadly enough, there is a close link between women's under-representation in decision-making, on the one hand, and the violence that they experience on the other. Because it is brutally disempowering, intimidating and damaging, violence is not just a symptom, but also a perpetuating cause of inequality. The experience of online abuse undermines the role and the capacities of decision-makers and that is, of course, precisely the intentions of the perpetrators. Meanwhile, the risk of online abuse is likely to discourage people from becoming decision-makers in the first place and this chilling effect is an affront to democracy.

We must address all obstacles that discourage women from participating in political life, all forms of gender-based violence, including cyberviolence, must be combated with total determination. Freedom of speech gives no one the right to abuse others.

As you will know, the proposal for a digital services act is currently under examination by the Council as a matter of priority. The regulation will, once adopted, make it easier to intervene against illegal online abuse and violence across the internal borders of the Union. Although the definition of what is illegal will in general remain a national competence, the harmonisation of the injunctions to service providers will, for example, make it easier to request that illegal content is removed from the internet.

I am proud to say that the European Parliament and the Council are long-standing allies in the battle for gender equality, including the campaign for more equal decision-making. The Council has called on the Commission and the Member States to strengthen their commitment to the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, and it has specifically called for measures to improve gender balance on decision-making across the board – in politics, to be sure, but also in the economy and within the EU institutions.

The post-pandemic recovery policies will be with us for years to come, including in the context of the digital transition, and in this area equal participation in political decision-making is particularly crucial. We need female politicians' voices and perspectives in order to ensure gender-responsive policies and a fair and sustainable recovery.

The Council has also called for measures to increase the representation of women in decision-making in areas such as academia, science, research institutions, the media and sports, and we have also called for a renewed commitment to eliminating gender-based violence, including on cyberviolence. Thank you very much for your attention.

*(Applause)*

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, Minister, honourable Members, while in this House women's representation has a better record – at 40% – compared to the EU average, men still outnumber women in positions of political power. On average, women account for just one in three of the seats in the EU's national parliaments, and only 21% of leaders of major political parties are women.

The increased use of social media and online tools in politics have provided great opportunities in terms of inclusion, participation in public debates and access to information. However, as we all know, there is also a downside to this development: the exposure to online violence, threats and harassment. Last year, the World Wide Web Foundation found that 52% of young women and girls had experienced online violence, including threats and sexual harassment.

Hateful online targeting makes it even more difficult to allow women to participate in public life. It can dissuade women from running as candidates in elections or from participating in public online debates, and can also lead to women ending their political careers prematurely. Online attacks and disinformation are used to undermine women's political credibility and question their decision-making capabilities.

When violence occurs online, women are both the primary targets and are also forced to be the first responders. On social media platforms they are the ones who have to request the deletion of the hateful comments after they have been posted. A study by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe shows that 85.2% of the female parliamentarians interviewed had experienced psychological violence. Almost half of the respondents reported having received death threats or threats of rape and beatings directed against themselves or family members. In most cases, the threats were delivered by electronic means.

These online threats and attacks sometimes translate into physical acts, such as the killing of parliamentarian Jo Cox in 2016. In extreme cases, as shown by a UNESCO study on journalists, these attacks are accompanied by a rise in viral disinformation and through digital conspiracy networks.

Online violence can be part of an orchestrated campaign or can come from individuals sharing the same – often misogynist or racist – prejudices. In barring women from participating in public life and in spreading gender misinformation, these attacks are attacks on our fundamental values. Democracy and freedom of expression are the main pillars of the pluralist societies the EU stands for. When women are not fully represented in positions of power, we are faced with a serious democratic deficit. Online hate and violence can have a chilling effect on women's participation in our democracies.

We must ensure that women and groups who can be marginalised as victims of online violence are safe to raise their voices in public debates without fear of being attacked and discredited. The Commission is strongly committed to ending online abuse in all of its forms.

(Applause)

**Frances Fitzgerald**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner Dalli, truly disturbing figures that you quote. Colleagues, politics needs women. If we are to truly move beyond our unfinished democracies, we need a critical mass of women in politics. In the European Parliament we have achieved close to parity, with women accounting for over 40% of MEPs. We are a role model for others around the world and, in my view, for the way in which politics is conducted here. However, this is not universal.

We know that, while women are heavily involved in community groups and NGOs making a substantial difference and a sizable contribution at grassroots level, women are often hesitant about entering politics. They don't like what sometimes passes for politics – aggressive, adversarial and populist. Also, women in politics experience physical intimidation and sexual harassment online and offline, as we've heard. Like so many other female politicians, I've had a range of experiences in my political career that were deeply unpleasant and unacceptable: an attack on a car I was travelling in, physical intimidation and a stream of untruths about my political work that have only increased as the online world has emerged and further developed. Every female politician has similar stories.

Politics has always had many challenges but, with the development of the online world, we've seen this multiply hugely, and people say why would I bring that upon myself? So it's imperative for democracy that we deal with these challenges. We must offer support and mentoring. We must interrupt and face down the populist rhetoric. We must challenge the stereotyping of complex political decisions and leave room for nuance and complexity. High-quality journalism is essential. My work on the Committee on Disinformation has reinforced my views on that.

Journalism that can view political discourse through the arc of time, its complexity, and not through the need for clicks: this needs adequate funding. Our democracy remains unfinished. If we are to achieve a critical mass of women, we must take action today and take on the bullies, interrupt them legislatively and through other means. Women and our democracy deserve and need this.

**Robert Biedroń**, *w imieniu grupy S&D*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Przede wszystkim chciałbym podkreślić, że niestety większość przemocy, z którą mamy do czynienia wobec kobiet polityczek, pada ze strony mężczyzn. I to jest na pewno kwestia, za którą bardzo się wstydzę i chciałbym przeprosić. Chciałbym zaapelować do wszystkich kolegów o solidarność w tej sprawie. Statystyki są jednoznaczne, 80% kobiet polityczek na świecie doświadcza przemocy online, 45% otrzymuje groźby śmierci. Od języka nienawiści w internecie do bezpośredniej fizycznej agresji niestety droga jest bardzo krótka. Doświadczyła tego Jo Cox i wstydem jest, że w XXI wieku Unia Europejska nie ma odpowiednich przepisów, które chroniłyby kobiety, także polityczki, przed tego typu przemocą w internecie. Musimy to zmienić.

**Samira Rafaela**, *namens de Renew-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, onlinehaat tegen vrouwen is een groot probleem als we willen dat vrouwen meedoen in de politiek en mee besluiten over hun toekomst. Ik kan me goed herinneren wat de eerste reacties op social media waren toen ik enkel nog maar aankondigde dat ik kandidaat was voor de Europese verkiezingen. Het deed mij toen beseffen dat ik een lastige tijd tegemoet zou treden als jonge politica van kleur. Zodra vrouwen in de politiek ambitie tonen, kunnen ze weggezet worden als ongeschikt.

Social media zijn belangrijk om te benutten vanwege de digitale wereld waar we in zitten, maar ze mogen niet schaamteloos en zonder consequenties benut worden om strafbare feiten te begaan of om een gebrek aan fatsoen te tonen. Intimidatie, bedreiging en het maken van seksistische en racistische opmerkingen zijn in de fysieke wereld ook niet normaal, en dus moeten we dit ook niet accepteren in de onlinewereld. Ik wil dat we de komende tijd aan stevige wetgeving hiertegen werken. De gevolgen blijven te veel uit. Mensen kunnen anoniem vrouwen in de politiek aanvallen. Dit is laf. Op een zolderkamer achter je laptop is het makkelijk om persoonlijke frustraties te projecteren op ons als vrouwen.

Laat het duidelijk zijn dat de beweging van vrouwen in de politiek steeds sterker wordt. Het doel van deze onlinehaat is om ons te censureren. Een manier om het zwijgen op te leggen. Een gevaar voor de emancipatie en onze democratie. Daarom roep ik alle vrouwen met ambities in de politiek op te blijven staan voor je ambities en deze waar te maken. De politiek is ook jouw plek. Samen zijn we sterk.

**Sylwia Spurek**, *w imieniu grupy Verts/ALE*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Stres, niepokój, ataki paniki, obniżenie pewności siebie, ograniczenie aktywności w sieci, a nawet zupełne wycofanie z debaty. Strach, że internetowe groźby zostaną zrealizowane. Według badań tego doświadczają kobiety narażone na cyberprzemoc. Tak, cyberprzemocy może doświadczyć każdy, ale to kobiety, w tym polityczki, biznesmenki, aktywistki, dziennikarki, w internecie widzą obrzydliwe komentarze, które dotyczą ich wyglądu, życia prywatnego i intymnego, które podważają ich kompetencje i zdolności intelektualne, które stanowią groźby przemocy seksualnej, w tym gwałtu.

Skala przemocy w internecie wobec kobiet rośnie, a Unia Europejska wciąż nie ma przepisów prawnych, żeby jej przeciwdziałać. Na jesieni Parlament przekaże Komisji wniosek o inicjatywę legislacyjną. Ale czy to coś zmieni? Czy może usłyszymy ze strony Komisji Europejskiej znowu tylko kolejne obietnice. Bo za chwilę mijają dwa lata działania nowej Komisji Europejskiej, a Komisja nic konkretnego nie zrobiła w kwestii przemocy wobec kobiet.

**Catherine Griset**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, la tenue de ce débat coïncide parfaitement avec l'actualité récente. En France, le procès de plusieurs cyberharceleurs dans le cadre de l'affaire Mila, cette jeune femme menacée de mort sur les réseaux sociaux pour avoir critiqué l'islam, vient d'avoir lieu.

Le cyberharcèlement, bien loin de n'être que virtuel, peut détruire des vies, voire tuer. Le cas de Samuel Paty est emblématique. Cet enseignant a été décapité dans la rue par un djihadiste après avoir été lynché sur les réseaux sociaux. Il ne fait aucun doute que, toutes et tous dans cet hémicycle, vous êtes sensibilisés à la question du harcèlement, sans distinction de couleur politique.

Et nous sommes parmi les plus qualifiés pour en parler, tant la présidente de notre parti, Marine Le Pen, est la cible récurrente depuis des années de menaces et d'insultes dans l'indifférence générale. Il y a dans le traitement de ces affaires un «deux poids, deux mesures» facile à prouver. Les mêmes qui s'insurgent contre le cyberharcèlement de l'icône progressiste Kamala Harris ne prennent pas la parole pour défendre Marine Le Pen lorsqu'un rappeur l'agonit d'injures et fantasme sur son viol dans ses textes. Bien au contraire, des ministres du gouvernement français, qui plus est des femmes, prennent la défense du rappeur et elles le soutiennent pour chanter l'hymne de la France à l'Euro de football.

Certes, le cyberharcèlement nuit aux réseaux sociaux. Mais nous n'avons pas tant besoin d'une législation floue et liberticide contre la haine en ligne que d'une mobilisation générale des mondes politique, associatif et médiatique pour condamner sans ambiguïté un cyberharcèlement qui n'épargne personne, en particulier les adolescents, et d'une détermination à faire appliquer les sanctions déjà prévues par la loi.

Se satisfaire d'une indignation sélective, c'est amener le discrédit sur une question qui devrait tous nous rassembler.

**Assita Kanko**, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, “Ga terug naar de keuken!”, “Je weet niet waarover je spreekt, slet!”, “Fuck you, de volgende keer mag je Erdoğan pijpen!” Dit zijn maar enkele van de honderden reacties en beledigingen die ik kreeg, nadat ik het opnam voor Commissievoorzitter Von der Leyen naar aanleiding van de *Sofagate* in Turkije. Hallucinant. Ik schrik er nog elke keer van. Zulke berichten snijden door je ziel.

Het wordt pas echt een probleem als het algemeen wordt. 82 % van de vrouwelijke parlementsleden heeft te maken gehad met een vorm van psychologisch geweld. 44 % is bedreigd met de dood, verkrachting, aanranding of ontvoering. Deze cijfers zijn niet alleen hallucinant, maar geven verder perfect de realiteit weer waar vrouwen in de politiek elke dag mee te maken krijgen.

Zolang deze online-intimidatie van vrouwelijke politici doorgaat, wordt de kans groter dat dit ook andere vrouwen afschrikt om in de politiek te gaan. Daarom hebben we een nieuwe strategie nodig om te reageren op onlinegeweld, zonder in censuur te vervallen. Ik hoop dat we een veiliger, transparanter, gelijkwaardiger omgeving kunnen creëren voor de volgende generatie vrouwen die de politiek in zullen gaan, voor onze dochters. De Commissie moet initiatieven nemen op het gebied van onlinegeweld tegen vrouwen. Want de vele sterke politica's, waarvan er veel hier in dit Parlement zetelen, verdienen een veilige en hoopvolle werkomgeving.

**Eugenia Rodríguez Palop**, *en nombre del Grupo The Left*. – Señor presidente, en Europa un 60 % de las parlamentarias es objeto de ataques sexistas en internet o a través de redes sociales y de violencia psicológica, sexual y física, y víctima de insultos misóginos y de incitación al odio, de amenazas de muerte, acoso, violación, palizas, fotomontajes y hasta vídeos pornográficos. Las menores de cuarenta años sufren todo esto con más frecuencia y, si luchas contra la desigualdad de género y la violencia contra las mujeres, se redobla la violencia.

Parece que algunos quieren convencernos de que la política es cosa de varones y mandarnos a casa —sobre todo si somos feministas— y, en ciertos casos, lo han conseguido: mujeres políticas más precavidas, con menos proyección pública, que acaban cerrando sus cuentas en las redes o huyendo de los medios.

Y, sin embargo, a pesar de toda esa violencia, de nuestra escasa presencia pública, de la invisibilización, la banalización, la infantilización y el descrédito sistemático, del titánico esfuerzo que tenemos que hacer para alcanzar lugares que el hombre cree ocupar por derecho natural, a pesar de todo eso, aquí seguimos y aquí nos vamos a quedar. Vamos a pelear por una política femenina y feminista, porque estamos cansadas de testosterona, de líderes y caudillos obsesionados con el poder, las órdenes y el control, y hasta de las damas de hierro masculinizadas, no se sabe ya si por obligación o por devoción.

Con el tiempo lograremos feminizar la política y acabaremos con el falocentrismo que alimenta la misoginia.

**Vladimír Bilčík (PPE)**. – Pán predsedajúci, je prirodzené, že vo verejnom živote čelíme vo vyššej miere kritike, tlaku, negatívnym reakciám. Stretávame sa s týmito javmi bežne aj tu v Európskom parlamente a berieme ich ako prirodzenú súčasť našej práce. Potrebujeme a sám vítam kritický pohľad na našu prácu.

No vyhrážanie sa smrťou a hrozby príbuzným, sexistické narážky či zasielanie ponižujúcich obrázkov nesmieme v našej práci nikdy akceptovať, prehliadať ani tolerovať.

Napriek tomu sú takéto praktiky až príliš bežným javom, ktoré dôverne poznajú mnohé kolegyně političky, aktívne novinárky, televízne reportérky či verejne vystupujúce ženy. Mnohé z nich sa radšej rozhodnú opustiť politiku či stiahnuť sa zo spoločenského života, lebo sú šikanované. A to len preto, že sú ženy.

Existujú aspoň dva spôsoby ako zlepšovať priestor pre ženy v politike.

Dnes pracujeme vo viacerých výboroch tohto Parlamentu na legislatívnych zmenách, ktoré majú ozdraviť naše digitálne prostredie tak, aby platilo, že to čo nie je dovoľené offline, nie je dovoľené ani online.

Mnohí si totiž online priestor mylne zamieňajú za prostredie, kde sa môže všetko. Tento pohľad musíme zmeniť.

Tým druhým je, aby sme o problémoch, ktorým ženy čelia vo verejnom živote, rozprávali nahlas. Aby sme sa ozývali a aby sme sa ohradili, keď vidíme správanie, ktoré je neprijateľné. A je dôležité, aby sme sa ozývali my, muži. To ako sa cítia ženy v online priestore, dámy a páni, sa týka každého z nás.

**Evelyn Regner (S&D).** – Mr President, we have a problem, a big problem especially affecting publicly-exposed women, among them women in politics. That problem is hate and power structures, and is perpetuated online. Far too many women are threatened, every second, online – mostly by men and mostly simply because they are women.

The reason lies in the fundamental question of power and felt superiority. Some men think that women should not be allowed to have a voice in the public discourse, and too often their hate and threats actually silence women. This has to stop. We owe it to Jo Cox. We need better rules against online harassment and we need more effective reactions by the companies providing these services. We need this now because we have a very urgent problem which, in the end, is attacking our democracies.

*(Applause)*

**Karen Melchior (Renew).** – Mr President, we're here to discuss online abuse of women in politics, but I want to start somewhere else within our own political parties. In Denmark in September 2020 four women – Freja Fokdal, Camilla Søe, Sigrid Friis Proschowsky, Maria Gudme – changed the Danish political landscape by no longer accepting being part of the menu for the men in politics.

None of the Danish political parties thought they had any problems, but they all did. The physical world spills into the online world. Women who use their voices in public experience online abuse. Every tenth woman in the EU has experienced cyberharassment from as early as the age of 15. The result is women censor themselves, losing their fundamental right of free expression, because they're met with abuse, because they're met with online abuse.

Dear women and girls of the world, we cannot afford to lose your input and your ideas. I'm sorry that we've been failing you for way too long, failing you by not taking action against the abuse of women for just being women for way too long. We have a unique chance to take action now. When regulating platforms we must make them face up to their responsibility and help, not hinder, the combat against online abuse of women. And media pluralism should include the voices of women journalists in our democracy action plan.

**Kira Marie Peter-Hansen (Verts/ALE).** – Hr. formand! Latterlige kusser. Så stik dog en pik i kæften på den hylende so, kællinger der bekræfter kællinger.

Colleagues, these are just a few examples of the type of language women like us are met with online. If you didn't understand what I said, I can tell you that they were words so offensive that I didn't even know how to translate them.

Hate speech, harassment, bullying, extortion and image manipulation have become enormous problems online, and unfortunately abuse like this has become commonplace for women online. In the digital world, violations are hard to track and combat and, as we get better at it, perpetrators get better at hiding too. This is why initiatives like the Digital Services Act are so important. If we want to put an end to the abuse women experience online, we need updated European regulation of the internet.

I am really looking forward to working with all of you on this, ensuring that women can have a safe space both in the physical world and in the digital world, because no woman should be afraid to go online to express her opinion or to share her photos. This is the kind of future that I want to fight for, and I hope that all of you will be ready to fight with me.

**Nicolaus Fest (ID).** – Herr Präsident! Ja, wir müssen das Online-Mobbing bekämpfen, aber es ist kein Frauenproblem. Ich glaube, jeder von uns, ob Mann ob Frau, ist schon aufs Wüsteste im Internet beschimpft worden. Man muss allerdings auch sagen, wir wollen keine *snowflakes*. Wer Politiker wird, muss sich ein dickes Fell wachsen lassen.

Und man muss eben auch sagen: Die bestehenden strafrechtlichen Gesetze genügen. Man kann gegen Beleidigungen, gegen Verleumdungen, gegen Hatespeech, gegen Mobbing vorgehen. Das Problem ist bloß – und das Problem gibt es schon seit langem –, dass sich die Online-Medien, die großen Anbieter, immer noch weigern können, den Klarnamen herauszugeben. Und da liegt das tatsächliche Problem: Man kommt an die Übeltäter nicht ran, weil sie den Schutz der falschen Anonymität benutzen, um ihren Hass, um ihre ekelhaften Beleidigungen loszuwerden.

Sobald man die Gesetze so ändert, dass auf gerichtliche Nachfrage hin die Klarnamen bekanntgegeben werden müssen, wäre das Problem sofort gelöst, und das wäre auch meine Empfehlung.

**Andżelika Anna Możdżanowska (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Pani Minister! Znaczenie nadużyć w internecie to bardzo pilny, niezwykle ważny i ogromny problem, przed którym stoimy dziś my wszyscy, bowiem w dobie rozwoju cyfrowej przestrzeni, w dobie rozwoju nowoczesnych technologii oraz ich nieograniczonych możliwości to niestety jest dziś bardzo niebezpieczna i jeszcze bezprawna, ciemna strona mocy.

To prawda, kobiet ten dramatyczny problem dotyka częściej i bardziej brutalnie, bo każda przemoc, także ta w sieci, wobec kobiet, jest zarówno przyczyną, jak i konsekwencją m.in. wielu dalej funkcjonujących stereotypów i różnic w traktowaniu kobiet i mężczyzn. Niestety cichym przyzwoleniem rzeczywistości jest codzienna akceptacja hejtu, cyberprzemocy i dezinformacji, bezkarność użytkowników i brak natychmiastowych konsekwencji, brak reakcji oraz realnej odpowiedzialności właścicieli praw wobec sprawców w tak nieograniczonej internetowej przestrzeni cyfrowego świata, mimo iż w internecie nikt z nas nie jest przecież anonimowy.

Ta walka z internetową przestępczością jest dziś nierówna, a egzekwowanie odpowiedzialności jest niestety czystą abstrakcją. Dostyc zatem już tej milczącej akceptacji dla przestrzeni, w której dominuje agresja i nienawiść, a wolność słowa w opinii społecznej ma często wypaczony status, ze szczególną mocą przyzwolenia, gdy dotyczy to osób publicznych. Czas skończyć z przyzwoleniem na zastraszanie, szykany, naruszenie dóbr osobistych i zniewagę, na zamach na godność człowieka, ośmieszanie, zniesławienia i wulgaryzmy, które siłą cyfrowego społecznego oddziaływania doprowadziły już do wielu ludzkich dramatów i tragedii. Z jednym zastrzeżeniem: przeciwdziałanie nie może prowadzić do ograniczenia praw.

**Leila Chaïbi (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, hier soir, j'étais en terrasse, je discutais avec des amis de tout et de rien, et puis quelqu'un est venu à notre table et m'a dit: «Ferme ta gueule et laisse décider les Français! Étrangère!». Et puis une autre personne s'est approchée et a crié des: «Salope!», «Sale race!». À la fin, ils étaient 25 à me dire: «Abrutie!», «Pauvre idiot!».

Ça vous paraît bizarre, comme scène? En fait, ce n'était pas dans la vraie vie, mais c'est ce qui se passerait si on transposait Twitter dans la vraie vie. Et ces insultes, je les ai vraiment reçues sur les réseaux sociaux. Je les ai même imprimées. J'en ai imprimé juste quelques-unes. «Pauvre fille!», «Mais qu'est-ce qu'elle est sottée!», voilà, j'en ai un petit tas. Et je ne suis pas la seule. Nous sommes des millions, des femmes pour la plupart d'entre nous, à nous coltiner ce genre de choses tous les jours. Trois quarts des femmes ont déjà fait l'objet de harcèlement en ligne, d'après l'ONU. Après avoir vécu une violence en ligne, un tiers cessent d'y donner leur opinion, selon Amnesty International.

Ces comportements, souvent proférés par des gens bien assis dans leur canapé, bien cachés derrière leur écran, sont des freins à la liberté d'expression. Le développement de ces propos et de ces comportements virilistes entraîne l'autocensure, invisibilise les femmes et légitime la haine et la violence. Internet doit être tout le contraire de cela, il doit être un lieu d'expression, de liberté, de débat, d'échange, un espace commun sur lequel tout le monde doit pouvoir discuter de tout et de rien, mais surtout de tout.

**Cindy Franssen (PPE).** – Voorzitter, geachte commissaris, een op drie vrouwen in de EU krijgt te maken met een of andere vorm van geweld en de lockdownmaatregelen tijdens COVID hebben deze situatie enkel verergerd. Spijtig genoeg zien we deze alarmerende trend ook online. Cybergeweld, onlinepesten en haatgedrag tegenover vrouwen en meisjes nemen toe.

Een studie van het Parlement raamt de kosten van cybergeweld tegen vrouwen op meer dan 50 miljard euro per jaar in de EU. Dit kost niet alleen veel geld, vrouwen nemen daardoor ook minder vaak deel aan het publieke debat, waardoor onze democratie verzwakt. Bovendien wordt het zwijgeffect door sommigen als bewuste tactiek gebruikt tegen vrouwelijke politici, journalisten en activisten.

De maat is echt vol. We moeten van de strijd tegen gendergerelateerd geweld in al zijn vormen een echte beleidsprioriteit maken. Daarom moeten niet alleen alle lidstaten eindelijk het Verdrag van Istanbul ratificeren, daarom moeten we niet alleen gendergerelateerd geweld toevoegen aan de lijst van zware criminaliteit in artikel 83 van het Verdrag, maar ook tegen deze vorm van gendergerelateerd onlinegeweld moeten we krachtadig optreden. Nu is de tijd.

**Marina Kaljurand (S&D).** – Mr President, online violence against women in politics is an important topic and it's important that we are discussing it today.

Aga me ei peaks rääkima ainult naispoliitikutest. Me peame rääkima kõigist naistest, kes on langenud või võivad langeda kübervägivalla ohvriks. Seepärast tahaksin ma rõhutada parlamendi naistevastase kübervägivalla raporti olulisust. Kübervägivald ei ole enam uus nähtus ning eriti haavatavad on naised, lapsed ja vähemused. Selleks et naistevastane kübervägivald ei muutuks uueks normaalsuseks, tuleb tegutseda kiiresti ja koordineeritult, samaaegselt erinevatel tasanditel ja erinevate meetoditega. Kaasatud peab olema kogu ühiskond poliitilisest tasandist tsiviilühiskonnani. Euroopa Liit peab olema suunanäitaja nii Euroopas kui ka rahvusvaheliselt.

**Sylvie Brunet (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Ministre, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, le leadership des femmes et leur participation à la vie politique sont partout menacés. Les femmes représentent toujours en moyenne moins d'un tiers des élus dans les parlements nationaux au sein de l'Union européenne. Plusieurs freins expliquent la participation plus difficile des femmes en politique: les stéréotypes, les préjugés, les conséquences du modèle archaïque dominant, millénaire, qui a été bien décrit par Françoise Héritier, grande anthropologue avec laquelle j'ai eu la chance de travailler. Et ce modèle de domination des femmes a aussi intériorisé pour elles des stéréotypes.

Dans nos sociétés où la communication politique s'effectue davantage en ligne et sur les réseaux sociaux, nous assistons à des attaques très violentes contre les femmes politiques – dont j'ai moi-même fait l'objet – et qui sont renforcées par l'anonymat permis sur les plateformes.

Les femmes doivent pouvoir accéder à des espaces numériques libres de toute violence et de harcèlement, et une initiative législative européenne serait indispensable.

**Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, Frau Ministerin, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Hass und Hetze gegen Frauen in der Politik, aber auch gegen Journalistinnen und Wissenschaftlerinnen sind ein Angriff auf Meinungsfreiheit und auf Demokratie.

Aber Online-Hass ist auch ein politisches Instrument, das oft in der Form von koordinierten Kampagnen ganz gezielt eingesetzt wird, um Frauen, besonders Frauen aus Minderheiten, zum Schweigen zu bringen. Und oft sind diese Kampagnen erfolgreich. Denn selbst wenn die Betroffenen der Gewalt standhalten, werden viele andere Mädchen und Frauen abgeschreckt. Und ihre Stimmen fehlen uns.

Das ist nicht neu. Was aber neu ist, ist, dass man mit Hass gegen Frauen Geld verdient, dass es ein Geschäftsmodell ist. Denn Online-Plattformen fördern Hass und Hetze, weil sie damit viel Geld verdienen. Damit muss Schluss sein!

Die gute Nachricht ist aber, dass wir mit dem *Digital Services Act* diesem Geschäftsmodell, das Hass und Hetze so lukrativ macht, ein Ende setzen können. Und das sollten wir jetzt tun. Gleichzeitig können wir mit diesem Gesetz auch für Regeln sorgen, die das Netz wieder zu einem sicheren Ort für Frauen machen. Das tut Not.

**Beata Mazurek (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Świat wirtualny stał się nieodłączną częścią naszego życia. Znaczne korzyści, jakie niesie ze sobą internet, nie mogą przesłaniać nam zagrożeń, na które w dużym stopniu narażeni są jego użytkownicy, często my, kobiety zajmujące się polityką. Nadużyć w sieci jest wiele. Wszechobecny hejt, szczególnie wobec nas. Publikowanie nielegalnych i szkodliwych treści, które często naruszają przepisy prawa i negatywnie wpływają na odbiorcę. Cyberprzemoc, groźby karalne, nawoływanie do terroryzmu czy potworny hejt, o którym już mówiłam, pornografia dziecięca to zjawiska, które trzeba piętnować i z którymi trzeba walczyć. Kluczem do takiego działania powinna być efektywna współpraca pomiędzy platformami internetowymi a organami egzekwowania prawa oraz nasza solidarna walka z tym bez względu na to jakie barwy polityczne reprezentujemy. Należy jednak pamiętać, by istotne z punktu widzenia bezpieczeństwa w sieci działania nie ograniczały aktywności użytkowników internetu i nie zagrażały ich podstawowym wartościom, wolnościom i prawom.

**Elżbieta Katarzyna Łukacijewska (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Mamy XXI wiek, a my kobiety cały czas musimy walczyć. Walczymy o nasze prawa, o godność, o szacunek, o to, aby doceniano naszą wiedzę i nasze umiejętności. Nie tak powinno być. Szanowni Państwo, gdy popatrzymy na parlamenty narodowe, to widzimy, w jak wielu miejscach jest niewystarczająca liczba kobiet. Gdy popatrzymy na rządy krajów Unii Europejskiej, to widzimy, w jak wielu miejscach jest smutna, niska reprezentacja kobiet, które te rządy współtworzą. A przecież wszystkie badania pokazują, że tam, gdzie kobiety mają wpływ na decyzje, tam są dużo lepsze rozwiązania i lepszy rozwój gospodarczy. Szanowni Państwo, te kobiety, które zdecydowały się na aktywność, czy to polityczną, biznesową, czy na innej płaszczyźnie, zawsze napotykały na wiele barier, ale również na hejt i nienawiść w internecie. Jak pokazują znowu badania, to zjawisko się nasila. Zresztą sama wielokrotnie doświadczyłam tego zjawiska hejtu i nienawiści nie tylko w internecie, ale też bezpośrednio. Wydaje się, że świat polityki jest już wystarczająco trudny, a dodatkowo właśnie takie zachowania w internecie powodują, że wiele kobiet zrezygnuje ze swoich ambicji i ze swoich pragnień, ze swojej kariery. Nie możemy dopuścić i wstydem jest, że w XXI wieku nie mamy odpowiednich narzędzi, które przeciwdziałają i walczą z tym zjawiskiem.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Herr talman! 50-60 – ja, 50-60 är det antal sexistiska kommentarer som Finlands statsminister Sanna Marin tog emot dagligen under de månader som Nato granskade Twittermeddelanden till finska ministrar. Betänkandet visar att kvinnliga ministrar utsätts för sexistiska förolämpningar oavsett vilket politiskt ställningstagande det handlar om. Jag har också egen erfarenhet av detta, och vi är inte ensamma.

Kvinnliga politiker utsätts ständigt för övergrepp och hat på nätet just för att vi är kvinnor. Detta är ett allvarligt hot mot vår demokrati och det är hög tid att EU stärker arbetet mot könsrelaterat våld, oavsett om det är fysiskt, psykiskt, sexuellt, ekonomiskt eller nätbaserat. Alla människor har rätt att leva ett liv fritt från hot och våld. Också kvinnor.

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew).** – Mr President, often when we speak about women's rights, we end up speaking about the need to stop abuse and violence. We speak about the lack of education, lack of professional perspectives, harassment, prejudice, threats. If we discuss women in politics, I have been threatened myself and so has my family. But my speech today is not about this.

Listen to this: Paula Gherghinescu, PhD in Astrophysics, University of Surrey; Sorina Lupu, researcher in Robotics and Space Technologies; Elizabeth Petrescu, Astronomer, European Space Agency; Daniela Rus, Robotics, MIT; Anca Drăgan, Robotics, Berkeley; Corina Târniță, Biology, Princeton; Oana Gurău, Neuroscience, Oxford. These are some Romanian names showing that yes, we can win the world, but they did this alone in a complicated society.

Let's bring these role models into our communities, and let our women know that the world is open for them. This is what beats prejudice, fear and hesitancy. Let's put laws, education, time, energy, protection and money on this road of theirs, and then we can talk about women's empowerment and women's rights.

**Alice Kuhnke (Verts/ALE).** – Herr talman ! Vi vet att övergrepp på nätet tillhör vardagen för många kvinnor, särskilt unga kvinnor. Var femte kvinna har någon gång blivit utsatt för trakasserier online. Den här typen av våld skapar inte bara otrygghet och rädsla – den hindrar också kvinnor från att delta i det demokratiska samtalet, från att uttrycka åsikter, från att engagera sig politiskt.



Vi får inte stanna vid att konstatera detta, utan vi måste bekämpa de normer som gör att framför allt män hotar, trakasserar, slår och dödar kvinnor. Vi måste se till att vi får en lagstiftning på plats som kriminaliserar våldet, online och offline. Därför uppmanar jag EU-kommissionen att presentera en omfattande lagstiftning som tvingar alla medlemsländer att förebygga och bekämpa mäns våld mot kvinnor i alla rum.

**Beata Kempa (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Istotnie internet i media społecznościowe dają nieocenione korzyści, ale są też źródłem zagrożenia. Dzisiaj trzeba sobie powiedzieć jedno, że hejt to jest przede wszystkim brutalna bezwzględna przemoc w sieci. Jedną z grup, które są narażone na taką przemoc, to kobiety pełniące funkcje publiczne. Ja się nie skarżę, byłam obiektem takich potężnych ataków w Polsce i sobie z tym radzę, podpalono również moje biuro poselskie na skutek właśnie takiego hejtu, ale sobie z tym radzę. Udowodniam dzień po dniu, że nikt nie jest w sieci anonimowy. Tyle tylko, że tego typu działanie i brak reakcji powoduje, że coraz mniej kobiet decyduje się na bycie w polityce, a powinno nas być coraz więcej. Przecież statystyki są nieubłagane, kobiety pełnią funkcję szefów państw lub rządów tylko w około dwudziestu krajach. Kobiety są niżej wynagradzane. To wszystko razem powoduje, że rzeczywistość ta sytuacja jest słabsza. Dlatego trzeba z tym walczyć i te przykłady walki, które dzisiaj tutaj z tej mównicy padały, są jak najbardziej słuszne i jak najbardziej potrzebne.

Ostatnie słowo, Panie Przewodniczący, jestem dumna z tych kobiet, które radzą sobie z hejtem i działają w polityce.

**Evin Incir (S&D).** – Mr President, online harassment against women exists in the whole of society, including targeting women in positions of power. According to a study by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, social media platforms are now the most common place in which violence and abuse against female parliamentarians is perpetrated.

It is a shame that these platforms, originally intended to facilitate free debate, have now become outlets for hate. This toxic climate online not only creates a hostile environment for females, but also limits free speech. It limits our possibility to fully enjoy our democratic rights.

The intersectional nature of these crimes must also be recognised. As a female politician of colour, I too have experienced attacks and threats online that I know my male counterparts will never ever need to go through. I also must admit that many times I hesitated to run for office because of the experiences that other women before me had experienced.

Gender-based violence should never be met with impunity. A swift response is required now.

*(Applause)*

**Pina Picierno (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, se potessimo dar conto qui di tutte le intimidazioni, le molestie o le parole violente che ognuna di noi subisce, sono certa, Presidente, che non basterebbe una settimana di dibattito. Ma noi non siamo qui per parlare solo di noi, siamo qui per parlare, soprattutto, di tutte quelle donne che subiscono questa forma insopportabile di violenza in ogni condizione sociale, di censo e religiosa.

E allora l'odio va fermato anche quando viaggia in rete. Ecco perché è necessario imporre trasparenza e collaborazione agli operatori del web. È necessario definire in maniera univoca il perimetro dell'*hate speech* per poterlo poi perseguire penalmente, perché si tratta di un crimine, Presidente. L'odio è un crimine, non è un'opinione, e per questo serve un intervento urgente, anche legislativo, dell'Unione europea.

**Alessandra Moretti (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, signora Ministra, le donne libere, quelle che pensano, che esprimono le proprie idee, che portano avanti delle battaglie, le donne che scelgono la politica come impegno spesso suscitano odio, fastidio, tipici di una cultura maschilista e patriarcale ancora molto diffusa in Europa.

La cyberviolenza si abbatte sulle donne che si espongono, travolgendole con valanghe di insulti, frasi sessiste, minacce. È quello che è successo a me pochi giorni fa, non è la prima volta. Dopo un mio intervento in TV, un uomo su Facebook ha minacciato di sfregiarmi con l'acido. Ho denunciato alla polizia l'accaduto perché conosco la legge e ho gli strumenti per difendermi, ma le ragazze e le donne che non hanno gli strumenti e che hanno paura di denunciare si sentono sole, e noi dobbiamo proteggerle e aiutarle.

L'adozione di una normativa sulla violenza sui social non può più attendere. Le multinazionali del web devono essere obbligate a fornire rapidamente i dati sull'identità di chi commette abusi online. Se non lo fanno diventano complici e devono assumersene la responsabilità, risarcendo i danni alle vittime. È arrivato il momento, Presidente, di prevedere una tassa sull'*hate speech* e un Daspo europeo contro i leoni da tastiera, che pregiudicano la libertà e il diritto di vivere il web nel rispetto della persona.

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, Minister, honourable Members, thank you for the participation in this debate to which I listened very carefully, even to your personal experiences, to which I can join my own. It shows us how much more we still have to do in this area. Ahead of the last European elections, the Commission launched the campaign #DigitalRespect4Her to raise awareness about online violence against women and to promote good practices to tackle this issue.

We are now taking an even stronger stand on combating gender-based violence and online hate speech. While the accession of the EU to the Istanbul Convention remains our top priority we will, by the end of this year, present a new legislative proposal to prevent and combat gender-based violence, online and offline. As announced in our gender equality strategy, we will also launch a self-regulatory framework between internet platforms to better protect women's online safety.

Misogyny is often weaponised and attacks on women are often sexist in nature. This is why we will be launching an EU-wide campaign to tackle gender stereotypes. Gender-based online violence must be looked at from the intersectional perspective, thus to be seen together with racism, religious bigotry, homophobia and xenophobia used on the internet to diminish people's voices.

By the end of the year, the Commission will put forward an initiative to extend the list of EU crimes under the Treaties to hate crime and hate speech, including on grounds of sex. We also must prevent disinformation from spreading. Misinformation and online violence against women politicians are closely linked, since disinformation methods are often co-opted in misogynistic attacks. So in order to step up the fight against disinformation, the Commission has published guidance on how online platforms and other relevant players should strengthen the code of practice on disinformation to become a more powerful instrument in fighting discrimination online.

The proposal for the Digital Services Act also introduces a number of measures to combat illegal content, including hate speech and incitement to violence. Very large online platforms will have to assess if their systems are vectors for the spread of illegal content or have negative effects on fundamental rights.

The European Parliament has proven to be a robust partner in our fight against gender-based violence. Your continued work and dedication to combat gender-based violence and gender-based cyberviolence is needed more than ever. So together we must ensure women can speak in public debates without having to fear violence or hate, online or offline for that matter. I thank you, the European parliamentarians, heartily for being a steadfast ally in our efforts to ensure a Europe free from violence.

*(Applause)*

**Ana Paula Zacarias**, *Presidente em exercício do Conselho*. – Senhor Presidente, obrigada por este debate. Ficou claro que muitas de nós já recebemos comentários violentos *online*, já recebemos comentários sexistas. Mas eu gostava, sobretudo, de chamar a atenção para a importância de protegermos as nossas jovens, as jovens que intervêm na vida política ou aquelas que aspiram a fazê-lo. Temos de abrir caminho para que a próxima geração conheça uma maior igualdade.

As jovens de hoje são as dirigentes políticas, as cientistas, as jornalistas, as mulheres de amanhã e precisamos delas. Não podemos permitir que a ciberviolência se torne numa banalidade e ameace as nossas democracias, as nossas liberdades, os nossos direitos, a nossa vida. Temos de assegurar que o mundo digital é um lugar onde as regras e as leis são para cumprir. Infelizmente, dados emergentes de muitos Estados-Membros indicam que a violência baseada no género, a violência doméstica, a violência nas relações de intimidade e outras formas de violência, bem como o assédio, tanto *offline* como *online*, aumentaram durante a pandemia.

Quando falamos de recuperação social desta crise pandémica não podemos esquecer estes aspetos. Quando falamos de aumentar a nossa resiliência na construção de uma economia mais sustentável, mas também mais digital, temos de ter em atenção estes factos e adotar medidas e instrumentos que permitam a plena participação das mulheres e das raparigas em todas as áreas e, portanto, também na política. A construção do nosso futuro digital comum tem de ser feita com todos e para todos e deve unir as nossas instituições europeias – Conselho, Comissão e Parlamento – para podermos obter resultados concretos na luta contra a violência e as desigualdades de género. Só unidos poderemos obter resultados.

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

*Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)*

**Sirpa Pietikäinen (PPE), kirjallinen.** – Sukupuolittunut vihapuhe on vakava ilmiö, joka rehoittaa verkossa ja sosiaalisen median alustoilla. Vihapuhe kohdistuu hälyttävässä määrin yhä enemmän naisiin, ja julkiset henkilöt, kuten poliitikot, ovat sille erityisen alttiita. Internet-alustojen pitää kantaa asiassa vastuunsa ja niillä pitää olla jatkossa sama julkaisijavastuu kuin muillakin medioilla, esimerkiksi sanomalehdillä. Tehokkaat vihapuheen poistomekanismit pitää olla toiminnassa kaikilla sosiaalisen median alustoilla.

Naisiin kohdistuva vihapuhe verkossa pyrkii vaientamaan naiset ja tytöt. Aivan samoin kuin maasta riippuen enemmän ja vähemmän yleinen häirintä kadulla pyrkii rajoittamaan naisten ja tyttöjen liikkumatilaa kaupungeissa ja laajemmin yhteiskunnassa, verkkohäirintä yrittää vaientaa naiset ja tytöt, jotka ilmaisevat itseään ja omia mielipiteitään tai ovat yhteiskunnallisesti aktiivisia. Naiset ovat kovettaneet nahkansa vastaanottamaan törkeää kommentointia, vaikka näin ei kuuluisi olla. Kaiken vähättelyn ja alistamisen verkossa tulee loppua. Kaikelle vihapuheelle täytyy olla nollatoleranssi.

**Rovana Plumb (S&D), in writing.** – Violence against women in politics is rising and it is a clear threat to democracy and equal participation. Women in politics are frequent targets of abuse and threats online, but social media companies and governments are not doing nearly enough to combat it. Women in politics receive an overwhelming amount of online abuse, harassment, and gendered defamation via social media platforms. The EU and the Member States need to press for more action and develop new standards for platform transparency and accountability that can help address the widespread toxicity that is currently undermining online political debate. It is important to take more responsibility for material distributed using their services, such as abusive messages sent via social media. If effectively designed and implemented, the EU's Digital Services Act will represent a step in the right direction. Violence and abuse against women in politics, both online and offline, not only prevents women from standing for election, they drive those who have already been elected to leave politics early. It is crucial that we do all we can to remove the barriers to women's representation in politics, including online threats and the experience of violence, abuse and harassment.

**Christine Schneider (PPE), schriftlich.** – Ich stimme mit der Kommission überein: Hasskommentare sind weit verbreitet und gehören mittlerweile fast schon zur Normalität. Das ist ein erschreckender Trend, den wir mit allen Mitteln bekämpfen müssen. Niemand muss Hassrede akzeptieren oder aushalten – das gilt online und offline.

## 22. Wspieranie równouprawnienia płci w kształceniu i pracy zawodowej w dziedzinie nauk przyrodniczych, technologii, inżynierii i matematyki (STEM) (debata)

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca la relazione di Susana Solís Pérez, a nome della commissione per i diritti delle donne e l'uguaglianza di genere, sulla promozione della parità di genere negli studi e nelle carriere in ambito scientifico, tecnologico, ingegneristico e matematico (STEM) (2019/2164(INI) (A9-0163/2021).

**Susana Solís Pérez, ponente.** – Señor presidente, me hace mucha ilusión presentar este informe aquí en el Parlamento Europeo. Hace treinta años decidí estudiar ingeniería, además mecánica, y claro, éramos una minoría. Empecé a trabajar en el sector del automóvil y también éramos muy pocas mujeres, porque en ese momento, en el sector tecnológico, las mujeres estábamos infrarrepresentadas. Pero yo siempre decía que era cuestión de tiempo y que, a medida que las mujeres avanzáramos más en la igualdad, estas cifras cambiarían drásticamente. Pero no ha sido así. Y me preocupa que ahora que la ciencia y la tecnología están transformando nuestra sociedad de una forma inimaginable, las mujeres sigamos infrarrepresentadas en estos ámbitos.

A día de hoy, solo el 36 % de los licenciados en carreras de ciencia, ingeniería, matemáticas o tecnología, las llamadas CTIM, son mujeres. Pero si nos vamos a ámbitos como el digital o como la inteligencia artificial, las cifras bajan al 12 % y estos porcentajes varían de país en país, pero la tendencia es la misma, y lo que es peor, se mueve muy poco, apenas se mueve. Ese es el problema.

Y en estos días en que muchos jóvenes deciden su futuro tras hacer los exámenes de ingreso a la universidad, creo que es importante que visibilicemos el impacto social de las carreras CTIM, además, en estos momentos que son cruciales para Europa, en un momento en que Europa define su futuro, cómo va a salir de la crisis, los planes de recuperación -una recuperación que todos sabemos que va a basarse en la ciencia y la tecnología-. Por eso creo que este informe ahora es más importante que nunca. Y por eso hoy le pedimos a la Comisión y a los países de la Unión Europea que pongan el foco en este reto para dar la vuelta a los números.

Porque no solo es una cuestión de justicia y de lucha por la igualdad. Hablamos también de las consecuencias sociales y económicas de este desequilibrio. Por ejemplo, se calcula que los puestos de trabajo en el ámbito digital y científico crecerán hasta un 20 % en los próximos años. Si las mujeres no ocupamos esos puestos de trabajo, que además están mejor remunerados, y no aumentamos nuestras capacidades digitales, la brecha salarial y la brecha de las pensiones no harán más que aumentar.

Pero, además, si las mujeres estamos ausentes de las tecnologías que van a modelar el futuro de nuestra sociedad y de nuestro mundo, se perpetuarán los sesgos en el diseño y aumentará la discriminación de los algoritmos. Por lo tanto, necesitamos actuar y para ello tenemos que atajar los problemas desde la raíz, desde la educación temprana. Y a mí me gusta decir que no se trata de imponer nada a nadie, sino de que se pueda elegir con libertad y se eliminen las barreras, los prejuicios y los estereotipos que aún existen.

Porque niños y niñas muestran la misma predisposición y las mismas cualificaciones en CTIM en edades muy tempranas. Es más adelante cuando las niñas abandonan. Por eso necesitamos promover más referentes femeninos en los que inspirarse, porque no se elige lo que no se conoce. Necesitamos más mujeres en los libros de texto. Las niñas tienen que ver que su trabajo va a tener un impacto social, que va a ser reconocido, que va a ser apoyado. Y como dice el informe, el papel de los medios de comunicación y el rol de los profesores van a ser clave para acabar con los estereotipos.

Pero, además, no solo es necesario que las mujeres lleguen, sino también que no abandonen y que puedan ascender en la carrera profesional; y sin conciliación y condiciones más inclusivas, muchas se van a quedar por el camino. Es innegable que las mujeres tenemos hijos en los años más prolíferos de nuestra carrera. Por eso lo primero es avanzar en las bajas de maternidad y paternidad. Y si no incluimos a los hombres, nunca conseguiremos una igualdad real.

Lo segundo es que, a día de hoy, la diferencia salarial sigue siendo una realidad y que la Unión Europea no se puede permitir el bloqueo de la Directiva sobre transparencia salarial, especialmente si vemos lo opacas que son las grandes empresas tecnológicas.

Y lo tercero es que, si queremos crear entornos laborales más inclusivos, en los que haya más mujeres en las cúpulas directivas y en los que haya más seguridad, necesitamos seguir trabajando.

Por último, he querido destacar también la baja representación de las mujeres en las *start-ups* y las dificultades a las que se enfrentan las mujeres emprendedoras para acceder a la financiación. Basta un dato: según el último informe del BEI, los equipos formados únicamente por mujeres solo reciben el 2 % de la financiación europea. Por eso, pedimos a la Comisión fomentar los equipos mixtos, apoyar los programas específicos de *mentoring* y aumentar el número de mujeres en las juntas directivas.

Quiero dar las gracias a todos los compañeros que han participado en la redacción y en la negociación de este informe. Estoy segura de que abrirá las puertas a políticas educativas y laborales que permitan mejorar la situación de las mujeres en las CTIM. Si de la crisis de la COVID-19 hemos aprendido algo, es la importancia de la ciencia y de la investigación para superar los problemas globales. Sin la ciencia, no encontraremos las respuestas y, sin las mujeres, el futuro volverá a estar diseñado por hombres y para hombres. Todos juntos les daremos la vuelta a los números.

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, I thank the rapporteur, Ms Susana Solís Pérez, the shadow rapporteur and the entire Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM) for this excellent report. The European Parliament and the European Commission fully recognise equality between women and men as a strategic priority.

The report welcomes the digital education action plan, which sets out a strategic approach to digital transformation in education and training, including the fight against the under-representation of girls and women in science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM). In the digital sector, men still represent more than 80% of the workforce, and only one in three science, engineering and mathematics graduates are women.

Given the need to stimulate diversity, one of the actions of the new digital education action plan responds to the need to increase the participation of women in STEM fields. The teaching of scientific and technical subjects is also a priority for cooperation projects in higher education under the Erasmus+ 2021 work programme.

Ongoing work within the framework of the EU Coalition in the field of science, technology, engineering and mathematics will be exploited in conjunction with the results of already-funded Erasmus+ projects. The aim is to support the sharing of the best practices available in the framework of European university alliances and the establishment of national platforms in the field of science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

This action will contribute to the development of new higher education programmes for engineering, information and communication technologies based on the science, technology, engineering, the arts and mathematics (STEAM) approach. STEAM constitutes a multidisciplinary set of educational approaches, breaking down traditional divisions between subjects and disciplines in order to link the teaching of STEM and information and communication technologies to that of the arts, human sciences and social sciences.

The COVID-19 crisis has strengthened the stereotypical roles of women and men, and thus we need to foster the full talent pool and promote women's role and participation in all fields and all levels, such as in management. The digital education action plan also addresses the ethical implications of artificial intelligence, including gender bias, by developing ethical guidelines on AI and data in education and training.

The Commission's expert group responsible for developing the guidelines was recruited recently, and will launch guidelines in September 2022 as part of the back to school campaign, accompanied by awareness-raising activities.

Education plays an important role in combating the under-representation of women in the field of development of new technologies and research. The PISA survey shows no difference in the skills of boys and girls in science, but gender differences widen when young people enter university and choose specific subjects and careers.

To help Member States promote equality in education and training, a planned working group on equality and values in education and training will provide guidance for the use of gender-disaggregated data for the purposes of assessing policy reforms by the end of 2022.

Gender equality is in fact one of the priorities of the new European Research Area, and the Horizon Europe programme makes it one of its transversal principles. Your report recognises the efforts made by the Commission to encourage the participation of women in STEM, in particular within the framework of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology, while regretting the persistence of inequalities between women and men in terms of equal access to positions and funding within the European Union.

Current efforts, with the support of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology, and its knowledge and innovation communities, have helped to organise training activities for girls in primary, secondary and higher education in order to stimulate digital skills. The action is expected to reach 40 000 young female students.

By introducing several new provisions in Horizon Europe, such as a new eligibility criteria, we want to bring change. From 2022, higher education and research institutions must put an action plan for gender equality in place to participate in the programme.

Among other initiatives, the Women TechEU programme, within the European Innovation Council, aims to foster the creation of tech startups by women and support women's entrepreneurship. Within the framework of the new European Research Area, we will develop, together with the Member States, a talent platform which will go beyond the current EURAXESS platform and will pay particular attention to equality between women and men.

The Commission is also pleased with the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, a programme for doctoral education and post-doctoral training, which encourages women to apply. Women researchers represent more than 41% of the number of researchers in the programme. This percentage is even higher among doctoral candidates, at nearly 45%, and postdoctoral researchers, at nearly 42%, who are funded by the programme. So the gender dimension is an important selection criterion in the evaluation process. The programme also supports equal opportunities through the principle of equal pay for all beneficiaries, providing family allowances, maternity and parental leave and the possibility of part-time work for family or personal reasons for everyone.

In addition, the Commission has introduced new measures through the new Framework Programme in order to make this financial support fairer, more gender-friendly and more inclusive than it currently is. The Commission remains committed to continue working with Parliament in recognising equality between women and men as a strategic priority in science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

**Christine Schneider**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin! Wir müssen Mädchen und Frauen für MINT-Studiengänge und -Berufe begeistern.

Fast alle unsere Lebensbereiche sind von Technologien durchdrungen. Betrachten wir doch nur einmal die Entwicklung im IT-Bereich der letzten Monate, die uns das Arbeiten als Parlament auch in der Pandemie ermöglicht hat, die Forschung im Bereich der Naturwissenschaften, welche mit der Entwicklung der Impfstoffe uns den entscheidenden Schlüssel für die Bekämpfung der Corona-Pandemie an die Hand gegeben hat, das vernetzte Auto, der vernetzte Patient, Smart Homes.

Das sind alles Errungenschaften durch MINT-Berufe, und der Bedarf an Fachkräften in MINT-Bereichen, aber auch im wachsenden digitalen Sektor steigt kontinuierlich, und Unternehmen suchen händeringend nach qualifizierten Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern. Wer eine Ausbildung in einem MINT-Beruf hat, zählt zu den Fachkräften von morgen, denen viele Türen offenstehen, mit hervorragenden Karriereaussichten. Mädchen und Frauen müssen auf diesen Zug aufspringen.

Wir müssen dafür Sorge tragen, dass sie die Rahmenbedingungen vorfinden, die es ihnen ermöglichen, ihr Talent entsprechend zu entfalten. Die frühe und Begabtenförderung für junge Frauen im MINT-Bereich muss ausgeweitet werden. Mädchen müssen durch Praktika und Projekte in der Schule – und warum nicht bereits im Kindergarten? – an MINT herangeführt werden. Und wir müssen dafür Sorge tragen, dass Frauen Beruf und Familienleben erfolgreich miteinander vereinbaren können. Dazu gehört auch, dass Väter und Männer in diesem Bereich stärker eingebunden werden. Als gelernte Tischlerin weiß ich genau, wie es sich anfühlt, sich in einer Männerdomäne beweisen zu müssen. Und es bedarf Vorbilder und Mentoren und Mentorinnen, um junge Frauen und Mädchen zu animieren, ihren Weg im MINT-Bereich zu gehen, und das überholte Verständnis von Geschlechterrollen zu beenden.

Daher hoffe ich, dass die Kommission und die Mitgliedstaaten unsere Anregungen und Forderungen aufgreifen und angehen. Vielen Dank an die Berichterstatterin Susana Solís Pérez und allen, die uns mit unserem Bericht unterstützt haben.

**Lina Gálvez Muñoz**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, quiero dar las gracias a la ponente, Susana Solís. Tenemos muchos datos y evidencias sobre la presencia de las mujeres en las CTIM. Por ejemplo, solamente un 3 % de las mujeres que están en la educación superior elige estudiar estudios de tecnologías de la información y la comunicación. O, en el ámbito profesional, por ejemplo: sabemos que hay tres veces más hombres que mujeres en estos campos y que también están infrarrepresentadas en la innovación y el emprendimiento.

Y, sin embargo, la revolución digital está aquí para quedarse y se ha acelerado, además, con la pandemia. Y posiblemente se va a seguir acelerando en esta nueva normalidad. Es por ello que en este ámbito se crearán los mejores trabajos y además se va a diseñar nuestro futuro, el de todas las personas, también el de las mujeres. Y es por ello que tenemos que estar en estos campos. Y hay que promover la igualdad de género en la educación, en las carreras universitarias, en las profesiones y en la financiación de la innovación y el emprendimiento en estos campos.

Necesitamos remover los sesgos y la discriminación en estos entornos que acaban siendo muy hostiles para las mujeres. En este informe hay iniciativas para combatirlos y desde el Parlamento Europeo vamos a exigir que se cumplan y a evaluar su cumplimiento. Necesitamos los talentos de las mujeres y por eso apoyamos la renovación de los programas educativos que venzan estereotipos de género y sacudan una socialización profundamente sexista. La misma, por cierto, que aleja a los niños del entorno de los cuidados.

Tenemos que avanzar en la alfabetización digital para que, también desde otros estudios —también desde humanidades y ciencias sociales—, se participe en esta sociedad digital.

Estamos cambiando los roles para un modelo social nuevo y más justo. Y las y los socialistas tenemos muy claras las prioridades sociales y también la sociedad justa e igualitaria que queremos. Y el papel que debe jugar la tecnología y en el que debemos participar también las mujeres, en este futuro de Europa, que estamos construyendo entre todas las personas, también las mujeres.

**Karen Melchior**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, many high school graduates and university students face a difficult choice: should they choose a subject they love but perhaps be the only woman in their class?

This must be changed to allow women to follow their interests regardless of societal pressures. It must change if we want to achieve our 2030 goal of 20 million ICT specialists employed in Europe and an acceptable woman to man ratio. If we truly want her to follow her interests we need to start much earlier, already when kids are beginning their education in primary school – definitely much earlier than high school or college.

Despite the fact that both boys and girls understand technology, there is a difference in the actual interest in technology that they allow themselves to show, because we raise girls and boys differently. Because it is not our gender, but our culture and society which determines what we find acceptable to show an interest in. We must allow our young girls to be interested in tech, just like we – from the cradle – promote cars, tools and tech to boys.

In Denmark, in order to promote gender equality in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), Danish municipalities have created an ‘understanding technology’ class, as an elective course in elementary schools. However, in spite of the good intentions, on average these classes have only one girl – one girl – and usually because she likes the teacher, not because she is allowed to show an interest in technology.

So we need to start early to allow girls all the way from kindergarten to university to take an interest in an education in tech. We must put a stop to stereotypical gender roles and toxic masculinity. Let boys cry and girls play with cars.

**Diana Riba i Giner**, *en nombre del Grupo Verts/ALE*. – Señor presidente, en 119 años de Premios Nobel de Física, Química o Medicina, solo veintidós mujeres han sido premiadas. Según un informe de la Unesco del año 2019, solo un 28 % de todos los investigadores en el mundo son mujeres.

La realidad de las mujeres es que siguen estando infravaloradas en todos los sectores de la ciencia y la tecnología. Este informe es una buena oportunidad para poner el foco en las barreras estructurales que dificultan el desarrollo del talento potencial. Estereotipos de género y entornos de trabajo y educativos hostiles, donde se reportan altos niveles de acoso sexual, impiden que las niñas y las mujeres ingresen en un campo que sigue siendo mayoritariamente masculino.

A esto se le suman las discriminaciones intersectoriales que sufren las mujeres en situaciones de desventaja socioeconómica, con discapacidad, aquellas que viven en zonas rurales, las migrantes, las del colectivo LGTBI, o las racializadas. Por eso, animamos a la Comisión, a los Estados miembros y a las instituciones educativas a que adopten medidas preventivas y concretas. Porque esta ausencia de niñas y mujeres no solo condiciona el desarrollo de estas potencialidades individuales, sino también el conjunto de la sociedad.

La manera en que, por ejemplo, abordamos el cambio climático, mejoramos la atención sanitaria o afrontamos la transformación digital debe también tener voz de mujer. Sin mujeres en la ciencia, no hay ni futuro sostenible ni inclusivo.

**Christine Anderson**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Mädchen und Frauen zu ermutigen, sich für eine Karriere im MINT-Beruf zu entscheiden, ist richtig, die Orientierung an weiblichen Vorbildern dabei natürlich auch hilfreich.

Der Bericht enthält einige richtige Ansätze, aber eben auch problematische. Wiederholt wird von Vorurteilen, *gender gap*, Unterrepräsentation von Frauen, Stereotypen als den Hindernissen gesprochen, die es zu beseitigen gilt. Der Bericht betont, wie notwendig es sei, mit den relevanten Interessengruppen und Akteuren in Dialog zu treten, um den Missstand zu weniger Frauen in MINT-Berufen zu thematisieren. Interessanterweise listet der Bericht hier alle Akteure und Interessengruppen auf – alle, mit Ausnahme derer, um die es eigentlich gehen sollte: die Frauen selbst.

Im gesamten Bericht werden unzählige Gründe beklagt, aus denen Frauen der berufliche Erfolg versagt bleibt. Alle diese Gründe beruhen ausschließlich auf externen Faktoren, auf die die Frauen überhaupt keinen Einfluss haben. Deshalb muss nun die Politik entschlossen eingreifen und unterstreicht damit noch zusätzlich das durch diesen Bericht transportierte fatale Frauenbild des schwachen, hilflosen Opfers.

Ein Bericht, in dem Frauen auf 20 Seiten ihre hilflose Lage attestiert wird, bekämpft nicht Stereotype, sondern zelebriert und manifestiert sie. Dass die Frauen nicht einmal gefragt werden, zeigt doch sehr deutlich, dass es um sie gar nicht geht. Nein, den Chefideologen geht es in Wahrheit um die Errichtung einer schönen, neuen, kunterbunten, CO<sub>2</sub>-neutralen, gendergerechten Tralala-Welt, in der Menschen, so wie sie nun mal sind, einfach nur stören.

Hören Sie doch bitte auf, die Menschen ihren wahnhaften ideologischen Vorstellungen entsprechend formen zu wollen! Lassen Sie uns Menschen doch einfach wieder Menschen sein!

**Vincenzo Sofò**, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, in questa relazione si chiede di imporre in sostanza quote rosa specialmente per migranti Rom e LGBT in università, aziende e organi decisionali.

Eviterò di parlare della palese strumentalizzazione di un tema serio come il coinvolgimento delle donne nelle professioni STEM per far marchette a lobby femministe, immigrazioniste e LGBT. Una cosa però dovette chiarirmela: se dite che servono quote rosa per favorire le donne rispetto agli uomini, ammettete che esistono le donne e gli uomini, ma al contempo, se sponsorizzate le tesi gender LGBT, affermate che essere uomo donna è solo una nostra scelta. Dunque, applicando le vostre teorie, se io domani vi dico che mi sento donna automaticamente ottengo il diritto di rientrare in una quota rosa. Diritto che perdo se poi torno a sentirmi uomo ma che riottengo se mi risento donna e così via. Per non parlare di transgender, all gender, pangender e delle mille altre identità inventate.

Proporrete una quota ad hoc per ognuna di esse? Perché così, vi avverto, va a finire che creerete più quote che posti di lavoro e alla fine di questo grottesco corto circuito nel quale vi siete infilati a rimetterci saranno proprio le donne.



**Anne-Sophie Pelletier**, au nom du groupe *The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, 257: selon le Forum de Davos, qui n'est pas un repaire de gauchistes, c'est le nombre d'années qu'il faudrait attendre pour parvenir à supprimer les inégalités de genre au travail.

257 ans pour que les femmes, représentant 52 % de la population européenne, puissent enfin obtenir la place qui leur est due, depuis toujours. Et mes chers collègues, aujourd'hui, dans cet hémicycle, c'est une honte en 2021 de répéter ce nombre.

Alors pourquoi l'égalité des sexes est-elle encore si invisible à l'horizon? Le poids des stéréotypes, qui pèsent sur les femmes dès leur naissance. Il suffit d'allumer la télé ou de se promener dans n'importe quelle boutique de jouets pour s'apercevoir de la place réservée aux filles dans la société. Et je regrette que pour les avions, les constructions, les machines, il faille aller dans les rayons des petits garçons, alors que nous nous sommes très compétentes sur ces thèmes-là.

Nous sommes parties prenantes d'un système qui désavantage les femmes à tous niveaux. Si on veut combler le déficit féminin dans les métiers des STEM, il faut briser le plafond de verre. L'égalité de genre dans les métiers des STEM doit passer par une refonte en profondeur de nos règles sociétales. Il est temps de sensibiliser le milieu éducatif en créant des bourses pour développer l'accès des femmes aux études des STEM. Il est temps de bénéficier des médias pour promouvoir l'égalité des genres et mettre en avant les rôles modèles féminins inspirants. Il est temps de responsabiliser les milieux professionnels afin d'établir une culture de non-discrimination et de non-harcèlement. Et pour qu'il n'y ait pas de sexisme ordinaire, il faut être intransigeant. Pour qu'il y ait une parité dans les STEM, il faut la vouloir vraiment.

**Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI)**. – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η έκθεση αντιμετωπίζει τις γυναίκες σαν ανεκμετάλλευτη δεξαμενή φθινού εργατικού δυναμικού για την κάλυψη ελλείψεων στην αγορά εργασίας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Στο επίκεντρο θέτει την ανταγωνιστικότητα των επιχειρηματικών ομίλων και όχι τα σύγχρονα δικαιώματα των εργαζόμενων γυναικών. Εξάλλου, οι ανάγκες των γυναικών, το δικαίωμα στη μητρότητα, στη σταθερή δουλειά, ξηλώνονται περαιτέρω με το νομοσχέδιο-έκτρομα που υλοποιεί τους κοινούς στόχους της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και της μεγαλοεργοδοσίας για κατάργηση της οκτάωρης δουλειάς, διάλυση του σταθερού ημερήσιου χρόνου, δουλειά τις Κυριακές και τις αργίες και απλήρωτες υπερωρίες.

Τα σύγχρονα τεχνολογικά επιτεύγματα της επιστήμης δημιουργούν τεράστιες δυνατότητες για τη βελτίωση της ζωής των εργαζομένων. Όμως, η καπιταλιστική εκμετάλλευση, η πολιτική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και των αστικών κομμάτων τα μετατρέπουν σε δεσμά για άνδρες και γυναίκες, σε εργαλείο αύξησης της εντατικοποίησης της εργασίας και διεύρυνσης της δουλειάς-λάστιχο με βάση την αντιδραστική κατεύθυνση της συμφιλίωσης επαγγελματικής και προσωπικής ζωής, ενισχύοντας τον βαθμό εκμετάλλευσης των εργαζομένων.

Είναι αναγκαίο, σήμερα, γυναίκες και άντρες να μπουν μαζί στον αγώνα για να ανατραπεί το αντεργατικό νομοσχέδιο της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας, οι προηγούμενοι αντεργατικοί νόμοι των ΠΑΣΟΚ και Σύριζα, να δυναμώσει η διεκδίκηση για σταθερό ημερήσιο χρόνο εργασίας 7 ωρών, πενθήμερη και 35ωρη εργασία.

**Maria da Graça Carvalho (PPE)**. – Senhor Presidente, cara Comissária, caros Colegas, a subrepresentação das mulheres na gestão não é apenas uma questão de igualdade de género. As assimetrias existentes têm um impacto económico significativo. Por um lado, muitas mulheres vêem-se impedidas de entrar em setores de forte crescimento e com salários atrativos, por outro lado, a Europa desperdiça uma enorme bolsa de talento, talento de que precisa para alcançar os seus objetivos.

Quero cumprimentar a colega Susana Solís Pérez pelo relatório e pelas propostas apresentadas. O meu país, Portugal, tem conseguido resultados excelentes a atrair mulheres para as áreas de gestão, onde representam já mais de 50% dos novos diplomados. Este é um resultado de uma longa aposta na divulgação destas áreas junto das novas gerações de ambos os géneros. No entanto, nem tudo está feito, em Portugal as mulheres continuam a ser minoritárias nas tecnologias de informação e comunicação e, sobretudo, nos cargos de liderança.

É urgente fomentar e financiar programas que atraiam mais mulheres para estudar e trabalhar na gestão, apresentando casos de sucesso no feminino nos meios de comunicação social e na sociedade em geral.

**Maria-Manuel Leitão-Marques (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, Caroline Criado-Perez, no livro «Mulheres invisíveis», mostra-nos como o mundo é largamente construído por e para os homens. Os *airbags*, por exemplo, não foram desenvolvidos tendo em conta o corpo das mulheres e, por isso, no início não as protegiam devidamente dos acidentes. Isto acontece, em parte, porque há falta de mulheres nas áreas das tecnologias ou porque os dados não refletem as características de toda a população relevante. A transição digital e os avanços na ciência dos dados e na inteligência artificial tornam este problema ainda mais relevante. É, por isso, essencial que tomemos medidas para garantir a diversidade nas equipas que trabalham no setor digital e, em especial, na inteligência artificial onde apenas 22% são mulheres. Só assim o mundo *online* refletirá o mundo em que vivemos, onde 50% das pessoas são mulheres.

**Sylvie Brunet (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, je remercie d'abord M<sup>me</sup> Solís Pérez pour cet excellent rapport.

Le sujet de l'égalité des genres en matière de formation et d'emploi dans le domaine des sciences, des technologies, de l'ingénierie et des mathématiques est primordial, alors que l'Union européenne est confrontée à une pénurie sans précédent dans ce domaine. Seul un spécialiste des technologies de l'information et des communications sur six est une femme dans l'Union européenne. Nous devons renverser cette tendance.

J'appelle la Commission européenne et les États membres à fournir davantage d'efforts et à adopter des mesures d'accompagnement et des actions ciblées pour faire tomber les barrières qui se dressent sur le chemin des filles et des femmes dès le plus jeune âge. Le rapport expose des voies à entreprendre, par exemple la lutte contre les stéréotypes de genre et le besoin de mentors et de figures féminines auxquelles s'identifier.

Je voudrais insister sur l'importance des compétences numériques pour l'avenir du travail. Toutes les études le montrent, notamment celles de l'OIT. Je suis à cet effet, pour l'illustrer, en train de développer une initiative à Marseille, chez moi, où je vais inciter des jeunes filles issues de milieux défavorisés à se former en codage, dans des compétences numériques, pour leur ouvrir des perspectives de carrière. Elles seront elles-mêmes des ambassadrices pour d'autres jeunes filles.

Je pense qu'il faut multiplier ces initiatives avec l'aide des financements européens et encourager les femmes qui le souhaitent vers les carrières scientifiques et techniques.

**Isabella Tovaglieri (ID).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, l'Europa si sta illudendo di risolvere il problema della disparità di genere con l'anacronistico principio delle quote rosa o con sterili nominalismi come ingegnera, avvocatessa, ministra.

Intorno a noi invece i paesi emergenti corrono verso il futuro e affrontano la competizione internazionale in modo pragmatico, inglobando massicciamente il talento femminile nelle professioni tecnico-scientifiche. Nella vicina Asia centrale le laureate nelle materie STEM sono la metà del totale, il 75 % nella sola Birmania. Ma la Cina investe ogni anno 200 miliardi nella ricerca scientifica e presto il numero delle scienziate cinesi esploderà.

In Europa invece restiamo inchiodati al 36 %, un dato che scende drammaticamente al 16 % in Italia. Se non vogliamo rimanere indietro non solo nella parità ma anche nel progresso tecnico-scientifico, e quindi nella sfida economica e geopolitica, dobbiamo intervenire là dove iniziano i percorsi formativi, rimuovendo gli stereotipi di genere e indirizzando le donne verso le professioni del futuro fin dalla scuola primaria.

Studi comunitari dicono che potremo raggiungere la parità retributiva nel 2050, con un contestuale aumento del 10 % del PIL pro capite dell'Unione europea. Ma tutto questo a una sola condizione: che l'Europa metta in campo misure concrete e abbandoni vecchi approcci ideologici del tutto privi di futuro.

**Pernille Weiss (PPE).** – Hr. formand! Vi skal have flere kvinder ind i STEM-fagene. Det skal vi, fordi EU søger konkurrencekraft, og overlevelseshancen for det Europa, vi kender og gerne vil give videre til næste generation, afhænger af, om vi formår at få noget mere innovativt ud af vores arbejdsstyrke, som i disse år i øvrigt bliver både mindre og ældre. Det ved de kvikkeste industrier allerede, og de mest omstillingsdygtige virksomheder er heldigvis også godt i gang med at gøre sig mere attraktive for kvinder. Nu skal hele EU op i gear. Ellers taber vi til vores globale konkurrenter. Kina har for længst set lyset i at have kvinder i STEM-fagene. Ikke fordi de er specielt ligestillingsorienterede, men fordi kvinders hænder og hoveder er uundværlige, hvis fremtidens teknologiske udfordringer skal løses. Kina har regnet ud, at det ikke duer, hvis mænd udvikler den teknologi, kvinder skal bruge, eller omvendt for den sags skyld. Så når Kina kan, skal EU også.

Flere kvinder i STEM-fagene, er desuden vigtigt for at skabe et bedre samspil og mere respekt imellem den offentlige og den private sektor. Gennem det seneste corona-år har vi lidt glemt, at penge til trivsel og sundhed ikke vokser på træerne med permanent lave renter. Flere kvinder i STEM-fagene vil derfor også bidrage med at vedligeholdelsestræne respekten for den vigtige mekanisme under EU's konkurrencedygtighed.

**Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D).** – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, si queremos que las mujeres lideren el futuro en igualdad, tienen que estar en las profesiones del futuro. La ciencia, la tecnología, la ingeniería, las matemáticas son carreras que conducen a empleos del futuro. Algunos ni existen actualmente. Cada día hay más niñas escolarizadas y que acceden a la universidad, pero los prejuicios, el entorno y la presión social las condicionan para no elegir estas carreras.

En mi experiencia como docente de una universidad politécnica lo he visto de cerca. Las estudiantes y las profesoras son minoría. Tenemos que romper el techo de cristal y empoderar a las niñas para que apuesten por estas carreras. El futuro Espacio Europeo de Educación nos debe servir para luchar contra los estereotipos que atentan contra las capacidades de la mujer en estos sectores, promover la igualdad de género mediante medidas específicas y crear un aprendizaje digital inclusivo.

Solo así la Unión Europea podrá mejorar las vidas de los europeos y conseguir cerrar de una vez la brecha de género en las carreras científicas y tecnológicas.

**Λευτέρης Χριστοφόρου (PPE).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, πιστεύω ότι αποτελεί καθήκον όλων μας να βρισκόμαστε εδώ και σε κάθε θέμα που αφορά την ισότητα των φύλων, την ίση εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών να δίνουμε μάχη, γιατί αυτό αποτελεί στοιχείο του πολιτισμού μας, αποτελεί στοιχείο που θα έπρεπε να είναι σε μια σύγχρονη κοινωνία αυτονόητο, αποτελεί κάτι το οποίο πρέπει να απασχολεί καθημερινά και τους άνδρες και τις γυναίκες.

Το γεγονός, όμως, ότι σήμερα είμαστε εδώ και συζητάμε ακόμα μία έκθεση, το ότι το 2021 —ενώ οι συνθήκες προνοούν την ισότητα των φύλων, ενώ διαχρονικά πάρα πολλές εκθέσεις του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου, εάν υλοποιούνταν μόνον κατά ένα μέρος—, αυτή η ισότητα θα είχε επιτευχθεί και το ότι δεν επιτεύχθηκε μέχρι σήμερα καταδεικνύει ταυτόχρονα, και πρέπει να το αναγνωρίσουμε, την αποτυχία της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής και του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου να εφαρμόσουν τα αυτονόητα: την ισότητα των φύλων σε όλα τα επίπεδα. Εγώ αισθάνομαι περήφανος Ευρωπαίος, είμαι ευρωπαϊστής, αλλά αποτελεί προσβολή για την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ότι δεν πέτυχε την ισότητα των φύλων, την ίση εκπροσώπηση. Συζητάμε για ίση εκπροσώπηση στον τομέα του ψηφιακού κόσμου, στις επιστήμες, όπου μόνον το 17% των γυναικών συμμετέχουν σε νεοφυείς επιχειρήσεις. Αυτό από μόνο του αποτελεί κόλαφο, αποτελεί ράπισμα για όλους και για την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έπρεπε να είναι ο *Αμύντορας*, ο προασπιστής των δικαιωμάτων των γυναικών σε όλα τα μήκη και τα πλάτη της ανθρωπότητας. Εδώ βλέπουμε μια χώρα, την Τουρκία, να αποσύρεται από τη Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και, από αυτό το βήμα, η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή και το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο μας λένε ότι η Τουρκία αποτελεί στρατηγικό εταίρο, τη στιγμή που παραβιάζει συλλήβδην τα δικαιώματα των γυναικών και εκατομμύρια γυναίκες βρίσκονται, ουσιαστικά, κάτω από το καθεστώς και τη *μπότα* της Τουρκίας όπου παραβιάζονται τα δικαιώματά τους — και εμείς συνεχίζουμε να τους χρηματοδοτούμε και να τους στηρίζουμε. Επιτέλους, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση πρέπει να πάρει πρακτικά μέτρα, και εναντίον των χωρών που παραβιάζουν τα δικαιώματα των γυναικών αλλά και για όσους πραγματικά αποσύρονται από τη Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης.

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for this very interesting exchange. Gender equality is one of the fundamental values of the European Union and the European pillar of social rights makes it one of its key principles. The report highlights that if more women choose STEM-related studies and careers, the EU's productivity and competitiveness will increase. We cannot achieve a dual green and digital transition in Europe without the participation of women in research and innovation.

Innovative solutions and scientific excellence depend on diversity. We need diversity within our research teams in order to solve complex societal challenges, such as those – for instance – related to the COVID-19 pandemic. Thanks to the gender-mainstreaming approach across all EU policies, we are achieving positive results. So the monitoring tools developed will help us keep track of this, be it the regional gender equality monitoring tool, including on data on women in STEM by the Joint Research Centre, or the monitoring tool for the implementation of the European strategy for gender equality by the Commission, I welcome that the European Parliament increasingly addresses the under-representation of women in STEM. The Commission is your ally and will continue to work with you to achieve the ambitious goals of this report.

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

La votazione si svolgerà giovedì 10 giugno 2021.

*Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)*

**Andrea Bocskor (NI),** *írásban.* – A minőségi és befogadó oktatásnak alapvető szerepet kell játszania abban, hogy növekedjen a nők részvétele az IKT-hez és a TTMM-hez kapcsolódó területeken, és megszűnjön a nemek aránytalansága ezen a téren. A digitális oktatásnak is pozitív szerepe van abban, hogy javuljon a digitális jártasság, valamint előre mozduljon a nők intenzívebb részvétele a digitális világban. Üdvözlöm a 2021 és 2027 közötti időszakra szóló digitális oktatási cselekvési tervet és annak „A nők részvételének ösztönzése a TTMM területén” című fellépését. Kutatások azt mutatják, hogy az EU-ban a lányok a TTMM-diplomásoknak csak a 36%-át teszik ki, amit jó lenne növelni. A jelentés számos jó és fontos megállapítást tartalmaz, viszont vannak olyan elemei is, amelyeket határozottan elutasítok, mint pl. a nemi alapon történő adatgyűjtés, a társadalmi nemek közötti egyenlőségre vonatkozó uniós stratégia, az LMBTI-nőkre vonatkozó kvóták bevezetése, stb. Úgy gondolom, hogy a tudományban nagyon fontos szerepet töltenek be a nők. Jól mutatja ezt dr. Karikó Katalin példája is, aki nélkül most elképzelhetetlen lenne a Covid-világjárvány kezelése. A jó tanárok, támogató és motiváló környezet hozzájárulnak ahhoz, hogy több nő lépjen a tudományos pályára, hisz itt is nagy szükség van rájuk, ezért én is arra ösztönzőm a lányokat és nőket, hogy merjenek ezen a pályán elindulni.

**Josianne Cutajar (S&D),** *in writing.* – It does not happen often that the European Parliament hosts a debate on the promotion of gender equality in science, technology, engineering and mathematics careers. I welcome that this has taken place in this historical period, ahead of a recovery phase that should seek to also enhance the empowerment of women in the digital transition. A gap between men and women still exists when it comes to the uptake of STEM subjects. Girls and women are not less competent than boys and men, but – very often – these careers are subject to gender stereotyping and a general cultural discouragement that prevents many young women from pursuing a professional path in scientific fields. The European Union should promote concrete actions to bridge this gap, we cannot afford anymore to perpetuate gender stereotypes! Ensuring bias-free hiring processes, supporting female students to navigate the opportunities the STEM careers can offer, investing massively in the actions of the European Skills Agenda that support girls and women to become scientists, engineers, mathematicians – all this will contribute to making the digital transition an inclusive and gender-balanced one.

**Έλενα Κουντουρά (The Left),** *γραφτώς.* – Ένα από τα μεγαλύτερα προβλήματα που εμποδίζει την ισότητα των φύλων είναι ο διαχωρισμός με βάση το φύλο στους τομείς της εκπαίδευσης και της εργασίας, δηλαδή η συγκέντρωση γυναικών σε συγκεκριμένα αντικείμενα ή θέσεις εργασίας. Παρόλο που οι γυναίκες αποτελούν την πλειοψηφία του ευρωπαϊκού πληθυσμού και των αποφοίτων τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης στην ΕΕ εξακολουθούν να υποεκπροσωπούνται στους τομείς των θετικών επιστημών, της τεχνολογίας, της μηχανικής και των μαθηματικών. Παγιωμένα έμφυλα στερεότυπα και προκαταλήψεις, η παγιωμένη πρακτική «αποκλεισμού» των γυναικών από το αντίθετο φύλο που κυριαρχεί στους τομείς αυτούς, ιδιαίτερα στις υψηλόβαθμες θέσεις, η αποθάρρυνση που συχνά ενισχύεται από το σχολικό και οικογενειακό περιβάλλον, ο φόβος της αποτυχίας και η έλλειψη ενημέρωσης και προβολής γυναικείων προτύπων είναι ορισμένοι από τους παράγοντες που περιορίζουν τις επιλογές και την εξέλιξη των γυναικών στους τομείς STEM. Οι γυναίκες που προέρχονται από μειονεκτούντα κοινωνικοοικονομικά περιβάλλοντα, έχουν ακόμη πιο περιορισμένη πρόσβαση στους τομείς αυτούς, ενώ οι διακρίσεις και η συστηματική σεξουαλική παρενόχληση στους εκπαιδευτικούς και επαγγελματικούς χώρους οδηγούν στον περαιτέρω αποκλεισμό των γυναικών. Η γεφύρωση του χάσματος των φύλων στους τομείς STEM δεν αποτελεί μονάχα βήμα προς την ισότητα των φύλων και τον σεβασμό των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων των γυναικών και των κοριτσιών αλλά θα έχει θετικό αντίκτυπο στην οικονομική ανάπτυξη και τη μείωση του μισθολογικού και του συνταξιοδοτικού χάσματος μεταξύ των φύλων.

**Henna Virkkunen (PPE), kirjallinen.** – Naisten osuus STEM-aloilla ei ole kasvanut riittävästi, siksi tyttöjä ja naisia on kannustettava lisää luonnontieteiden ja teknologian aloille. Tytöt suoriutuvat STEM-aineissa koulun alkupuolella jopa poikia paremmin, ja silti aloille valmistuneista vain reilu kolmannes on naisia. Sukupuolten välinen kuilu on erityisen mittava uudemmilla aloilla, kuten tekoälyn ja kyberturvallisuuden parissa. Naisten täytyy olla vahvasti mukana muovamassa teknologioita ja tiedettä, jotka muodostavat tulevaisuutemme palvelut ja työelämän.

Naisten osuuden vahvistaminen digitaalisessa maailmassa vaatii määrätietoista työtä sekä monien asenteiden ja tottumusten muutosta. Tarvitsemme toimia näiden alojen sukupuolistereotyyppien poistamiseksi kouluissa sekä naispuolisten STEM-roolimallien esiintuomista houkuttelevuuden edistämiseksi. Samalla täytyy kitkeä palkkaamiseen ja työ- ja yksityiselämän tasapainottamiseen liittyvää epätasa-arvoa. Se on ehdottoman tärkeää tasa-arvoisemman tulevaisuuden ja kilpailukykyisemmän EU:n työmarkkinan varmistamiseksi.

**Ελισάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρουνίδη (PPE), γραπτώς.** – Η υποεκπροσώπηση των κοριτσιών και γυναικών στην επιστήμη, την τεχνολογία, τη μηχανική και τα μαθηματικά (STEM) είναι μια πραγματικότητα που πρέπει να αναστρέψουμε. Το χάσμα των φύλων που υπάρχει σε όλους τους τομείς της ψηφιακής τεχνολογίας είναι ιδιαίτερα εμφανές σε καινοτόμες τεχνολογίες, όπως η τεχνητή νοημοσύνη και η ασφάλεια στον κυβερνοχώρο. Στους τομείς αυτούς η μέση παρουσία των γυναικών σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο ανέρχεται μόλις σε 12% και 20% αντίστοιχα. Επίσης, μόνο το 18% των επαγγελματιών στην Ευρώπη στις τεχνολογίες των πληροφοριών και της επικοινωνίας (ΤΠΕ) είναι γυναίκες. Η συμμετοχή περισσότερων γυναικών μπορεί δυνητικά να προσθέσει 16 δισ. ευρώ στο ΑΕγχΠ της οικονομίας της ΕΕ. Τα στερεότυπα και η έλλειψη γυναικείων προτύπων είναι μερικά από τα προβλήματα που συμβάλλουν στο χαμηλό ποσοστό των γυναικών σε αυτούς τους τομείς. Η ανάγκη όμως για δεξιότητες STEM και ΤΠΕ αυξάνεται ολοένα και περισσότερο, από την υγειονομική περιθάλψη έως τη μεταποίηση, ανοίγοντας νέες και καλά αμειβόμενες επιλογές απασχόλησης για όλους. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, είναι σημαντικό οι γυναίκες και τα κορίτσια να ενθαρρύνονται να ακολουθήσουν ευκαιρίες εκπαίδευσης και σταδιοδρομίας στους τομείς αυτούς με παράλληλη άρση των εμποδίων, καταπολέμηση των στερεοτύπων και βελτίωση της πρόσβασης στη χρηματοδότηση και τις επενδύσεις για γυναίκες επιχειρηματίες.

**Jadwiga Wiśniewska (ECR), na piśmie.** – Pandemia COVID-19 uwypukliła kluczową rolę, jaką w dzisiejszym świecie odgrywają nauki, technologia, inżynieria i matematyka. Nigdy wcześniej rola specjalistów STEM nie była tak widoczna. Niestety jedynie 2 na 5 naukowców czy inżynierów to kobiety. Ta dysproporcja między kobietami i mężczyznami jest niepokojąca, bo to kariery STEM są określane jako miejsca pracy przyszłości, napędzające innowacje, dobrobyt społeczny, wzrost sprzyjający włączeniu społecznemu i zrównoważonemu rozwojowi. Dlatego zwiększenie udziału kobiet, usunięcie barier ograniczających zainteresowania i wybory kobiet w sektorze STEM ma kluczowe znaczenie. Ważne jest, by zachęcać kobiety do powszechniejszego podejmowania studiów na wydziałach STEM oraz do rozwijania kariery zawodowej w tych dziedzinach. Zgadzam się z wieloma fragmentami sprawozdania, niestety znalazły się w nim pewne problematyczne kwestie, których nie mogłam poprzeć, takie jak język uwzględniający aspekt płci, propozycje dotyczące dyrektywy antydyskryminacyjnej lub dyrektywy w sprawie kobiet w zarządach, a nawet odniesienia do praw i zdrowia reprodukcyjnego i seksualnego.

**23. Debata na temat przypadków naruszania praw człowieka, zasad demokracji i państwa prawa (ogłoszenie o złożonych projektach rezolucji): patrz protokół**

**24. Środki wykonawcze (art. 112 Regulaminu): patrz protokół**

**25. Akty delegowane (art. 111 ust. 2 Regulaminu): patrz protokół**

26. Składanie dokumentów: patrz protokół
27. Przesunięcia środków i decyzje budżetowe: patrz protokół
28. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące stanowiska zajętego w głosowaniu: patrz protokół
29. Korekty i zamiary głosowania: patrz protokół
30. Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia: patrz protokół
31. Zamknięcie posiedzenia

*(La seduta è tolta alle 22.17)*

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*Skróty i symbole*

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

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

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych*

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

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych*

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