

PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 23 MARCA 2022 R.

(C/2024/5695)

PARLAMENT EUROPEJSKI

SESJA 2022-2023

Posiedzenia z 23 i 24 marca 2022 r.

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PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 23 MARCA 2022 R.

IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

1. Wznowienie sesji

President. – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on Thursday, 10 March 2022.

2. Otwarcie posiedzenia

(The sitting opened at 15.00)

3. Oświadczenie Przewodniczącego

President. – It's nice to see everyone back in the room. Dear colleagues, I am pleased to see you all back in this Chamber after almost two years of hybrid sessions. Can I ask you to take your seats? We have a very heavy agenda ahead of us.

So as you know, dear colleagues, at the peak of the pandemic, this House continued with its work in a new setting under modified rules. To date, we have successfully concluded over 180 legislative files. We have lived up to the expectations and served our citizens. Now, as the overall health situation is improving, we are gradually lifting our special arrangements, reopening this Parliament, as we have seen this week with so much activity to our citizens.

Of course, lessons from the pandemic will be drawn. And in the three upcoming part-sessions, we will be testing some recommendations of the focus groups that were tasked by our late President Sassoli to rethink parliamentary democracy, and our reforms will not stop there.

This Parliament is constantly evolving, just as the world around us is, and it is timely that during this session, in full presence, we will vote on the cohesion action for refugees in Europe to assist those persons, humans, individual citizens fleeing Ukraine.

Later today at 17.30 we will have the Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, addressing the House. I encourage you all to be here for the debates.

Our teams are currently negotiating more than 40 legislative files with the Commission and the Council, and I welcome the President of the Commission and the President of the European Council here. But this is just the beginning. Over the coming weeks and months, our legislative activities will further intensify, and I know I can count on your dedication to get our work done.

I also want to welcome our former President, Mr Pat Cox, who is with us in the gallery today.

(Applause)

He will be participating in the Solidarity Days with Ukraine, and I would like to thank you for joining our efforts to stop Russia's brutal invasion.

4. Zatwierdzenie protokołów poprzednich posiedzeń

President. – The minutes and the texts adopted of the sittings of 7, 8, 9 and 10 March are available. Can I ask colleagues whether there are any comments?

No, that does not seem to be the case.

(The minutes of the previous sitting were approved)

5. Skład komitetu doradczego ds. postępowania posłów

President. – In accordance with Article 7 of the Code of Conduct for Members of the European Parliament with respect to financial interests and conflicts of interest, on 16 March 2022, the following Members were nominated as members of the Advisory Committee on the Conduct of Members, and these are Danuta Maria Hübner, Giuliano Pisapia, Pascal Durand, Heidi Hautala and Geert Bourgeois, while Gerolf Annemans and Helmut Scholz will be the reserve members of this committee.

6. Skład komisji i delegacji

President. – The Renew Europe, Verts/ALE, ID and ECR groups have notified me of decisions relating to changes to appointments within committees and delegations. Those decisions will be set out in the minutes of today's sitting and they shall take effect on the date of this announcement.

7. Negocjacje przed pierwszym czytaniem w Parlamencie (art. 71 Regulaminu)

President. – The JURI, EMPL/FEMM and ECON committees have decided to enter into interinstitutional negotiations pursuant to Rule 71(1) of the Rules of Procedure. The reports, which constitute the mandates for the negotiations, are available on the plenary webpage, and their titles will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

Pursuant to Rule 71(2), Members or political groups reaching at least the medium threshold may request in writing by tomorrow, Thursday, 24 March at midnight, that the decisions to enter into negotiations be put to the vote. If no request for a vote in Parliament on the decisions to enter into negotiations is made within the aforementioned deadline, the committees may start the negotiations.

8. Negocjacje przed pierwszym czytaniem w Radzie (art. 72 Regulaminu)

President. – The JURI and FEMM committees, in joint meeting, have decided to enter into interinstitutional negotiations ahead of the Council's first reading, pursuant to Rule 72 of the Rules of Procedure.

The position adopted by Parliament at first reading which constitutes the mandate for those negotiations is available on the plenary webpage and its title will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

9. **Akty delegowane (art. 111 ust. 2 Regulaminu): patrz protokół**
10. **Środki wykonawcze (art. 112 Regulaminu): patrz protokół**
11. **Pytania wymagające odpowiedzi ustnej (składanie dokumentów): patrz protokół**
12. **Działania podjęte w związku z rezolucjami Parlamentu: patrz protokół**
13. **Składanie dokumentów: patrz protokół**
14. **Porządek obrad**

President. – We now come to the order of business. The final draft agenda as adopted by the Conference of Presidents on 9 March pursuant to Rule 157 has been distributed.

I would like to remind you that I informed all colleagues by email about the receipt of three requests for urgent procedure from the Commission, REGI and LIBE committees, pursuant to Rule 163, on the following legislative files: refugees in Europe (CARE); more flexible funds and use of funds under the AMIF Regulations in light of the war in Ukraine; and the Status Agreement between the EU and Moldova on Frontex operational activities. The vote on these three requests will be taken today once the order of business has been established.

Next, with the agreement of the political groups, I wish to put to the House the following proposal for changes to the final draft agenda.

Today, an address by Justin Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Canada, is added at 17.30 after the joint debate on the European Council meetings. The address will be followed by one round of political group speakers. The remaining debates already scheduled for this afternoon will start at 18.30 or after the end of the address by the Prime Minister of Canada. As a consequence, the sitting is extended until midnight.

On Thursday, if the vote on urgent procedure regarding CARE is carried, then a debate will be added at 11.00.

The objection pursuant to Rule 112(2) on maximum residue levels for flutianil and the reports by Mr Lebreton and Mr Dzhambazki on the request for the waiver of the immunity of Members are added directly to the votes.

Finally, the vote on the motions for resolutions on the implementation of the 2021-2027 cohesion policy is postponed to the next part-session.

If there are no objections, these changes would be deemed to be approved.

Good, I take it there are no objections. The agenda is adopted and the order of business is thus established.

I would also like to inform the House that I have received three requests for points of order. I will give the floor first to Manfred Weber to raise his point.

Manfred Weber (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin! Es ist zunächst toll, ein volles Plenum zu sehen, wenn ich das zum Ausdruck bringen darf. Dass wir heute wieder starten mit normalen Betrieb, ist eine tolle, schöne Erfahrung.

Dieses Haus, sehr geehrte Frau Präsidentin, war über die letzten Jahre geeint im Kampf für den Rechtsstaat in der Europäischen Union. Das ist etwas, was uns wichtig ist, was uns alle eint in diesem Hause, über die Parteigrenzen hinweg.

Letzte Woche wurde in einem Mitgliedstaat der Europäischen Union der Oppositionsführer für 24 Stunden ins Gefängnis gesteckt, und es lag keine formale Anklage vor. Es lag auch kein Richterbeschluss vor. Kein Richter wurde beteiligt. Es war nur eine Anweisung des Innenministers, eines Politikers, der den Oppositionsführer in die Haft gesteckt hat. Heute hat ein Gericht in Sofia entschieden, dass das Vorgehen des Innenministers nicht rechtskonform war, nicht mit der Rechtslage in Sofia, in Bulgarien in Einklang zu bringen ist. Wir haben es dort mit einem Bruch des Rechtsstaatsmechanismus zu tun.

Ich möchte es ansprechen, ich möchte die Kommission und auch unsere internen Dienste bitten, sich das genau anzuschauen. Wir wollen einen Kampf gegen Korruption – da stehen wir alle dahinter, aber dieser Kampf gegen Korruption muss auf Rechtsstaatsprinzipien basieren, und die wurden in Bulgarien gebrochen. Das muss geklärt werden.

President. – Thank you, Mr Weber. I will now give the floor to Christine Anderson for her point.

Christine Anderson (ID). – Madam President, based on Article 195 [*inaudible*] that it would have been more appropriate for Mr Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, to address this House according to Article 144, an article which was specifically designed to debate violations of human rights, democracy and the rule of law, which is clearly the case with Mr Trudeau.

Then again, a Prime Minister who openly admires the Chinese basic dictatorship, who tramples on fundamental rights by persecuting and criminalising his own citizens as terrorists just because they dared to stand up to his perverted concept of democracy, should not be allowed to speak in this House at all.

Mr Trudeau, you are a disgrace for any democracy. Please spare us your presence.

President. – I assure you, Ms Anderson, that Prime Minister Trudeau will address this House and exchange with us on the most important topics that we are facing today.

(*Loud applause*)

Bernhard Zimniok (ID). – Frau Präsidentin, werte Kollegen! Wir sprechen hier immer über unsere europäischen, unsere demokratischen Werte, auf denen unser aller Handeln basieren sollte. Ich habe als Diplomat fünf Jahre in Syrien und vier Jahre in Pakistan gelebt und weiß daher die Demokratie sehr zu schätzen.

Nun laden Sie, werte Frau Präsidentin, den kanadischen Premierminister Justin Trudeau ein, der diese Werte zuletzt mit Füßen getreten hat; der zehn Tage lang den Notstand ausgerufen hat, weil freie Bürger gegen die Coronamaßnahmen, die völlig unverhältnismäßig waren, protestiert haben; der rund 200 Bankkonten von kanadischen Bürgern hat einfrieren lassen, weil sie eine nicht genehme Bewegung unterstützt hatten. Offensichtlich kann man die Werte gar nicht mehr missachten, als er es getan hat.

Daher stelle ich den Geschäftsordnungsantrag, diesem Feind der demokratischen Werte keine Redezeit in diesem Hohen Haus der Demokratie – und jetzt halten Sie hier mal den Mund – zu geben.

President. – Thank you, I think you can wrap up now.

Iratxe García Pérez (S&D). – Señora presidenta, puesto que damos comienzo a una nueva etapa normalizando la actividad parlamentaria, yo lo que solicitaría a la Presidencia es que nos atengamos a nuestros procedimientos habituales. Para plantear una cuestión de observancia del Reglamento primero hay que indicar el artículo al que se refiere, para ver si es que no hemos cumplido algún artículo. Una cuestión de observancia del Reglamento no es para que aquí cada uno pueda coger el micrófono y decir lo primero que se le ocurre. Por lo tanto, si hay una cuestión de observancia del Reglamento, que se diga a qué artículo se hace referencia y en qué se está vulnerando el Reglamento de la Cámara.

President. – Let's now come to the votes on the requests for urgent procedure.

15. Głosowanie nad wnioskami o zastosowanie trybu pilnego (art 163 Regulaminu)

President. – We will vote on three requests. First of all, on refugees in Europe (CARE).

Before the vote, only the mover and one speaker against may be heard, along with the Chair or rapporteur of the committee responsible. So I'll give the floor now to Mr Omarjee, Chair of the REGI Committee, who asked to move the request. I give you the floor for 3 minutes.

Younous Omarjee, président de la commission REGI. – Madame la Présidente, au nom de notre commission REGI, je veux m'exprimer en faveur de ce vote d'urgence, qui, vous en conviendrez, ne porte pas sur une petite affaire, mais sur ce qu'il y a de plus horrible, de plus terrible, de plus tragique: la guerre, qui s'invite aujourd'hui dans nos travaux.

Nous pressentons tous que cette guerre d'Ukraine aura des conséquences vertigineuses pour toute l'Europe. Déjà sous nos yeux, d'ailleurs, a lieu l'un des plus vastes mouvements de population de notre histoire européenne récente. Des millions d'Ukrainiens, pris au piège des bombardements de l'armée russe et de ce qu'il faut bien appeler les crimes de guerre de Vladimir Poutine, ont pris le chemin de l'exode. En moins de trois semaines, ils sont déjà plus de 4 millions à avoir fui les bombes pour trouver refuge au sein de l'Union européenne. À l'heure actuelle, la Pologne accueille 2 200 000 réfugiés, la Roumanie 500 000, la Hongrie 300 000, la Slovaquie 300 000 et la Tchéquie 300 000. Et nous savons tous que, au fur et à mesure que la guerre durera, la pression ira croissant.

Partout, les besoins humanitaires augmentent de manière exponentielle, en majorité pour des femmes et pour des enfants. Ce sont des besoins premiers – aide alimentaire, santé, éducation et logement –, auxquels nous devons impérativement répondre.

Pour ces pays, pour les réfugiés ukrainiens, pour ces citoyens européens qui s'acquittent, dans des conditions parfois inimaginables ici depuis Bruxelles, de ce devoir d'accueil, nous devons, par ce débat, dire que la cohésion est présente, que nous faisons tout et que nous ferons tout ce qu'il est possible de faire pour apporter un appui concret aux États, aux régions et aux villes qui se trouvent aux avant-postes. C'est là l'objet du règlement CARE proposé par la Commission européenne, que notre commission REGI soutient. C'est notre devoir et c'est notre honneur de le faciliter à travers la politique de cohésion.

Madame la Présidente, mes chers collègues, pour conclure, ce débat sera aussi, j'en suis certain, celui de l'unité réaffirmée de notre Parlement pour dire que nous n'abandonnons ni les réfugiés ukrainiens ni les citoyens européens, qui, fidèles aux valeurs de l'histoire, se hissent aujourd'hui au niveau du devoir historique de fraternité, de solidarité et d'humanité qui est le nôtre.

President. – Is there anyone in this Chamber who wishes to speak against this request?

(Parliament agreed to the request for urgent procedure)

Nice to see that. So the request is adopted and a debate on this file will be held tomorrow, Thursday, 24 March at 11.00, with one round of political group speakers. As a consequence, our sitting will start at 8.30 in the morning. The vote will then be held also tomorrow at 11.30. The deadline for tabling amendments is today, Wednesday, 23 March at 17.00, and the deadline for tabling split and separate votes is later tonight at 20.00.

The second request is on a more flexible use of funds under the AIMF Regulations in light of the war in Ukraine. Again, before the vote, I will give the floor to the mover and any speaker who would like to speak against, along with the Chair or rapporteur of the committee responsible. I give the floor for 3 minutes to Mr López Aguilar, Chair of the LIBE Committee, who asked to speak in favour of this request.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar, *Chair of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs*. – Madam President, on behalf of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, I hereby confirm the urgency and priority of this procedure that has been activated by the Commission proposing a regulation to the Parliament and the Council amending a previous regulation laying down general provisions on the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, the so-called AMIF, and the regulation, the same year – 2014, related to Home Affairs Funds.

The objective of this proposal is addressing the harsh consequences of the unjustified and brutal war launched by Putin against Ukraine by facilitating all resources for the period 2014-2020 of the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, as well as to allow more flexible access to the internal security fund, to secure external borders and visas, and to prevent and combat terrorism and radicalisation. Greater flexibility, allowing to extend the scope and the period of eligibility and unblocking access to unspent resources.

In addition, this greater flexibility for the management of the funds will enhance the adoption of the measures set out in the Council Directive of 2001 on minimum standards for granting temporary protection, that we all know has been activated for the first time ever.

In addition, Member States will be able to allocate contributions for the period 2021-2027 under the heading of external assigned revenue. We're all aware of the situation – dramatic – caused by Putin's war and the particular situation at the border. Very delicate.

From the European Parliament and from the Committee that I have the honour to chair, we have been working to reaffirm our commitment to continue providing political, financial, material and humanitarian support in a coordinated manner, as well as supporting the reconstruction of a democratic and pluralistic Ukraine.

The proposal allows urgently to utilise remaining funds amounting to EUR 420 million, to help to address the increased number of persons on borders and migration management systems arising from the invasion. It is undisputable that this European Parliament should give its support, in our view, to respond to the current challenge and help people fleeing war zones.

Let me point out finally that a united approach is more necessary than ever before, at European level, to manage this situation. It must be based on mutual trust, solidarity, shared responsibility between Member States and institutions alike, all to ensure sustainable and responsible migration policy, security, border management, increasing the confidence of our citizens in the ability to join forces at EU level.

But I will also stress the importance of the complementarity of this proposal with the other that has been discussed in this session of the European Parliament – Cohesion Action for Refugees in Europe (CARE).

To conclude, let me highlight that we call on the Russian President to fully comply with his obligations under international humanitarian law, ensure humanitarian access to victims internally displaced in Ukraine and allow safe passage for civilians compelled to leave their beloved country.

President. – Thank you, Mr Lopez Aguilar. Is there anyone in this Chamber wishing to speak against this request ? I don't see anybody so I put the request to the vote.

(Parliament approved the request for urgent procedure)

The request is adopted and the vote will be held tomorrow at 11.30. The deadline also for tabling amendments is today at 17.00 and then for tabling split and separate votes at 20.00.

And finally, the third request is on the Status Agreement between the EU and Moldova on Frontex operational activities. I will give the floor once again to Mr Lopez Aguilar for 3 minutes.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar, *Chair of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs*. – Madam President, I have also been requested to request this urgent procedure for the handling of the Council decision on the conclusion of an agreement between the European Union and Moldova on operational activities carried out by Frontex, the so-called Status Agreement. The state with refugees at Ukrainian borders, as I said, is dramatic, following Putin's invasion against Ukraine.

The situation is extremely difficult for many bordering countries, which show determination to support them, including this one, which does not happen to be a member of the European Union, but it is under the impact of nothing less than half a million persons entering the Republic of Moldova from Ukraine following the invasion.

In view of that, we should support Moldovan authorities to be able to respond to the current challenges, help people fleeing as the situation continues. But this overall objective of the Status Agreement is also to ensure that the EU's largest agency, which is Frontex, will be able to provide operational support for the Moldavian authorities on the ground. Officers from Frontex will be able to support document checks, registration processes, assist vulnerable people.

But we also insist on the importance of protecting fundamental rights. Urgent need to support a neighbouring third country – sure – but it goes without saying that we must also make sure that the same level of protection and safeguards against fundamental rights violations will comply in Moldova, as in the EU.

So we expect the Commission and the agency providing the Parliament with information on the implementation of the Status Agreement regularly. We call on the Frontex Executive Director to terminate or suspend any operational activities if violation of fundamental rights or international protection obligations occur.

President. – Is there anybody wishing to speak against?

(Parliament approved the request for urgent procedure)

The vote will be held tomorrow at 11.30.

16. Informacje o posiedzeniu Rady Europejskiej w Paryżu 10 marca 2022 r. — Przygotowania do posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej, które odbędzie się 24–25 marca 2022 r. (debata)

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

— European Council and Commission statements on the debriefing on the European Council meeting in Paris of 10 March 2022 (2022/2570(RSP));

— Council and Commission statements on preparation of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022 (2022/2532(RSP)).

Let me also inform you that you will be able to request catch-the-eye and blue-card interventions via your voting machine, after you have inserted your voting card. So I would therefore invite you always to bring your voting card to the Hemicycle. Instructions in fact have been made available to you. Should you wish to register for catch-the-eye you should start doing so now.

I also want to remind you that interventions in this Chamber will continue to be made from the central rostrum, except for the catch-the-eye, blue cards and points of order, so I kindly invite you to keep an eye on the speakers' list and to approach the rostrum when your speaking time is imminent.

Charles Michel, *President of the European Council.* – Madam President of the European Parliament, Madam President of the Commission, dear Members of the European Parliament, one month of war, one month of death, destruction and suffering. One month of Russian terror against the people of Ukraine. One month of the democratic world rising up with full force to condemn Russia and to stand against this barbaric and immoral war.

Mariupol, like other cities, will forever be engraved in the history of martyred towns: a theatre bombed and an art school bombed, where so many people took refuge; 90% of the city damaged or destroyed; residents held hostage by Russian troops; no food, no water, no electricity, no heating. Mariupol, one month ago, was a vibrant city and today is in ruins.

Russia is responsible for this war. Russia alone. Targeting women, children, civilians – these are crimes and those responsible will face international justice. No impunity.

We are not alone in condemning this brutal war. Far from it. The EU, along with our partners and allies, is rock solid in our solidarity for Ukraine. For one month, an international coalition has risen up to denounce this war: nations, businesses, citizens, the United Nations. Together, we have one common goal: to defeat Vladimir Putin. Putin thought he would conquer Ukraine in a few days, and he was wrong. He thought he would divide the EU and our allies, and he was wrong. Because the people of Ukraine are fighting bravely, defending their homes and the future of their children, defending their democracy and defending our European common values.

The European Union, with our allies, we stand as one and we are taking action against the Kremlin. With our international partners, we have imposed the heaviest sanctions we have ever adopted, hitting the financial system, crippling key economic sectors and cracking down on supporters of the regime, freezing Russia's foreign reserves and banning banks from SWIFT. The rouble has plummeted, multinationals are fleeing, and there are sanctions on Russian companies and on decision-makers – propagandists, oligarchs – freezing their EU assets, banning their travel in the EU, targeting their yachts, their villas, their private jets. We are implementing these sanctions and working to close the loopholes that provide an escape for Russia. And we are prepared to do more to starve Putin's war machine.

As we speak, the Ukrainian people are battling for their freedom and we will not abandon them, because this is our political and moral duty. They are fighting not only for themselves, but they are fighting for our common values and principles in this side.

In Versailles two weeks ago, we decided to increase our humanitarian, political, financial and material support to Ukraine. Over three million people have fled to the EU, mostly women and children, and we are welcoming them with dignity and will continue to offer them any assistance they need and show solidarity with the countries on the front line. We will also continue to provide military equipment to Ukraine, with EUR 1 billion already mobilised through the European Peace Facility. We also have a very powerful tool in our Association Agreement with Ukraine and we must make the most of it.

Just last week we continued our support in the energy sector by connecting Ukraine and Moldova to our European electricity grid. We have also worked intensely on the diplomatic front to try to end this war. President Macron and Chancellor Scholz have also played an important role in our diplomatic efforts. I speak to President Zelenskyy nearly every day and have spoken with President Putin multiple times and the goal is clear: this war must end.

Our Ukrainian friends are also asking for another kind of help. That is political help. Ukraine is part of our European family and we agreed to support the European choice of Ukraine and its right to choose its own destiny. We have decided to immediately strengthen our bonds and deepen our partnership and to support Ukraine in pursuing its European path.

We have proposed to launch the Ukraine Solidarity Trust Fund and an international donors conference to provide support to Ukraine for its immediate needs and to help rebuild a free and democratic Ukraine.

Mesdames et Messieurs, nous aurons l'occasion d'aborder ces thèmes demain, lors de la réunion du G7 et du Conseil européen. Enfin, je veux présenter quelques éléments concernant ce 'programme de Versailles', qui, je crois, représente un élan vers une ambition de souveraineté européenne.

Nous savons tous ici que la promesse qui fonde le projet européen est celle de la paix et de la prospérité. Nous savons tous ici que, ces dernières années, dans cette assemblée, on a travaillé de concert avec le Conseil pour engager la transformation du projet européen en matière de prospérité prenant en compte les ambitions climatiques et numériques. Nous savons combien la COVID-19 a fait pression sur nous, a révélé nos forces, a montré nos faiblesses et nous a engagés à montrer encore plus de solidarité et d'ambition pour ces ambitions européennes.

À Versailles, nous avons recensé nos points de force et de faiblesse, et défini le programme et la méthode de travail qui nous permettront de progresser, nous le souhaitons, au sein du Conseil en étroite collaboration avec la Commission et le Parlement. Il y a trois points que je souhaite particulièrement mettre en évidence.

Le premier point, nous le voyons brutalement, mais nous ne le découvrons pas avec cette guerre: nous avons une faiblesse sur le plan énergétique. Cela montre la justesse de ce choix lié au pacte vert pour l'Europe et à notre ambition d'être davantage indépendants sur ce sujet à l'avenir. Or, sans attendre cette neutralité climat, il nous appartient de prendre immédiatement les mesures pour renforcer notre résilience et notre indépendance dans ce domaine, de sortir progressivement de notre dépendance, en particulier vis-à-vis du gaz russe. Ce sujet sera bien sûr au cœur de nos débats dès demain et après-demain au Conseil européen.

Le deuxième sujet, nous le voyons bien, c'est la question de la sécurité et de la paix liée à elle, et donc la question de l'Europe de la défense. Nous savons que, depuis de nombreuses années, des voix se sont élevées avec plus ou moins de force pour plaider ce rapprochement entre pays européens, pour développer davantage de capacités européennes en matière de défense et de sécurité. De premiers instruments ont été institués et mis en place. Nous le voyons bien, il faut maintenant changer de régime et de vitesse. Je suis totalement convaincu que cette décision qui a été prise avec courage par les vingt-sept dirigeants européens, à savoir la mise en place, par l'intermédiaire de la facilité pour la paix, d'une capacité de livraison de matériel militaire, est un pas en avant substantiel qui montre que l'Europe peut disposer, si nous le souhaitons, d'une réelle capacité d'influence et de puissance au service de la paix et de nos valeurs.

Enfin, Mesdames et Messieurs, le troisième élément touche à la robustesse de notre base économique. Si nous sommes en mesure de prendre des mesures qui atteignent le régime à Moscou, c'est parce que nous représentons une force économique: 450 millions de consommateurs et un marché intérieur puissant, avec des points de force et des atouts qui sont indiscutables, mais aussi – c'est vrai, soyons lucides – avec quelques points de faiblesse et de fragilité qu'il faut rapidement corriger. C'est le sens du travail qui est mené étroitement avec la Commission, avec le Conseil et, je l'espère, avec vous aussi au sein du Parlement européen.

Sur les microprocesseurs, nous devons être engagés pour développer les technologies qui, demain, vont fonder la différence, et garder cette capacité d'innovation. Quant au secteur de la santé – on a vu à quel point la santé touche directement notre capacité de bien-être collectif, mais aussi la capacité de soutenir notre base économique –, sur tous ces sujets et sur quelques autres, nous allons aussi continuer à progresser.

Madame la Présidente, Mesdames et Messieurs les Parlementaires, il est certain que les quelques dernières années n'ont pas été de tout repos pour le monde et pour l'Europe: la conscience d'une transformation climatique et numérique; une crise mondiale, la COVID-19, une pandémie qui nous a ébranlés et à laquelle nous avons résisté et à partir de laquelle nous avons tenté de tirer un certain nombre d'enseignements, y compris pour la relance économique et la volonté de travailler davantage ensemble; enfin, nous nous sommes réveillés, toutes et tous, il y a un mois avec une Europe différente, avec un monde différent, parce qu'à nouveau la guerre se déploie sur le sol européen.

Nous sommes conscients que notre responsabilité est d'être à la hauteur de ce moment, parce nous sommes conscients que les décisions que nous prenons aujourd'hui doivent être intelligentes et stratégiques pour faire en sorte que nous soyons à la hauteur de cette promesse de l'Union européenne: la paix et la prospérité.

Ursula von der Leyen, *President of the Commission*. – Madam President, Mr President, honourable Members, every day we watch in horror the images coming from besieged Ukrainian cities – the devastation of Mariupol, Kharkiv and the outskirts of Kyiv.

But let me take you for a moment beyond the front line, into occupied Ukraine. After the siege and the shelling, the reality of occupation is just as terrifying. Fresh food has become a luxury. Hospitals and pharmacies are running out of medicines. Hundreds of people have been detained by Russian occupation forces. And yet, every day, thousands of Ukrainians keep taking to the streets to protest against the invasion. In Kherson, in Berdyansk, in Melitopol they are waving their blue and yellow flags in the faces of the occupying soldiers. And they haven't stopped, even after Russian soldiers have beaten them and shot some of them down.

Honourable Members, if freedom has a name, its name is Ukraine. And the Ukrainian flag is the flag of freedom today.

All our efforts are aimed at making this war a strategic failure for Putin. And this is why Member States agreed to assign EUR 1 billion for security assistance to the brave Ukrainian fighters. But supporting Ukraine also means draining the resources that Putin is using to finance his atrocious war.

Last week, we decided on a fourth package of unprecedented sanctions. We are denying Russia the status of most favoured nation and severely restricting its access to our markets, because Russia should not benefit from the very same rules-based order that it is so grossly violating.

We are stopping new European investment across Russia's energy sector because we should not be reinforcing the energy dependency that we want to put behind us. We continue to pressure Russian elites close to Putin by hunting down their yachts, prestigious villas and expensive cars. Because those who sustain Putin's war should not be able to enjoy their lavish lifestyles while bombs are falling on Ukraine.

These measures come on top of three other packages of sanctions. They are already biting hard into the Russian economy. The rouble plummeted to an all-time low earlier this month. Interest rates are above 20%. Rating agencies have downgraded Russian bonds to junk status. Hundreds of global companies are leaving Russia because they don't want to feed Putin's war of choice. This, honourable Members, is the legacy that Putin will leave behind in Russia. He has become the worst enemy of the Russian people too. But first and foremost, he is responsible for the human tragedy in Ukraine. Until now, more than three million people have left Ukraine, half of them children. Every second, a child from Ukraine arrives in our Union – every second. So while I'm speaking to you here in the heart of European democracy, 800 children are leaving Ukraine – courageous, traumatised and in need of help. They leave behind their brothers and fathers not knowing whether they will see them again.

It is heartening to see the pan-European wave of solidarity for our Ukrainian friends. I applaud the enormous generosity of all Europeans, all Member States and Moldova. At the European level, we will mobilise massive resources to support Member States hosting people fleeing the war. We've made sure that the Regional Development and Cohesion Funds and REACT-EU can be used with the greatest flexibility so that cities and regions can invest in schools, housing and health care. And many, many thanks for your support. I just saw this is up to EUR 17 billion that we are moving now. Many thanks to you. But I think this is not enough.

We now propose to accelerate EUR 3.4 billion to frontload liquidity to our Member States that are showing such exceptional solidarity. So I count on you, honourable Members, to green-light this money quickly. This will send a strong message of our common commitment to supporting the Ukrainian people.

We should be clear-eyed about what lies ahead of us. Our continent is being rocked by a tectonic shift not seen since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The consequences of this war on Europe's security architecture will be far-reaching. And I'm not just talking about security in military terms, but also energy security and even food security are at stake.

So let me start with energy. Energy policy is also security policy, and that's why the Commission has proposed measures that would allow us to significantly reduce our gas imports from Russia. This is very ambitious, but we can achieve it. We have already set a clear path to do this and we are now accelerating. With our new proposal, REPower EU, we can speed up this transition even more. First, by fast-tracking renewable projects, this is a strategic investment in our security, including hydrogen and biogas. Second, by speeding up investment in energy efficiency everyone can contribute in reducing our dependency on Russian gas. And third, by diversifying our gas supply away from Russian gas towards reliable suppliers.

Tomorrow, I will discuss with President Biden how to prioritise LNG deliveries from the United States to the European Union in the coming months. We are aiming at having a commitment for additional supplies for the next two winters.

We are stronger when we use the power of our single market and deliver solidarity. In that spirit, we have just presented proposals to jointly tackle one of our root causes of the energy crisis, and these are the high and volatile gas prices. We are proposing common gas procurement and stricter rules for storage, because instead of outbidding each other and driving prices up, we should pull our common weight and start buying gas together as Europeans, not 27 different Member States.

In addition, we should use our gas storage facilities in some Member States of our Union to secure the gas supplies everywhere in our Union. This will not only benefit the Member States where those tanks are located, but also their neighbours. Take the Baltics, for example. Lithuania has one of the biggest LNG terminals in the region, while Latvia boasts massive underground storage facilities. So already today, LNG gas arriving in Klaipėda is used to fill storage facilities in Latvia and, of course, customers in neighbouring Estonia benefit as well. This is the way to go.

Finally, the effects of the Russian war go beyond energy, of course. They are also disrupting vital food supplies and driving food prices up. The European Union has assigned at least EUR 2.5 billion until 2024 to help regions across the world facing food insecurity. This morning, we decided on a wide range of special measures to help European farmers. We will table a package of EUR 500 million to support those most affected by the crisis.

We should not forget that Ukraine alone provides more than half of the World Food Programme's wheat supply. The shelling and bombing makes it impossible for Ukrainian farmers to sow. On top of that, Putin is blocking hundreds of ships filled with wheat in the Black Sea. So the consequences will be felt from Lebanon, Egypt and Tunisia to Africa and the Far East. I call on Putin to let those ships go, otherwise, he will not only be responsible for one death, but also for famine and hunger. Let these ships go!

Tonight will mark the first month of the Russian invasion. Since the very first day, Europe has stood united. Let us continue to do so. If there is anything that Putin did not anticipate, then it's our unity, the speed of our action and our determination. He should be in no doubt that we will stay the course. Long live unity and long live Europe!

Manfred Weber, im Namen der PPE-Fraktion. – Frau Präsidentin Metsola, Frau Präsidentin von der Leyen, Präsident Michel, *dear colleagues!* Vier Wochen haben wir jetzt Krieg in Europa – und das, was uns als erstes einfällt, ist Respekt gegenüber den Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainern. Ihr Kampf für ihr Land, aber auch für Freiheit und Demokratie, für Rechtsstaat sind beeindruckend. Sie verteidigen den *European way of life*, und Russland steht für einen groben, brutalen Zivilisationsbruch.

Die erste Aufgabe ist die Unterstützung für die Ukraine, und die wurde bisher auf beeindruckende Weise dargestellt. Ich möchte mich bei allen Exekutivverantwortlichen bedanken für das Engagement Europas. Europa steht zusammen bei den Sanktionen, bei der Unterstützung der Ukraine. Die wichtigste Botschaft ist sicher: Waffen, Waffen, Waffen. Zusätzliche 500 Millionen Euro wurden bereitgestellt. Ich möchte mich ausdrücklich bei Josep Borrell bedanken für seine Unterstützung und sein Leadership in dieser Frage. Die Europäische Union und die NATO sind nicht Kriegsparteien, aber die Ukraine hat das Recht zur Selbstverteidigung, und dabei unterstützen wir sie.

Die zweite Frage sind die Flüchtlinge, die Kinder, die Frauen, die nach Europa kommen. Auch ich möchte der Zivilgesellschaft Respekt zollen. Ich möchte Warschau erwähnen als einen der Orte, wo viele Flüchtlinge in Europa ankommen. Rafał Trzaskowski als Bürgermeister von Warschau, die Zivilgesellschaft, die Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die vor Ort helfen. Danke dafür! Sie zeigen das gute Gesicht Europas. Mehr Geld ist notwendig. Wir werden dabei noch weiter umschichten müssen. Und um Solidarität in Europa auch auf die lange Strecke aufrechtzuerhalten, werden wir auch über verbindliche Solidaritätsmechanismen, Verteilmechanismen in Europa reden müssen, damit alle ihren Beitrag leisten.

Das Dritte, was ich ansprechen will, ist, noch einmal an die Frage zu erinnern, die Präsident Selenskyj, als er hier gesprochen hat, uns gestellt hat. Er hat uns die Frage gestellt: Ist es wert zu kämpfen? Sind wir als Ukrainer willkommen? Dürfen wir Mitglied der EU werden? Ich habe gesagt: Ja, natürlich darf die Ukraine, muss die Ukraine Mitglied der Europäischen Union werden. Ich erhoffe mir, dass dieses Signal auch vom Rat kommt diese Woche – dieses klare Signal vom Rat kommt. Warum nicht jetzt einen Kandidatenstatus aussprechen? Warum nicht? Rechtsfragen sollten uns nicht davon abhalten.

Und dann, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, bleibt die 660-Millionen-Euro-Frage: Wir haben jetzt zweimal 500 Millionen Euro bereitgestellt, um die Ukraine militärisch zu unterstützen. Aber jeden Tag überweisen wir über 600 Millionen Euro, um unsere Gasrechnungen zu bezahlen, an Wladimir Putin. Das ist der Bezug, in dem wir arbeiten. Auch da ist Europa bisher nicht in der Lage, klare Antworten zu geben.

Es ist Realität: Wir finanzieren den Krieg. Es ist Realität: Wir finanzieren den Populismus, die Propaganda und die Diktatur. Es ist Realität: Wir finanzieren den Kriegsverbrecher in Moskau. Das ist die Realität. Und deswegen muss auch hier der Rat Führung zeigen, der Frage nicht ausweichen. Die Idee eines Sperrkontos liegt auf dem Tisch. Ich persönlich bin der Meinung, dass wir zumindest bei Öl und bei Kohle, wo eine Substitution leichter möglich ist – nicht einfach, aber leichter möglich ist –, dass wir zumindest bei diesen beiden Bereichen jetzt einen Importstopp aus Russland aussprechen. Wir dürfen nicht ausweichen. Und die Oligarchen in Moskau müssen spüren: Sie sind auf der Verliererstraße.

Zu guter Letzt, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die geopolitische Dimension: Heute Nachmittag wird Premierminister Trudeau im Europäischen Parlament sprechen. Warum wir jetzt aktuell so stark sind, hängt mit der wirtschaftlichen Stärke unseres Kontinents zusammen – und die hängt an der Frage, ob der Handel auf dieser Welt funktioniert, ob wir Handel treiben können. Davon leben unser Wohlstand und unsere wirtschaftliche Stärke. Deswegen bin ich der Meinung, dass wir jetzt mit allen Demokratien und freien Gesellschaften dieser Welt ein Upgrade machen müssen bei den Handelsbeziehungen, ein CETA Plus aushandeln mit Kanada. Alle diejenigen, die hier im Europäischen Parlament CETA abgelehnt haben, die möchte ich schon einmal daran erinnern: Ein Handelsvertrag zwischen Europa und Kanada ist kein Teufelszeug. Es ist eine gute Grundlage, um Europa zu stärken, um Wirtschaft zu treiben, um unsere wirtschaftliche Basis zu erhalten. Deswegen brauchen wir jetzt den Mut, dort voranzugehen.

Zu guter Letzt: Joe Biden hat den Telefonhörer in die Hand genommen und mit Präsident Xi in China telefoniert. Seine klare Botschaft war: Wenn China Waffen liefert an Russland, dann unterstützt es einen Kriegsverbrecher. Die USA werden das nicht dulden. Ich stelle mir die Frage: Wer nimmt im Namen Europas jetzt den Telefonhörer in die Hand und spricht mit China über diese Frage? Ist Europa bereit, Klartext zu sprechen gegenüber China in dieser Frage? Entscheidet euch nicht für die falsche Seite. Diese Thematik steht im Raum, nächste Woche findet der EU-China-Gipfel statt, und ich hoffe, dass Europa die Geschlossenheit hat, die Kraft hat, auch gegenüber China zu sagen, dass wir es nicht dulden werden, wenn China sich für die falsche Seite entscheidet. Wir laden sie ein zur Partnerschaft, aber wir werden nicht dulden, wenn Kriegsverbrecher unterstützt werden.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, un mes después de la invasión criminal de Putin, la fortaleza de nuestra unidad ha convertido a Rusia en un paria internacional, con graves daños para su economía. Pero, si queremos resistir y respaldar la admirable resistencia ucraniana, debemos orientar todos nuestros esfuerzos hacia dos frentes: mantener la presión sobre Putin y fortalecer la autonomía estratégica de la Unión Europea en energía y en defensa.

Las sanciones han estado a la altura de este momento, pero debemos —y podemos— hacer mucho más: cortar el acceso de Rusia a las bolsas de criptomonedas, perseguir a los paraísos fiscales que protegen a los oligarcas sancionados, aislar aún más a los bancos y gigantes de energía rusos y poner fin a nuestra dependencia del gas y el petróleo del Kremlin.

La debilidad de nuestro sistema energético siempre fue una verdad sabida que la guerra de Rusia ha dejado al desnudo. Hoy debemos afrontar los retos que tenemos: liberarnos de la dependencia energética de Rusia, acelerar todo lo posible la transición energética y gestionar los precios.

El gas ruso debe suplirse diversificando las fuentes de origen del gas e incrementando las interconexiones. La creación de reservas estratégicas y la compra conjunta también aumentarían nuestra resiliencia energética. Y, si realmente queremos hacer realidad nuestra autonomía estratégica y liderar una transición global, debemos acelerar el ritmo de instalación de renovables.

Seamos honestos, la defensa, que es el precio de la libertad y la democracia, está provocando el encarecimiento de los combustibles, de los fertilizantes, de los cereales, y esto nos empuja a tomar decisiones urgentes.

La fiscalidad debe seguir siendo una herramienta indispensable para afrontar el coste de la crisis: el diseño de un mecanismo de rebaja a las familias y a las empresas más vulnerables y que, a la vez, aumente los impuestos a las empresas eléctricas por los beneficios caídos del cielo, nos permitiría equilibrar los costes sociales de la crisis.

También resulta imprescindible reformar totalmente el sistema marginalista que rige el precio del mercado eléctrico de la Unión. Es la hora de desvincular el precio de la electricidad del precio del gas. No podemos seguir mirando a otro lado: sabemos que el precio del gas provoca subidas descontroladas de los precios, a pesar de suponer una fracción muy pequeña del total de la generación eléctrica.

El cobarde ataque de Putin también hace inevitable que aumentemos nuestro gasto en defensa. Pero no solo se trata de gastar más; se trata de gastar mejor. Y, por lo tanto, la brújula estratégica diseñada por el señor Borrell nos brinda la oportunidad de utilizar nuestras capacidades de forma eficiente.

En estas trágicas horas, casi cuatro millones de hombres, mujeres y niños han llamado a las puertas de la Unión Europea. Resulta urgente la adopción de un paquete de protección que cubra las necesidades básicas de los niños y las niñas. Son el futuro de un admirable pueblo que ahora lucha por sus libertades y también por las nuestras. La movilización y los gestos de solidaridad con los refugiados no solo deben mantenerse mientras dura la guerra, sino que deben conducirnos a un nuevo pacto de migración y asilo que ya no puede esperar más.

Las imágenes de los monstruosos ataques contra la población civil son testimonio de los crímenes de guerra cometidos por Putin. La Corte Penal Internacional no puede dejar impune la barbarie de este señor, de Putin. La Unión Europea también debe cumplir: los sacrificios que cada Estado pueda asumir por una acción conjunta de la Unión Europea permitirán que la conciencia cívica y democrática prevalezca.

Stéphane Séjourné, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente de la Commission, chers collègues, notre réponse inédite à l'invasion russe en Ukraine a suscité dans toute l'Europe un sentiment d'unité. Les images de souffrance et de désolation en provenance d'Ukraine doivent nous pousser à aller plus loin dans les sanctions, dans l'aide à ce pays et dans l'autonomie stratégique. La brutalité insensée des attaques russes sur les civils ne doit pas rester sans réponse. Il faut acter des sanctions plus dures pour couper le financement du régime et coordonner l'accueil des réfugiés afin d'éviter une catastrophe humanitaire.

Cependant, soyons honnêtes, et je le dis également aux groupes qui militent aujourd'hui pour aller plus loin: pourquoi les prochaines étapes paraissent-elles plus difficiles pour l'Europe? Pourquoi le coût de notre engagement auprès du peuple ukrainien est-il si lourd, aujourd'hui, pour l'Europe? C'est parce que l'Europe n'a pas encore tous les outils de sa puissance, et ce n'est pas un constat nouveau. Ce Parlement – mon groupe en particulier – n'a cessé depuis 2019 de soutenir l'ambition géopolitique de la Commission européenne; mais il serait naïf de croire que nous y arriverons sans une profonde révolution de nos organisations internes, de notre économie et de notre stratégie communautaire.

En effet, l'Europe-puissance demande une indépendance énergétique. Oui, l'urgence est à la diversification de nos approvisionnements, mais, sur le long terme, nous ne pouvons pas remplacer une dépendance par une autre. Ce programme lié au pacte vert doit être aussi revu et, sûrement, accéléré.

L'Europe-puissance demande une souveraineté alimentaire, on l'a vu, et nous avons également aujourd'hui une résolution à voter sur ce sujet-là au Parlement européen. Nous devons continuer notre transition tout en assurant une production massive, pour répondre aux besoins en protéines et aussi éviter une famine dans le monde.

L'Europe-puissance demande également une autonomie stratégique du point de vue industriel. Nous devons investir massivement dans les filières d'avenir et sécuriser nos approvisionnements en matières premières: c'est aussi là l'occasion de créer des millions d'emplois et de redynamiser notre économie.

L'Europe-puissance est enfin une demande sur la défense européenne, en lien étroit avec l'OTAN et avec notre propre ambition. Le groupe socialiste l'a rappelé, pour opérationnaliser notre boussole stratégique, nous savons que 5 000 soldats au sein d'une force d'intervention rapide ne suffiront pas.

Voilà, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente de la Commission, chers collègues: nous avons besoin de confirmer nos objectifs communs de souveraineté, de chiffrer les besoins financiers; nous sommes prêts à travailler à un fonds pour l'autonomie stratégique européenne, Monsieur le Président du Conseil, pour mutualiser les coûts et les conséquences de cette guerre et tenir le cap des réformes, sinon les prolonger et les amplifier.

C'est à ce prix, mais sans le statu quo, que nous serons capables de répondre à notre seul devoir: protéger nos citoyens européens et défendre nos alliés, quels que soient par ailleurs les fracas du monde.

Ska Keller, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group. – Madam President, Putin has brought back the horrors of war to Europe, and a cruel reminder of those horrors of the past and present is the violent death of World War Two Nazi concentration camp survivor, Boris Romanchenko, who was killed last week in the shelling of his apartment in Kharkiv. Our condolences go out to his family and friends, and to all Ukrainians who have lost loved ones in this senseless war.

Millions of people have had to flee from Ukraine. Women, who still a month ago were building their careers, are now homeless. Children who were surrounded by their friends at their last birthday party now hold onto their pets as their only friends left. Students who are studying for their final exams are now stranded and old couples who maybe used to sit in street cafes, watching passers-by, now sit for days in overcrowded trains, hoping to arrive somewhere safe, and yet they have nowhere to go.

In this war, as in so many others, lives have been disrupted from one day to the next and people have been left shattered and scattered. The suffering of those refugees is immense, but there is also immense solidarity among Europeans who give donations, hand out food and even open their homes for those people in need. I want to thank those volunteers wholeheartedly. You are showing what Europe is about. You are showing what humanity is about.

Member States have eased access at the borders and are setting up housing capacities. This solidarity is important and it is outstanding, but we need to speed up and we need to redouble those efforts. We need to redouble them and we need to protect people without discrimination.

As always, it's the countries that are in close geographic proximity that take the biggest inflows, but we all need to share together as Europeans, as European Member States, we need to share this effort of housing refugees among Member States, of registration and supporting those in need. We cannot expect a few countries alone to shoulder this immense task. All Member States have to do their share and they have to do it in the long run.

Unfortunately, many more people will probably have to leave their home or their temporary shelter in western Ukraine. The least we can do is to offer them a safe shelter, and that safe shelter needs to be organised now.

Let us not wait until we are sitting in a situation where we don't know what to do next. Let us prepare. We know what to do. We know that we need to be prepared. So everyone, every single Member State, needs to make the efforts to make sure that those people who are traumatised by the war will finally find a place to rest and to live in safety.

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. PINA PICIERNO*Vicepresidente*

Marco Zanni, a nome del gruppo ID. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Presidente della Commissione, signor Presidente del Consiglio, ogni giorno le immagini della devastazione e dell'aggressione russa all'Ucraina sono più drammatiche che mai e, nonostante sia passato già un mese da quel tragico 24 febbraio, non riusciamo davvero ad abituarci a questa devastazione che dobbiamo combattere con tutti i mezzi.

Quindi bene che giovedì e venerdì gli Stati membri e il Consiglio discutano su come incrementare il supporto alla straordinaria resistenza che il popolo ucraino sta portando avanti con mille difficoltà. E questa resistenza nel difendere la propria libertà deve essere da esempio per tutti noi.

Ovviamente ci sono queste emergenze. Il supporto al popolo ucraino prima di tutto. Il tema dei costi dell'energia, perché sappiamo, e ce lo siamo detti sin dall'inizio, che le scelte che stiamo portando avanti per supportare il popolo ucraino e contrastare la Russia nella sua azione hanno un costo per noi, hanno un costo per i nostri cittadini, e dobbiamo fare tutto il possibile affinché, dopo già due anni di pandemia drammatici, questi costi non ricadano sulle spalle dei più deboli.

Allo stesso tempo, credo sia necessario affrontare le emergenze che rimangono. La priorità è guardare al futuro, guardare a cosa le istituzioni europee devono cambiare per far sì che le debolezze che oggi dimostriamo di fronte a tanti fattori non diventino un elemento di debolezza nel futuro.

Il mondo stava cambiando prima del 24 febbraio e cambierà ancora più velocemente dopo il 24 febbraio. Credo che guardando alla mappa delle votazioni sulla risoluzione russa all'ONU dobbiamo porci delle questioni. È bene che il Consiglio inizi a dibattere su questi scenari futuri, perché paesi che rappresentano più della metà della popolazione mondiale non hanno sostenuto, si sono astenuti o hanno votato contro quella risoluzione.

Dobbiamo interrogarci sul perché questi paesi oggi non guardano al modello occidentale come un esempio da seguire, come un esempio di cooperazione, ma vengono attratti da modelli autoritari, da modelli che noi contrastiamo. Questa deve essere la domanda. Paesi amici, paesi che ricevono ogni anno fondi ingenti sia dagli Stati europei sia dal bilancio europeo, che oggi non si mostrano cooperativi, che oggi sono fondamentali nell'aiutare la Russia ad aggirare le sanzioni occidentali.

Ecco, credo che il Consiglio di giovedì e venerdì debba focalizzarsi sul futuro. Se non saremo in grado di dare una risposta a queste domande e di avere una strategia per i prossimi dieci o vent'anni, dove correggiamo questi errori, non possiamo parlare di autonomia, non possiamo parlare di un ruolo futuro geopolitico per il nostro continente, non possiamo parlare di un futuro prospero.

Chiudo con una domanda. Ne ha parlato il presidente Weber e io ne parlo da molto tempo. Cosa succede domani mattina se la Cina invade Taiwan? Siamo pronti ad agire e ad essere riparati contro qualsiasi evento che quanto accaduto il 24 febbraio ci pone davanti? Credo che questo sia il momento in cui, di fronte alle non scelte, scegliamo un percorso di scelte coraggiose.

Raffaele Fitto, a nome del gruppo ECR. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, da ventotto giorni stiamo assistendo ad un'aggressione militare da parte della Russia e ad una sempre più crescente serie di barbarie che colpiscono obiettivi civili e contemporaneamente ad una grande prova di coraggio e di resistenza da parte dell'Ucraina e del suo popolo. Ma sono anche ventotto giorni in cui il nostro continente ha riscoperto quel clima di guerra fredda che aveva caratterizzato il secolo scorso.

L'Unione europea e i suoi Stati membri hanno reagito con unità e determinazione all'aggressione dell'Ucraina, fino ad ora. Ma sappiamo che questo potrebbe non bastare e nelle prossime settimane potremmo essere chiamati ad ulteriori decisioni per contrastare questa azione. Per questo auspichiamo che il prossimo Consiglio europeo confermi le misure necessarie per fermare l'offensiva russa, in accordo con i nostri partner, e rafforzi il suo spirito di solidarietà, cooperazione e supporto nei confronti dei milioni di rifugiati che in questi giorni sono costretti ad abbandonare il loro paese e di quegli Stati come la Polonia e gli altri paesi di confine, che stanno dando una straordinaria prova dell'accoglienza e nella gestione dell'emergenza umanitaria.

Sappiamo tutti che le sanzioni sono necessarie, ma al tempo stesso ci rendono più vulnerabili. Per questo motivo ci deve essere un impegno ancora più forte per tutelare le nostre economie dalle conseguenze della guerra e mantenere il consenso dell'opinione pubblica europea.

Prendiamo atto positivamente del primo passo fatto nel campo della difesa con il varo della bussola strategica. Rimettere la difesa al centro delle nostre politiche è fondamentale. Le nostre economie devono continuare ad essere supportate, iniziando dai settori più colpiti dalle sanzioni. Se la guerra dovesse protrarsi nelle prossime settimane, le prospettive di crescita sarebbero fortemente e definitivamente ridimensionate.

Per questo occorre agire partendo dalle regole della governance economica. Tornare, in questi giorni, alle vecchie regole o alle vecchie procedure sarebbe una riforma al ribasso che costituirebbe un gravissimo errore. Sarà fondamentale fare scelte nel settore dell'agricoltura e dell'energia.

Al tempo stesso, in vista del prossimo vertice Unione europea-Cina, dobbiamo riaffermare con forza la nostra posizione, in particolare rafforzando la nostra autonomia economica, commerciale e strategica, e chiedendo senza ambiguità un impegno per la soluzione della crisi russo-ucraina. È il momento di decisioni concrete e immediatamente applicabili per l'Europa di oggi, ma soprattutto per quella di domani.

Δημήτριος Παπαδημούλης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η βάρβαρη εισβολή του καθεστώτος Πούτιν στην Ουκρανία απαιτείται να βρει μια κοινή, ισχυρή, ενωμένη ευρωπαϊκή απάντηση σε όλα τα επίπεδα: και στο επίπεδο της οικονομίας και στο επίπεδο της ενέργειας. Και οι κοινές κρίσεις –το έχουμε διδαχθεί από την πανδημία– απαιτούν κοινές απαντήσεις, ισχυρές και γρήγορα. Η πανδημία οδήγησε την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση στο να δημιουργήσει το Ταμείο Ανάκαμψης και Ανθεκτικότητας και να κάνει έναν τεράστιο κοινό ευρωπαϊκό δανεισμό. Μας οδήγησε σε κοινή διαπραγμάτευση και παραγγελία εμβολίων. Το ίδιο πρέπει να κάνουμε και με την ενεργειακή κρίση. Η Διεθνής Υπηρεσία Ενέργειας εκτιμά ότι τα υπερκέρδη των εταιρειών ενέργειας, μόνο για το 2022, είναι 200 δισεκατομμύρια.

Χρειάζεται λοιπόν φορολόγηση και πλαφόν σ' αυτά τα υπερκέρδη για να στηριχθούν νοικοκυριά και επιχειρήσεις: κοινή ευρωπαϊκή προμήθεια φυσικού αερίου LNG και υδρογόνου, επιτάχυνση των επενδύσεων με ανανεώσιμες πηγές ενέργειας και με δημόσιους πόρους, κοινή ευρωπαϊκή παρέμβαση κατά της αισχροκέρδειας στις τιμές χονδρικής και λιανικής και για την οικονομία. Έχουμε αύξηση του πληθωρισμού, δραστική μείωση της ανάπτυξης μέσα στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και νέα αύξηση των κοινωνικών και περιφερειακών ανισοτήτων. Γι' αυτό χρειάζεται κοινός ευρωπαϊκός δανεισμός με ευρωομόλογο και για την αντιμετώπιση της κρίσης και του πολέμου και της εισβολής στην Ουκρανία, όπως κάναμε με την πανδημία: παράταση της ρήτρας διαφυγής και για το 2023, ρεαλιστικές αλλαγές στους κανόνες του Συμφώνου Σταθερότητας, για να μη σκοτώσουμε τις επενδύσεις και την ανάκαμψη, για να μην ακυρώσουμε τα θετικά του Ταμείου Ανάκαμψης, για να αποφευχθεί μια νέα κρίση χρέους και άγριας λιτότητας, που, αν παρασύρει τον Ευρωπαϊκό Νότο, θα κοστίσει και στον Ευρωπαϊκό Βορρά και στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ολόκληρη.

Daniela Rondinelli (NI). – Signora Presidente, signori Presidenti, onorevoli colleghi, quella pace che in Europa tutti noi abbiamo sempre dato per scontata oggi non lo è più. La pace richiede quattro condizioni essenziali: verità, giustizia, amore e libertà. Questa frase di Papa Giovanni Paolo II oggi è più che mai attuale.

Se Putin sta calpestando tutte e quattro queste condizioni, noi al contrario le dobbiamo testimoniare, con tutta la nostra forza politica, diplomatica e morale, per non scivolare in un nuovo devastante conflitto mondiale. Perseguire la verità, sostenendo il giornalismo libero e non mentendo mai ai cittadini. Perseguire la giustizia e punire i crimini di guerra commessi in Ucraina. L'amore, accogliendo i rifugiati ucraini con dignità, e la libertà, aiutando il popolo ucraino a difendersi dalle bombe ma anche accompagnandolo nel percorso di ingresso nell'Unione europea. Dimostriamo con i fatti di essere diversi dalle barbarie e lavoriamo per la pace in Ucraina.

Contemporaneamente l'Unione europea deve fare un nuovo passo in avanti. Archiviamo una volta per tutte il Patto di stabilità e approviamo un *Energy Recovery Fund* contro il caro bollette e per gli investimenti nelle rinnovabili. Dimostriamo ancora una volta che quando serve l'Unione europea c'è e fa sul serio.

Michael Gahler (PPE). – Madam President, when I listen to certain Member States' governments who are speculating about possible oil and gas shortages for the next winter season, I really wonder how long they think and foresee that this war should last. I think we should take now all available measures to shorten this war, and that can only be done by applying now all possible sanctions on the war criminal in the Kremlin in order to strangle him economically to the extent that he has to stop this war.

That is why I call on our Member States and the Commission and the Council to really prepare for comprehensive oil, gas and coal sanctions now, as early as possible, in order to have this effect and, of course, to continue with the supply of arms, humanitarian aid and financial supplies to the government of Ukraine, to the extent possible, and thereby in parallel, of course, also helping the refugees.

That is the comprehensive way we can achieve something, not by nitty-gritty considerations. Let's do it now. *Slava Ukraini!*

Simona Bonafè (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'invasione militare dell'Ucraina voluta da Putin ha riportato la guerra nel cuore dell'Europa. Ma la guerra in Ucraina non è solo l'aggressione contro uno Stato sovrano, è un attacco frontale ai nostri valori di libertà, autodeterminazione e democrazia. Se vogliamo che questi valori siano ancora garantiti in futuro, in Europa ed altrove, noi dobbiamo saper cogliere fino in fondo la nuova fase che si apre.

L'Unione europea ha risposto con tempestività e coordinamento con una serie di pacchetti di sanzioni economiche e aiutando i milioni di profughi arrivati ai nostri confini. Non era scontato. Putin contava sulle nostre divisioni interne e ha sbagliato. Ancora una volta, l'Unione di fronte alle difficoltà ha saputo agire unita. Ma non basta. Questa guerra sta mostrando la necessità di accelerare sulla nostra autonomia strategica, riducendo la dipendenza energetica, rafforzando la nostra capacità di difesa comune, parlando con una sola voce in politica estera, costruendo una base economica europea più solida.

Il vertice di Versailles, nel sottolineare il sostegno totale dell'Unione all'Ucraina, ha messo anche a fuoco le sfide più urgenti che abbiamo davanti. Ora però devono seguire azioni, già dalla riunione del prossimo Consiglio, a partire dalla risposta alla crisi energetica, con forti investimenti nelle fonti rinnovabili, con stoccaggi acquisto comune di gas per ridurre già da quest'anno, già da ora, la dipendenza dalle forniture russe, e con l'introduzione di un tetto massimo europeo al prezzo del gas, per calmierare ora e in futuro i prezzi dell'elettricità ed evitare il collasso di famiglie e imprese. Solo così, solo rafforzando la nostra autonomia strategica, saremo davvero in grado di far prevalere la forza della legge alla legge della forza.

Malik Azmani (Renew). – Madam President, Putin's unjustified, brutal war against the innocent people of Ukraine continues to rage. The sheer bravery, dedication and determination of the Ukrainian people is awe-inspiring. We all feel the need to show our solidarity with Ukraine. We can do so by helping the Ukrainian people on the frontline of the battle for democracy. Financial, humanitarian and military aid must continue to flow.

The EU has shown its determination and unity so far, and Renew Europe applauds this. But let me be clear, Renew Europe wants to continue with imposing strict and coordinated sanctions aimed at Putin and his regime. The EU leaders will meet again for a fifth package of sanctions.

My message is this: the cost for Russia must continue to go up. No price is too high to prevail democracy. The longer the war lasts, the more we will be tested in our unity and solidarity towards the Ukraine. We already see the negative impact of the war in the rising prices of food and energy. And yes, we must mitigate these consequences to our citizens and businesses. However, this cannot become an excuse to back down. Let us always remember that it's the Ukrainian people who suffer the most and they are fighting our fight.

Jordi Solé (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, four weeks into Putin's criminal invasion of Ukraine, what is certain is that this war is not proceeding according to the Kremlin's fullest plans, latterly due to the impressive resistance of the Ukrainian people and a strong response from the European Union and our international allies.

Our priority now has to be ending this war. No more devastated Mariupols. This requires bold action on three levels. First, keep mobilising material means and humanitarian aid to help Ukraine resist the Russian attack. Second, increase the pressure on the Kremlin and its entourage, through new sanctions – which, yes, have to include energy – now. Sanctions alone will not stop Putin, but they will greatly increase the cost of his war. Finally, promote honest diplomatic negotiations.

The Strategic Compass is an attempt to give the EU a little more of hard power but a little less, maybe, of soft power. But even if defence cooperation is more timely than ever, our geopolitical awakening will only be real if we are able to combine capabilities and resilience with diplomatic, effective influence.

Gunnar Beck (ID). – Madam President, never let a good crisis go to waste. In common parlance, crises instil fear and disorientation, which allow clever politicians to impose otherwise unacceptable policies. We saw that during COVID and are seeing it now over Ukraine. We are told the war is fuelling energy and food price explosions because we are too dependent on Russian gas and oil. The EU's conclusion: to end Russian energy imports and to accelerate the green transition.

The truth is, without Russian energy, the lights would go out over most of Europe and energy prices would rise sky high – not because of delays over the Green Deal, but because of the Green Deal and because Germany, when President von der Leyen – who's now slipped away – was still a minister under Merkel, decided it would quit reason and be the first happy-go-lucky, hippy, green industrial power without nuclear energy and fossil fuels at one and the same time. Madness is trying the same thing over and over again and expecting different results. This includes the insane obsession of creating a single EU federal state, even if, as a result, most people are worse off.

Why does the European Commission not invite EU citizens to submit their energy bills to the Commission and indicate how much more they are willing to pay for the Green Deal, or whether they would prefer the Commission to use that money instead to pick up their energy bills.

Beata Szydło (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Na oczach świata kolejny tydzień mordowane są ukraińskie dzieci, kobiety. Niszczony są ukraińskie miasta i wsie. Miliony uchodźców szukają schronienia w innych państwach. Już ponad 2 miliony przybyły do Polski. Polacy otworzyli swoje serca i domy i przyjmą każdego, kto będzie potrzebował pomocy. I tak się dzieje w każdym polskim mieście, w każdej nawet najmniejszej polskiej miejscowości. Każdy Polak jest dzisiaj zaangażowany w niesienie pomocy narodowi ukraińskiemu. Polski rząd nie ma ważniejszego priorytetu niż pomoc Ukrainie i Ukraińcom.

My nie zostawimy Ukrainy. Polacy zawsze będą stali przy Ukrainie i przy Ukraińcach, ale potrzebujemy waszego wsparcia. Potrzebujemy waszej pomocy. Potrzebujemy, żeby wszystkie te kraje, które dzisiaj stają się domem dla milionów uciekających Ukraińców – ponieważ Putin cały czas morduje dzieci, kobiety i niszczy ich piękną ojczyznę – czuły realne wsparcie ze strony Unii. To nie Polska, to nie Słowacja, Czechy, Estonia czy inne kraje muszą prosić o pomoc. To tutaj, w tej Izbie, w Komisji Europejskiej, muszą zapadać konkretne decyzje, konkretne i odważne.

Odwagi Europo! Odwagi Europo, bo to jest ten moment, w którym waży się los nie tylko Ukrainy, ale ważą się losy całej Europy. Putin nie zatrzyma się, jeżeli Ukraina – ta dzielnie, bohatercko broniąca się Ukraina – zostanie pokonana. On pójdzie dalej. I musimy mieć wszyscy tego świadomość. To jest czas, w którym musimy być skuteczni. Same słowa, debaty i konferencje nie wystarczą. Sankcje, które przyjmujemy, muszą być skuteczne. To jest ten czas, kiedy walczymy o wolność nas wszystkich.

Özlem Demirel (The Left). – Frau Präsidentin! Meine Solidarität gehört den Menschen in der Ukraine. Doch das Leid der Ukrainer wird hier instrumentalisiert für eigene Geopolitik. Die EU macht sich auf den Weg hin zu einer Militärunion, weil aktuell der Kampf Demokratie versus Autokratie anstehe. Doch wer das glaubt, glaubt möglicherweise auch an den Weihnachtsmann. Denn Militarismus geht auch immer einher mit einem Abbau der liberalen Demokratie.

Die EU löst sich vom russischen Gas, heißt es. Doch gleichzeitig baut man Deals mit Katar aus, wie in Deutschland. Ist Katar keine Autokratie? Führt Katar keinen Krieg im Jemen? Ja, der Angriffskrieg des Putin-Regimes ist ohne Wenn und Aber zu verurteilen. Doch mit der Militärunion, mit den Milliarden für Hightech-Kriegsgerät wird doch jetzt kein Ukrainer gerettet. Bezahlen sollen die Aufrüstung hier Arme und Arbeiter. Mehr arbeiten sollen sie. Sie sollen höhere Preise akzeptieren. Dabei sagte schon die *EU Global Strategy*, worum es wirklich geht bei der Aufrüstung: Die EU müsse in der Lage sein, wichtige Handelswege und Seewege – zur Not auch militärisch – zu verteidigen.

Nun, im strategischen Kompass mit einer flexibel einsetzbaren Kampftruppe, soll sie auf den Thron gehoben werden, die Militärunion. Dabei rühmte sich die EU doch immer, eine Macht der Diplomatie zu sein. Die Message an andere Großmächte heute ist klar: Die EU ist nicht nur als Wirtschaftsmacht, sondern auch als Militärmacht bis auf die Zähne gerüstet, vorbereitet im Kampf um kommende Einflusssphären. Dem Sicherheitsbedürfnis der Völker in Europa wird man so nicht gerecht – alle Seiten nicht.

Wir, die Völker, die arbeitenden Menschen, die Arbeiter wollen weder diese Kriege bezahlen noch dafür kämpfen.

Balázs Hidvéghi (NI). – Madam President, every effort that we make in this situation has to be directed towards creating peace, reaching a ceasefire first and then a peace agreement as soon as possible. We should avoid any escalation of this terrible situation, which is terrible already. The bloodshed must end, and so we must make our decision based on that overarching goal. Sanctions are undoubtedly necessary. We have come out with sanctions, come up with sanctions, but we cannot harm ourselves more in this effort than the country we want to pressure with the sanctions. So although it's an emotional time, understandably, rationality must be maintained.

Now, let me come to the question of refugees. We are seeing the large influx of refugees into central Europe, into the European Union, and this is an extraordinary time. I salute the efforts of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, the countries that are helping and taking most of the burden in this situation. But this is also a situation of a test of maturity for the EU and the EU institutions in particular. It is high-time to leave behind the unimportant, petty ideological debates that have divided us so much over the past. Stop withholding funds to Hungary and Poland, as they are doing the most to help millions of Ukrainian refugees. These attempts were unacceptable already before the war, but since the war they are outright scandalous. Help the people who are helping the Ukrainians!

Siegfried Mureşan (PPE). – Madam President, the situation in Ukraine is worsening. People in Ukraine are being bombed, civilians are being bombed, hospitals are being bombed and schools are being bombed. So our answer needs to be clear – maximum support for Ukraine and the people of Ukraine, and maximum sanctions for the Russian Federation.

We have already applied some sanctions, but I believe that more is needed and more is justified when it comes to sanctions because of what the Russian army is doing in Ukraine.

This is why I say, firstly, the list of Russian individuals who are sanctioned has to be longer. Russian politicians, Russian oligarchs, Russian businesspeople, and all of those who are supporting the current Russian regime and the invasion in Ukraine have to be sanctioned. We have to stop their skiing in the Alps, their sunbathing in Nice, and their shopping in Paris and Vienna right now.

Secondly, we have to exclude Russian entities from public procurement in the European Union. Russian companies still have access to public procurement, including in key sectors. We have to stop that.

And thirdly, we have to stop funding the war machine, which means that we have to reduce as much as possible our imports of coal, gas and oil. I am for a total ban of these into Europe, even if it has costs. We have to see that defending democracy costs, but not defending it costs even more.

Marek Belka (S&D). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Już miesiąc Ukraińcy bohatersko bronią swój kraj, ale także demokratyczną Europę i świat przed bestialskim atakiem Rosji. Gdy tam trwa walka o życie, Wspólnota sankcjami osłabia kremlowskich zbrodniarzy.

Nie chciałbym uprawiać tutaj czarnowidztwa, ale z jednej strony blokujemy SWIFT, z drugiej setki rosyjskich ciężarówek codziennie rozjeżdżają nasze drogi. Z jednej strony zakazujemy eksportu drogich torebek, z drugiej płacimy miliardy za rosyjskie surowce. Zamrażamy majątki oligarchów lub, jak w Polsce, tylko głośno o tym mówimy, ale w rajach podatkowych ich pieniądze mają się dobrze.

Nakładane sankcje muszą przede wszystkim być skuteczne. Nie możemy traktować ich jako uspokojenia naszych sumień. Nie możemy dłużej udawać, że wkoło jest wesoło. Czas na większą przejrzystość i konsekwencję naszych działań. Czas wpisać Rosję na czarną listę krajów, które piorą pieniądze. Pora na zdecydowane kroki i jasny plan szybkiego odejścia od rosyjskich paliw kopalnych. Nawiązując do słów prezydenta Zelenskigo, nie potrzebujemy spokojnego sumienia Zachodu, potrzebujemy działań.

Katalin Cseh (Renew). – Madam President, long years of completely misguided policy towards Russia now cripples our ability to stop Putin, and we have to be absolutely furious about this right now. But there is still a way out of this trap and the key here is, once again, European solidarity. We need a new EU fund to help us break free of Russian dependence, to help our households who are suffering from the cost of living crisis.

But there is one even more urgent step here. Let's put an EU price cap on Russian gas. Gazprom jacked up their prices, so now we are handing extra profits to a war criminal. It is already on the Council table, this proposal. So let's reach an agreement right now. If we speak with one voice, Putin has no chance but to accept our terms – in our currency, in our price. He cannot put his gas elsewhere. He cannot stop extracting it. It is in our hands.

If Viktor Orbán disagrees, let's ask him why. Don't you want lower prices? Whose interests is he serving now here? It is Moscow driving energy prices to the sky while Orbán is blaming Brussels. So it's time for the Council to call his bluff. Also, it's time for Hungarian voters to do the same on 3 April.

Bas Eickhout (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, we've seen until now a very coordinated and united European response, and that has been very good and very important. However, the hard work still needs to be done, and one part of the hard work is our energy future. We have made a lot of mistakes in our past, but what are we going to do in the future?

I thank the Commission for coming up with proposals today for more jointly working on energy. However, this also needs to be done in the future, and this question is really for the Council. Will you now finally move on an Energy Union where we take decisions together, because Russia is profiting every day from 27 Member States who are competing with each other instead of working together on our energy future? That's one of the answers that we need to give, not only in the short term, but also in the long term.

To the Commission, I really want bolder proposals on energy efficiency. You talk about it, Ursula von der Leyen talked about it, it's very good language, but we haven't seen concrete proposals. We have not seen new targets on the table that will accelerate energy efficiency, because that's the key – energy we do not use is energy we do not have to import.

Jaak Madison (ID). – Madam President, I am very sorry that the President of the Commission had to leave. I really wanted to remind her of some small things. First of all, after 2014, when the Russian invasion against Ukraine started, for the next five years European countries increased, every year, the import of oil and gas from Russia. So that means for the last six, seven years, we have paid more and more money to Russia, and that's the money they can use in the army against Ukraine. So those European countries are also responsible for the war against Ukraine.

Second thing, if you are talking about our military capacity, what did Ms von der Leyen do when she was six and half years Minister of Defence in Germany. Its military capacity was destroyed. Two weeks ago, Germany promised to give at least military aid to Ukraine, but what came out? It doesn't have it – it doesn't have anything to give! That's also the fault of Mrs von der Leyen, unfortunately.

But okay, that's history. How can we go forward? Tomorrow, and in two days, there is a Council meeting – just now in the morning I checked. Twelve countries of the 27 have supplied military aid to Ukraine. Twelve of the 27. All the others have not done this. It's time to give more and more military aid to Ukraine, because the peace agreement can't be that the Russian occupants will stay in Ukraine, in Mariupol or eastern Ukraine. They have to get out of Ukraine. And for this work, we have to help in any way we can.

Hermann Tertsch (ECR). – Señora presidenta, a mí también me hubiera gustado que estuviera aquí la señora Von der Leyen para que nos explicara. Hace tres años nos vino con un cuento de Alicia en el País de las Maravillas, con una serie de prioridades que se ha visto que son unas prioridades radicalmente equivocadas y que nos han traído a donde estamos.

Desde luego, hay una cosa muy clara: estamos en una situación en la que cada vez es más evidente que si Ucrania fuera un miembro, una provincia lejana de una Unión Europea federal, ya la habrían hecho rendirse. Ucrania está luchando y Ucrania está cambiando el pulso de Europa porque es una nación, porque es una nación soberana, porque es una nación independiente y porque está luchando con sus hijos para mantener esa soberanía y esa independencia. Esa es la gran lección que debemos extraer de esta guerra y ayudarles a recuperar esa soberanía y mantener todos nosotros nuestra soberanía también.

José Gusmão (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, a agressão militar da Rússia à Ucrânia veio mostrar como é importante vencer a dependência da Europa em relação à Rússia. Uma dependência económica que se tornou também uma dependência política na resposta a esta agressão militar.

É importante que esta soberania energética da Europa se faça com uma agenda para a transição energética, sem hesitações e zigzagues, e não através de um regresso à Idade do Carvão. E é importante também que a resposta verdadeiramente solidária e responsável que está a ser dada à crise dos refugiados desta guerra da Ucrânia se alargue a todos os refugiados de todas as proveniências, cores de pele e religiões. A Europa não pode ter duas políticas de asilo, não pode discriminar entre vidas humanas.

Mas é importante também que as vítimas desta guerra não sejam usadas para remilitarizar a Europa, engordando a mesma indústria militar europeia que vendeu uma parte das armas com que a Rússia hoje agride o povo ucraniano. Dez países europeus continuaram a vender armas à Rússia, mesmo depois do embargo decretado pelas Instituições Europeias. A remilitarização é a promoção desta indústria, que depois irá espalhar armas pelo mundo. E também é, e também não pode ser, o branqueamento e o fortalecimento da NATO, uma organização internacional que é responsável por tantas guerras criminosas, por tantos milhões de mortos e refugiados por esse planeta fora.

O caminho da paz é o caminho de uma diplomacia autónoma da União Europeia, uma diplomacia para a paz.

Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, ενώ η ρώσικη εισβολή μαινεται συνοδευόμενη από κλιμάκωση εξοπλισμών και κυρώσεων από Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες και NATO, οι λαοί πληρώνουν πολλαπλά με ζωές, προσφυγιά, πανάκριβα καύσιμα, ενέργεια και τρόφιμα. Τα παζάρια και οι αντιθέσεις στο Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο με την εμπλοκή και των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών για το ενεργειακό εμπόριο στη Ρωσία, για τις κοινές παραγγελίες, την εξασφάλιση χρυσοπληρωμένης επάρκειας του ούτως ή άλλως πανάκριβου εισαγόμενου φυσικού αερίου δεν προμηνύουν τίποτα θετικό για τον λαό. Αντιθέτως, η ευρωενωσιακή στρατηγική Πράσινης Μετάβασης, το Χρηματιστήριο Ενέργειας, προδικάζουν τους αντιλαϊκούς όρους τέτοιων συμφωνιών. Όροι που καθιστούσαν άλλωστε πανάκριβη την ενέργεια και πριν τον πόλεμο. Πρόκειται για συμφωνίες χρυσοφόρες για τους ομίλους με βασική προϋπόθεση ο λαός να πληρώνει αδρά για τα κέρδη τους.

Τώρα να δυναμώσει ο αγώνας για κατάργηση των έμμεσων φόρων, των πράσινων χαρατσιών στα καύσιμα και την ενέργεια με πλαφόν ανά κιλοβατώρα, για εξουσία και οικονομία με σχεδιασμένη αξιοποίηση του συνόλου των μορφών και των πηγών ενέργειας για τις λαϊκές ανάγκες, για να σταματήσει η ενέργεια να είναι εμπόρευμα!

Arnaud Danjean (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, il y a deux semaines jour pour jour, juste avant le sommet de Versailles, j'avais modestement pris la parole à Strasbourg devant cette assemblée pour rappeler que, en matière de défense européenne, nous n'avons pas besoin de réinventer la roue, l'eau tiède ou l'eau chaude – comme on veut –, et que tout existait. Tous les outils, nous les avons à notre disposition.

Tout en saluant certaines initiatives, comme l'utilisation abondante et bienvenue de la facilité européenne pour la paix pour livrer des armes à l'Ukraine, je constate quand même que les conclusions du sommet de Versailles sont très loin des attentes. Il y a beaucoup d'autosatisfaction, mais il y a surtout beaucoup de déclarations d'intention.

Je vais prendre un seul exemple, très parlant parce qu'il concerne les capacités, nos équipements militaires, ce sur quoi tout le monde convient qu'il faut faire des efforts aujourd'hui. Voici le point 11 des conclusions de Versailles: «Nous invitons la Commission, en coordination avec l'Agence européenne de défense, à présenter une analyse des déficits d'investissements dans la défense d'ici la mi-mai». Pourquoi attendre la mi-mai? Je vais exonérer la Commission de ce travail: tout figure dans le rapport annuel de l'Agence européenne de défense. Celui de 2020 énumère les six domaines d'action prioritaires qu'il faut entreprendre. Mieux, le document de l'Agence européenne de défense fait référence aux conclusions du 14 novembre 2016. Si vous comparez les conclusions du Conseil de novembre 2016 et celles du sommet de Versailles, vous serez bien en peine de trouver beaucoup de différences.

Donc maintenant, assez des déclarations d'intention, assez d'autosatisfaction: il faut agir. On ne peut pas perdre six ans de plus.

Pedro Marques (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Caros Colegas, a cruel e injustificada invasão da Ucrânia está a provocar um verdadeiro desastre humanitário: dez milhões de deslocados, tantos deles para a União Europeia.

A solidariedade com os que recebemos tem que ter correspondência nos meios que mobilizamos para os receber e integrar. A resposta à guerra não é apenas dada com as sanções ou o apoio militar à Ucrânia. Tem que ser dada também com meios para apoiar os refugiados aqui na Europa e enfrentar as consequências sociais desta guerra. São as pessoas mais desfavorecidas que mais sofrem o impacto da escalada de preços, da energia ou dos alimentos. Não podemos permitir que o aumento da pobreza, nomeadamente a pobreza energética, seja o preço a pagar por esta guerra.

Soubemos criar o *Next Generation EU* para responder à crise da COVID. Saibamos também agora inovar, saibamos estar à altura desta luta que é também a nossa luta pela liberdade e a democracia.

Luis Garicano (Renew). – Madam President, the purpose of the financial sanctions that we placed on Russia was to crush the financial system. This was our key contribution to the war effort. Sadly, we have failed in this mission.

In the first ten days of the war, the rouble crashed 17%. Since then, it has basically recovered most of that fall. Is the financial system in meltdown? No, by no means. Why did it fail? Why did we fail? The answer is very simple – our sanctions have more holes than a Gruyère cheese.

Two key facts: first, we have only blocked some banks from SWIFT. The rest of the financial system is enough to channel all the payments. Second, even as we blocked the existing reserves of the Russian Central Bank, we are adding EUR 1 billion more in hard currency every day. To borrow a saying from my Dutch friends – this is like mopping the floor with the tap on. It cannot work.

Mr Minister, Mr Vice-President, there is no such thing as a cheap victory. Sanctions with holes are no sanctions at all. Freedom is worth much, much more than we have been willing to pay for it until now.

Viola Von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, Russian bombs in Ukraine are falling not only on kindergartens and maternity wards, but also on silos and tractors. In today's global world, a grain field burnt down by Russia in Sumy spells hunger in Yemen. Ukraine is a major exporter of wheat and other crops. The poorest states in Africa are facing a looming famine because one man in the Kremlin wants to destroy a nation.

Millions of displaced Ukrainians, among them farmers, who cannot cultivate their land, are also on the verge of a humanitarian calamity. While Russian bombs kill thousands, Russian-caused famine endangers hundreds of millions. China and India contribute to skyrocketing grain prices through excessive hoarding. There's enough reason to be alarmed. All international donors and organisations, every responsible party, has to act to prevent the catastrophe.

The EU has a responsibility to decrease meat production, reduce livestock numbers and to scrap mandatory admixture of biofuel. In this way, the EU could at least mitigate a famine and a humanitarian disaster.

Anna Fotyga (ECR). – Madam President, it may be difficult, costly and painful, yet we have to make everything possible to assist Ukraine in defeating the empire of evil. First, by imposing further sanctions and thus stopping financing of the Russian war machine. Then, to assist in combating the aggressor. Last but absolutely not least, to bring all perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity – each and every one, not only Putin – to justice. God bless Ukraine.

Clara Ponsatí Obiols (NI). – Madam President, while everybody was looking at Ukraine, Spain has recognised the sovereignty of Morocco over the Western Sahara. Spain is ignoring the right of self-determination and international law. Pedro Sánchez is dancing to the tune of an autocratic regime and is opening a crisis with Algeria.

The Council needs to be paying attention to this. Why have they done this? Perhaps because of Ceuta and Melilla, perhaps because of the control of immigration that they want to give to Morocco. Why is the Commission ...

(The President cut the Speaker off)

Presidente. – Onorevole le chiedo di attenersi all'ordine del giorno, altrimenti devo interromperla. Come sa abbiamo un regolamento che vale per tutti, nessuno escluso.

Clara Ponsatí Obiols (NI). – But it's not right to be looking the other way on the affair of Western Sahara. Yet again, Spain's nationalistic pride is dragging the Union away from international law and democratic ...

(The President cut the Speaker off)

Presidente. – Direi che possiamo andare oltre perchè l'onorevole non si attiene al nostro ordine del giorno. Come sapete, il regolamento vale per tutti e quindi, purtroppo, le devo togliere la parola. Mi dispiace ma è così. Ci siamo dati un regolamento che vale per tutti e che rispettiamo tutte e tutti.

Antonio Tajani (PPE). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'invasione inaccettabile da parte della Russia dell'Ucraina provocherà un cambiamento epocale nell'Unione europea. Il Consiglio di domani e dopodomani dovrà affrontare la grande questione di un'Europa che deve essere politicamente più forte per difendere i propri valori, ma che deve puntare anche sulla autosufficienza.

Autosufficienza della difesa: bene, quindi, la bussola e bene i passi in avanti nella difesa unica dell'Unione europea come strumento di politica estera. Autosufficienza industriale: abbiamo bisogno di microchip europei. Autosufficienza alimentare: non possiamo essere sottoposti ai capricci di Mosca e di altre potenze. Autosufficienza energetica: dobbiamo fare dei passi in avanti verso il mercato unico dell'energia, con un tetto al prezzo del gas e acquisti di stock unici, per permettere all'Europa di essere libera e di non essere costretta ai ricatti o della Russia o di altri paesi.

Ecco perché serve un'azione forte anche dal punto di vista economico, serve rinviare il Patto di stabilità, serve un *Recovery* con dei bond per avere più soldi e serve che la Banca centrale continui con il *quantitative easing*.

Heléne Fritzon (S&D). – Fru talman! Artikel 2: "Alla barn har samma rättigheter och lika värde." Artikel 3: "Barns bästa ska beaktas vid alla beslut som rör barn." Barnkonventionen innehåller mänskliga rättigheter för barn, och alla EU:s medlemsländer har förbundit sig att följa dem.

Vi hörde att ett ukrainskt barn flyr Ukraina varje sekund. Rysslands brutala krig mot Ukraina är också ett brutalt krig mot Ukrainas barn. Vi måste alltid försvara barns rättigheter, och självklart även i krig.

Förra veckan krävde vi socialdemokrater att rådet och kommissionen omgående ska ta fram ett barnpaket för att skydda och hjälpa barn, både de som flyr från Ukraina och också dem som är kvar i Ukraina. Vi är glada att kommissionen har lyssnat, det är bra. Nu vill man betona ett barnrättsperspektiv som måste integreras i alla åtgärder. För det krävs åtgärder – nu.

Frédérique Ries (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, nous devons un respect immense au peuple ukrainien, à ces hommes et à ces femmes qui, depuis vingt-sept jours, face à la brutale agression de la Russie, se battent pour défendre leur terre, se battent pour défendre leur patrie et se battent aussi pour défendre les valeurs fondamentales qui sont les nôtres.

Alors, notre message au Conseil européen est simple, finalement: accueillir dignement ces millions de réfugiés qui frappent à notre porte et garantir le droit à l'éducation pour leurs enfants et le droit à l'aide sociale ainsi qu'à un emploi digne pour leurs parents.

Au-delà des sanctions à contrôler ou à ajouter contre le régime de Vladimir Poutine, l'Union européenne doit appliquer la même méthode, dans le fond, que celle qui a bien fonctionné pour la gestion de la pandémie: je veux parler des achats groupés, cette bonne idée espagnole présentée au Conseil au mois d'octobre, si je me souviens bien, et à laquelle j'ai fait référence à plusieurs reprises à cette tribune.

Oui également à un accord sur le plafonnement des prix de l'énergie en prévision de l'hiver prochain. C'est la seule manière d'aider les ménages européens à garder la tête hors de l'eau. En Europe, depuis janvier dernier, le prix du gaz a ni plus ni moins que triplé. C'est intenable.

Je conclus, Madame la Présidente: l'Europe doit être solidaire à la fois avec les Ukrainiens, qui paient le prix du sang, et avec tous ces foyers européens qui sont aujourd'hui au bord de la précarité.

Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, 18 milliards, c'est la somme que nous avons versée à Vladimir Poutine depuis un mois, depuis qu'il a lancé son agression contre l'Ukraine, pour le simple achat d'énergies fossiles. Ce sont 18 milliards qui financent sa guerre.

Notre réponse doit reposer sur une sortie accélérée des énergies fossiles. Or, dans notre pays, Monsieur, en France, un géant de l'énergie comme Total ne comprend toujours pas qu'on ne peut pas faire de profits au détriment du climat et des droits humains. Nous avons besoin d'une sortie rapide et définitive pour cesser de financer la guerre actuelle et pour éviter les conflits à venir du fait du dérèglement climatique.

Mais où sont les grands travaux pour la rénovation et l'efficacité énergétiques, ou pour les interconnexions et les énergies renouvelables? Où est l'interdiction des vols des jets privés ou des vols à vide? Où est l'aide si terriblement nécessaire à l'Algérie pour l'énergie solaire? Où est la requête qui doit être faite à l'industrie de remplacer les 64 % de gaz qu'elle consomme par des pompes à chaleur ou des solutions alternatives?

Non, les solutions que vous proposez aujourd'hui – la prolongation à long terme des contrats de gaz de schiste comme ceux d'Engie, la construction de multiples infrastructures gazières ou le stockage permanent du gaz – ne font que déplacer le problème, au détriment même de la paix que nous prétendons défendre.

Paulo Rangel (PPE). – Senhor Presidente do Conselho, Senhora Vice-Presidente, é fundamental ser solidário com os ucranianos, com a tragédia humanitária que nós vemos todos os dias diante dos nossos olhos. Mas para isso é fundamental acabar com o financiamento da guerra do Kremlin e de Putin. Isso significa ser capaz de fazer um embargo imediato à compra de petróleo e de gás, e eventualmente um embargo comercial total. Neste momento, Putin quer que o gás e o petróleo sejam pagos em rublos, o que só fortalecerá a sua economia.

Não podemos pactuar com o financiamento da guerra, não podemos fortalecer aqueles que fazem uma guerra de agressão e de invasão. E para nos protegermos é fundamental, naturalmente, tratarmos do fornecimento energético e do fornecimento alimentar, e no caso do fornecimento energético, que este Conselho tenha um plano especial para as interconexões em toda a Europa, da Península Ibérica à Grécia, do norte da Alemanha ao Adriático.

Gabriele Bischoff (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Millionen von Flüchtlingen sind inzwischen in Europa angekommen, Millionen traumatisierter Kinder, Millionen Frauen, die ihre Liebsten, ihre Väter, ihre Brüder zurücklassen mussten, um in Europa Schutz zu suchen. Die Mehrheit dieser Geflüchteten ist in Polen. Polen hat mehr aufgenommen als alle anderen EU Länder zusammen – danke dafür.

Aber auch in meiner Heimat, in Berlin, kommen jeden Tag tausende Menschen an. Mehr als 20 000 Menschen haben Schutz gefunden, und wir sehen, es kommen Gruppen an, die besondere Unterstützung brauchen, gerade solche, die krank sind oder pflegebedürftig. Deshalb ist es richtig – und ich möchte der Kommission dafür danken –, dass sie CARE so schnell auf den Weg gebracht hat.

Wir müssen all den Kommunen, all den Städten, die jetzt helfen, die so eine starke, tolle Zivilgesellschaft haben, ganz konkret das Signal geben: Wir lassen euch nicht im Regen stehen, wir unterstützen euch jetzt, wo wir kommen – Europa hilft hier.

Aber diese Hilfe wird mittelfristig nur funktionieren, wenn wir jetzt wirklich einen Verteilschlüssel für alle Flüchtlinge europaweit verabschieden. Deshalb mein Appell an den Rat: Das liegt bei Ihnen auf Eis, lösen Sie das! Ansonsten werden wir in einem halben Jahr nicht mehr sagen können: *Long live unity!*

Nicola Danti (Renew). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Ministro, signor Vicepresidente, credo che tutti noi conosciamo il senso di frustrazione e di smarrimento dei nostri cittadini dopo due anni di pandemia e l'arrivo di una guerra ai nostri confini. Ma mai come adesso l'Europa è percepita come una casa che protegge. Ecco perché i risultati del prossimo Consiglio devono sostanziare questo messaggio.

Dai capi di Stato e di governo ci aspettiamo segnali forti nei prossimi giorni di lavoro. Ci aspettiamo un segnale all'Ucraina, continuando a sostenerla nella sua resistenza e nei suoi cittadini che scappano, garantendo loro accoglienza. Ci aspettiamo un segnale alle nostre famiglie, alle nostre imprese, mettendo in campo gli acquisti comuni di gas e un tetto ai prezzi dell'energia. Ci aspettiamo un segnale ai settori europei penalizzati dalle sanzioni alla Russia, approvando un piano di sostegno, come è stato fatto a suo tempo per la Brexit.

Infine, ci aspettiamo un segnale al mondo ed in particolare a quei paesi che all'ONU hanno votato contro la risoluzione alla Russia. Non spero di essere partner commerciale domani, chi oggi sceglie di stare dalla parte sbagliata della storia.

Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, 85 years ago, Nazis and fascists bombed Guernica. Today, Putin's totalitarian regime destroys Mariupol by bombing civilians there just as cruelly. Or should we compare the siege of Mariupol to the criminal siege of Leningrad in the Second World War? In 1937, democratic Europe did not do enough to help defend the Spanish Republic against Nazi and fascist terror. Are we doing enough today to help defend Ukrainian democracy? No, not yet.

I appeal to the Council: send Ukraine more arms and stop financing Putin's war machine now!

Luděk Niedermayer (PPE). – Madam President, let me be very short. Maybe it's time to speak less and act more. So let me ask the Council first to drastically reduce or eliminate the cash flow to Russia for purchasing gas and oil. Second, to take measures that will minimise the negative impact across the EU of these steps. Last not least, in order to support millions of Ukrainian refugees, to use as much as possible of EU money to assist the countries that are welcoming these millions of people.

Miapetra Kumpula-Natri (S&D). – Madam President, I would say to dear Ukraine: you show us what is important in life. It is peace, it is democracy, it is the rule of law and it is friends. We don't need more authoritarian leaders or violent nationalism, but cooperation and unity.

You actually, Putin, made us love the European Union. You made us see the things that we should have done earlier, take the steps that we should have taken earlier. We are too dependent on fossil energy, and we are paying into your war machine. This needs to stop.

Also, the Council needs to take brave steps on the Strategic Compass and make Europe more resilient. Sanctions will hit Russia, no question about it. But it is not possible, if we are to continue your energy politics, that we will pay so much.

Putin, the blood on your hands will not be long hidden from the people of Russia!

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtaráin*, the bombs continue to drop in Ukraine, and while Putin, hiding his evil from his own people, levels cities with complete and utter disregard for human life, we now see the most intensive refugee crisis since World War Two.

Putin, the tyrant, has been placated and facilitated by some even in this House, most of whom have desperately scrambled to rewrite their own record, but also a small minority who remain wilfully blinded by Russian propaganda.

The enormity of the amount of people fleeing terror will require a response from government and society unlike anything most in Europe have ever seen. We must meet this challenge.

The cost of living crisis across Europe must also be addressed. We need urgent, targeted measures to prevent more surges of energy prices. The Council must look at VAT and energy tax rates immediately, and the Commission should adopt extraordinary measures to allow subsidies to alleviate energy policy and wean ourselves off Russian fossil fuels as soon as possible.

Klára Dobrev (S&D). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Bármennyire is sokkolnak minket a háborús agresszorok, meglepnek minket a háborújukkal, a háború sosem előzmények nélküli, csak későn vesszük észre a jeleket. A háborús agresszorok először mindig a saját országukban kezdik. Ott kezdik az elnyomást. Eltűntetik a független médiát, ami marad azt a párt propagandacéljaira használják fel. Civileket ügynököknek bélyegeznek, megpróbálják megfélemlíteni az ellenzéki politikusokat, a független intézményeket, bíróságot, ügyészséget, alkotmánybíróságot, megpróbálják pártirányítás alá helyezni és zajlik az államilag szervezett lopás, az oligarchák gazdagítása. Igen, Putyinról beszélek, de innen üzenem az összes illiberális, kis Putyinnak Európában, hogy soha többé nem leszünk vakok. Hogy ez a Ház, az Európai Parlament, soha többé nem fogja hagyni, hogy a jogállamiságot és a demokráciát lábbal tiporják. Mert ha valamire megtanított minket Putyin háborúja, hogy a jogállam és a demokrácia az egyetlen, ami megvédi az európai emberek békéjét.

Andrius Kubilius (PPE). – Madam President, it's our war too. This war is fought not only in Ukraine; the fight is also going on in EU capitals.

The only real way to end the war now is to introduce the maximum sanctions on Russia now – an embargo on oil and gas, an embargo on ports, and SWIFT sanctions on all Russian banks, and doing so in such a way as to push Putin to capitulate and withdraw.

Unfortunately, there are capitals in the EU who are opposing the introduction of those maximum sanctions, including an embargo on energy imports, without clear arguments and clear numbers. European people have a very clear opinion. They demand that we show maximum support to Ukraine, alongside maximum sanctions.

Yesterday here in the Parliament, we created a global network of parliamentarians: United for Ukraine. That is the title of this network. As a beginning, there are 160 parliamentarians from 28 countries, but there will be much more. The network will do its utmost to convince national leaders, Members of the European Council, to listen to their voters and to stop financing Putin's war.

Either we're on the side of Ukraine and European citizens, or we continue to finance Putin's war. It is a simple black-and-white choice, which we need to make now.

Ivan Štefanec (PPE). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, už štyri týždne prebieha zločinecká ruská vojnová invázia na Ukrajinu a už štyri týždne statočne Ukrajinci bránia nielen svoju vlasť, ale aj slobodu, demokraciu a Európu. Som si absolútne istý, že musíme zastaviť všetky, naozaj všetky obchodné vzťahy s agresorom, ktorí priamo či nepriamo financujú ruskú vojnu. Takéto rozhodnutie je nielen logické a ekonomické, ale aj morálne. Ekonomické sankcie voči agresorovi nielen sťažujú jeho fungovanie, ale zároveň aj zvyšujú našu bezpečnosť. Spoločný európsky prístup v energetike, spolupráca pri energetických zásobníkoch a spoločný nákup energií – to sú záruky, že tak ako v pandémie, aj v tejto šialenej ruskej vojne dokážeme situáciu spoločne zvládnuť.

Naša podpora statočným Ukrajincom prebieha na všetkých úrovniach. Dnes je pán prezident Zelenskyj lídrom ochrany života a slobody myslenia nielen vo svojej vlasti, ale aj na celom svete. Som si istý, že si zaslúži našu podporu, aj naše najvyššie ocenenie, ktorým je Sacharovova cena za slobodu myslenia. Ďakujem za vašu podporu.

Procedura «catch the eye»

Karlo Ressler (PPE). – Poštovana predsedavajúca, agresija na Ukrajinu označila je početak nove epohe za cijeli naš kontinent, epohe velikih geopolitičkih promjena, ali isto tako epohe neizvjesnosti.

Takav primjer neizvjesnosti imali smo primjer vidjeti, nažalost, i prije dva tjedna u Zagrebu, mome gradu, kada je vojna bespilotna letjelica sovjetske proizvodnje, preko četrnaest metara velika, preko šest tona teška, pala u Zagrebu, u naseljenom području, neposrednoj blizini studentskog doma i sama je sreća da nije bilo poginulih. Ali, neovisno o tome, ovaj opasan, neobičan incident poprilično dobro pokazuje koliko smo blizu rata, nažalost i bliže nego što nekad mislimo.

I zato je vrijeme da se probudimo iz nekakve uljuljkanosti. Vrijeme je za jedinstvo. Vrijeme je za lojalnost u ovim najosjetljivijim trenucima za cijelu Europsku uniju, za cijeli NATO, ali isto tako i za cijelu europsku civilizaciju jer ovo je jedna ozbiljna opomena da slobodu i mir niti na europskom kontinentu više ne možemo uzimati zdravo za gotovo i da ćemo se za slobodu i mir morati moći i ovdje u Europi, ali i u Hrvatskoj, izboriti.

Margarida Marques (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, o que se espera deste Conselho Europeu é uma resposta europeia que permita apoiar a Ucrânia e os ucranianos e ucranianas, os que ficam no país e os que chegam à União Europeia. Que penalize o invasor, sem cortar com o povo russo que, tal como nós, se opõe a esta invasão. Que assuma novas prioridades, como a defesa e a segurança energética. Mas estas prioridades devem ser somadas às prioridades e à ambição política da União Europeia, assumidas no quadro do mecanismo de recuperação e resiliência, como a transição climática e o digital. Somar e não substituir. Que proteja os cidadãos europeus em matéria de segurança, mas também do impacto das sanções nas economias europeias. Não podem ser os mais vulneráveis a pagar os aumentos dos preços da energia ou dos produtos alimentares. Que abra caminho para uma autonomia estratégica da União Europeia em todas as suas dimensões, incluindo a energia.

Espera-se uma resposta europeia robusta, como europeia e robusta foi a resposta à crise pandémica.

Bronis Ropė (Verts/ALE). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, kolegos, jau mėnuo laiko, kai vyksta šis karas, šis siaubas. Ar pakankamai mes padarėme, kad įsivrautų taika? Manau, kad ne. Turime ne tik klausyti, bet ir girdėti Ukrainą, ko jai reikia ir kiek mes galime jai padėti. Manau, kad laikas jau apsispręsti dėl kandidatės statuso. Taip pat manau, kad privalome didinti sankcijas Rusijai. Jau visiems aišku, kad turime atsakyti Rusijos iškastinio kuro ir nefinansuoti karo mašinos. Komisijos pateikti duomenys rodo, kad Europa iki žiemos yra pilnai apsirūpinusi tiek dujomis, tiek iškastiniu kuru. Taip pat baikime manipuluoti. Ir jeigu nutraukėme Rusijai galimybę naudotis SWIFT, tai nutraukime visiems bankams, ne tik kai kuriems.

Bogdan Rzońca (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Zwracam się do pana komisarza i do przedstawiciela prezydencji francuskiej z pytaniem, czy prezydencja francuska weźmie pod uwagę to, co robi Polska dla uchodźców? Przyjęliśmy 2 miliony uchodźców, nie otrzymaliśmy pieniędzy z Krajowego Planu Odbudowy. Czy według Pana to jest sprawiedliwe? Czy wy nam pomożecie? Bo te pieniądze Polsce po prostu się należą. Liczę na to, że będziecie po stronie prawdy i sprawiedliwości.

Dziwię się ogromnie, że dzisiaj na tej debacie nie pada w ogóle podziękowanie w stronę Polski, Polaków, polskiego rządu, polskich samorządów, podkarpackich samorządowców, którzy pomagają uchodźcom z Ukrainy, przyjmując ich pod swój dach. I wiem dlaczego to pomijacie, bo jest was wstyd, że głosowaliście poprzednio wiele razy na tej sali przeciwko Polsce. Chcieliście wprowadzić sankcje przeciwko Polsce za jakiś rzekomy brak praworządności. Tego się wstydzicie i nie wymieniacie Polski. A Polska dzisiaj jest pierwszym krajem, który niesie bezinteresownie pomoc.

Bardzo proszę przedstawiciela prezydencji francuskiej o odpowiedź i o pomoc dla Polski, Polaków, którzy służą Ukraińcom, którzy uciekli przed bombami Putina z Ukrainy, ze swojej ojczyzny i ze swoich domów.

João Pimenta Lopes (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, o que a discussão no Conselho permite antecipar é a intenção de acelerar o processo de considerável aprofundamento do militarismo da União Europeia: uma bússola estratégica orientada à guerra, ao intervencionismo, à ingerência, à confrontação, que garante uma maior e substancial mobilização de recursos financeiros para a indústria das armas, a criação de capacidade operacional e um alinhamento com a NATO, assumindo-se a UE como seu pilar europeu.

A quem serve e quem pagará este caminho? Este caminho não serve a paz, não serve os interesses dos povos e a resposta às necessidades e problemas com que se confrontam.

Ao mesmo tempo que se propõe a isenção do IVA para o armamento, milhões de pessoas confrontam-se com incontroláveis aumentos especulativos dos preços da energia e combustíveis, a par do generalizado aumento do custo de vida.

Para lá de medidas que só agora – em situação extrema – se admitem de regulação do mercado, o que urge é fazer o caminho de reversão da liberalização do setor e recuperar o controlo público do setor energético, estratégico para o desenvolvimento soberano de qualquer país.

(Fine della procedura «catch the eye»)

Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission. – Madam President, Minister, honourable Members, first and foremost I would like to thank all the Members intervening in this very important debate, because they truly underscored the historic times we are living and the need for courageous European decisions to support brave Ukrainian people in their fight for freedom and in their fight for our European values. And in this respect, this week's discussion of our leaders at the European Council will be truly a strategic one. The leaders will consider all issues related to the Russian war against Ukraine, and I think that we should be proud of our response so far. It has been resolute, robust and rapid, and I think that it was also a result of the first-class cooperation and coordination within the EU, among all our institutions, but also beyond.

If you allow me to reiterate, in unwavering terms, the European Union stands by Ukraine and its people. And I think it was very clear from today's debate in this House that we all share a determination to remain united, that we will continue to work on further coordinated political, financial, material and humanitarian support to Ukraine; that we are standing ready to move quickly with further coordinated sanctions and close the loopholes, as some of the honourable Members have been highlighting how important it is, and add all of those to the sanctions which we already adopted and which we see that are having a crippling effect on the economy of Russia.

A lot of the honourable Members brought very emotional, and rightly so, stories of refugees fleeing the Ukrainian war. And I have to say that we approach it with the same emotion in the European Commission. Therefore, you saw that today we've been adopting new rules to make sure that these 3.4 million people, so far, who are overwhelmingly women and children, would have proper shelter and proper protection. That we would make it easier for them by our welcoming reception, but also making sure that their kids go back to school as quickly as possible. That everyone who needs it will get proper healthcare anywhere in the European Union and therefore we guaranteed 10 000 beds – and I really would like to thank all the Member States for being so solid there in showing the possibility to treat patients in all the hospitals across the European Union. That the housing will be provided for those who need it and that we will protect the children more than anyone else.

Many of the honourable Members have been referring to the very important issues of energy – our dependence on fossil fuels coming from Russia and the need to reshape our system as quickly as possible. I am glad that here we are not starting from scratch and I was working with many of you on the Energy Union in the previous mandate. And I have to say that your work, your support, was so crucial for us having now the world interconnected, an energy security network, and it helps us a lot in these very difficult geopolitical circumstances.

But we are working further on increasing diversity of the supplies, having more LNG in our system and we are working with all partners. And just last week I visited the United States, where I felt a strong desire to help us, to supply us with LNG in quantities that Europe would need.

But I agree with all of you that we need much more coordinated EU policy on gas: on buying, on storing, on responding to any supply disruption. And to this end, we stand ready to create a task force on common gas purchases at European level to make the best possible deals with this and put our purchasing power of the European Union being the number one, top-class client in the world. I believe that the leaders tomorrow will give a green light to this solution, and the task force will be up and ready to make sure that we will secure those deals for European businesses and for European consumers.

I also recognise the need to tackle high energy prices, which are hitting our households and businesses and therefore we adopted a series of options for the leaders to debate tomorrow. What can we do with reduced VAT? How can we use the vouchers for the most vulnerable consumers? And do we want to go in the direction of the possibility to cap electricity and gas prices, as well as using the new temporary crisis framework for state aid? All these are on the table, and we believe that after leaders' deliberations tomorrow, we will be able to proceed very quickly with concrete proposals.

To answer the honourable Member, I totally agree with him that the cleanest energy is the energy which is saved. Therefore, we see this as an opportunity to accelerate green-energy build-up, to reduce energy consumption and increase energy efficiency. I am very glad that now we have legally binding targets when it comes to energy efficiency and by 2030 we would increase it by 36-39% and reduce our energy consumption by 9%.

To conclude, let me once again say that we are absolutely united more than ever to support the Ukrainian people, and I'm sure after what we have seen over the last four weeks, what I've witnessed in the debate today, that the brave people of Ukraine will prevail and Ukraine will come victorious out of this atrocious war.

Slava Ukraini!

Clément Beaune, *président en exercice du Conseil*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Vice-Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les Députés, cela fait un mois qu'a été déclenchée une guerre abjecte, dont la seule responsable et la seule coupable est la Russie de Vladimir Poutine. Cela a été rappelé dans un esprit, je crois, d'unité et de responsabilité.

Nous avons trois messages européens et trois lignes de conduite depuis le déclenchement de cette guerre. D'abord, nous nous devons la fermeté à l'égard de la Russie pour exercer une pression maximale, qui a déjà un effet majeur sur la Russie, économique notamment. Nous continuerons ainsi – cela a été dit par le président du Conseil européen, cela a été encouragé par la Commission européenne et relevé par beaucoup d'entre vous: nous devons faire davantage, notamment en matière de sanctions. Cela est discuté, vous le savez, régulièrement au sein du Conseil. Nous devons continuer cet effort, beaucoup l'ont souligné, y compris sur la question de l'énergie, à l'évidence.

Un message, évidemment, de solidarité à l'égard de l'Ukraine et de son peuple, qui mènent ce combat avec un courage extraordinaire au nom de nos valeurs et au nom de l'esprit européen, pour la liberté de leur territoire et la souveraineté de leur pays. Cette solidarité passe par une aide humanitaire européenne, par une aide militaire exceptionnelle, les efforts d'ordre militaire ayant été soulignés. Il est vrai que, comme l'a rappelé le député Danjean, c'est la volonté politique qui doit être renforcée, et je crois que la facilité européenne de paix a démontré qu'elle n'était pas simplement un outil budgétaire, mais aussi un outil concret, qui permet aujourd'hui, avec le doublement annoncé en début de semaine, de livrer concrètement des armes pour la défense de l'Ukraine. Cette solidarité, elle doit s'exercer également entre pays européens, notamment pour l'accueil des réfugiés qui ont déjà fui par millions l'Ukraine. Je salue en effet l'effort d'accueil et de solidarité particulier des pays qui sont en première ligne: la Pologne, la Roumanie, la Hongrie, la Slovaquie et, en dehors de l'Union européenne, la Moldavie. Avec tous ces pays, nous devons renforcer aussi l'effort de soutien, activer, comme nous l'avons fait, la protection temporaire, qui permet d'ores et déjà de partager une part de cet effort, et, nous l'avons dit, en tant que présidence comme en tant que pays, nous sommes prêts à renforcer encore cet effort de solidarité européenne dans les prochaines semaines.

Le troisième message, c'est précisément celui de cette unité de l'Union européenne, que nous devons développer et approfondir. Cela veut dire améliorer nos capacités de défense et nos capacités de souveraineté – nous l'avons souvent dit et porté – dans les domaines énergétique et agroalimentaire.

Cette semaine a été adoptée la boussole stratégique, laquelle sera confirmée, au niveau des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement, demain et après-demain. Ce n'est pas simplement un document; c'est une feuille de route d'action avec des mesures concrètes. Il faudra là aussi la volonté politique pour la traduire en réalité le plus vite possible. C'est aussi cette unité, ce renforcement de la souveraineté européenne, la réduction de notre dépendance dans les domaines que j'ai évoqués. Oui, nous devons le faire plus rapidement, cela a été plusieurs fois rappelé, dans le domaine énergétique, et pas seulement pour les quelques semaines qui viennent. Nous devons réduire de manière rapide et durable notre dépendance aux énergies fossiles – de Russie, notamment. L'énergie sera très importante dans les discussions du sommet européen qui a été évoqué, et qui se tiendra donc demain et après-demain.

Je salue les propositions nouvelles que la Commission européenne a formulées aujourd'hui pour nourrir cette discussion. J'ai évoqué la réduction des dépendances à long terme. Cela veut dire aussi, pour le court terme, d'avoir des mesures – qui seront discutées, qui sont parfois difficiles, nous le savons – d'achat et de stockage communs, ou des mesures de maîtrise des prix, pour que notre dépendance soit précisément mieux maîtrisée.

Tout cet effort européen se fait en coordination avec nos partenaires internationaux. Nous entendrons le Premier ministre du Canada dans un instant, et vous savez que demain, avant le sommet européen, une réunion de l'OTAN et une réunion du G7 se tiendront également, pour que tout notre effort se fasse avec le message de fermeté et d'unité le plus grand de la communauté internationale et des Occidentaux contre la Russie.

Nous devons faire plus, nous devons le faire ensemble et nous devons avoir en tête à chaque fois, malgré les dépendances qui existent et que nous devons limiter le plus rapidement possible, que c'est nous qui sommes la puissance forte, c'est nous qui imposerons nos valeurs, c'est nous qui défendrons nos intérêts, et nous le ferons en soutien à l'Ukraine et à ses côtés.

Presidente. – Grazie, grazie davvero, sottosegretario Beaune. Grazie anche a tutte le colleghe e a tutti i colleghi che hanno contribuito alla discussione.

La discussione congiunta è chiusa.

Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)

Kinga Gál (NI), írásban. – Magyarország segít, Ukrajna számíthat ránk. Eddig közel fél millió menekült érkezett Magyarországra, főként nők és gyermekek. Mindenkin segítünk: azokon, akik a háború elől menekülnek, és azokon is, akik Ukrajnában maradtak. Egyre több a belső menekült, akik az ország nyugati felében, így Kárpátalján keresnek biztonságot. Magyarország nem szállít fegyvereket a háborúba, de minden humanitárius segítséget megad a bajbajutottaknak. Most épp egészségügyi ellátáshoz szükséges eszközöket és hogy legyen elég tiszta víz a térségben, nagymértékű segítséget küldünk Ukrajnába. Elítéljük az orosz agressziót, kiállunk Ukrajna szuverenitása mellett, erőfeszítéseink közép-pontjában a béke megteremtése áll. Minden erőnkkel azon kell legyünk, hogy elkerüljük a háború eskalálódását, a konfliktus ne terjedjen Ukrajna határain túlra. Határozott álláspontot képviselünk abban, hogy Magyarországnak ki kell maradnia ebből a háborúból. Magyarország nem támogatja az EU-s szankciók energiaszektorra történő kibővítését. Az olyan javaslat, amely az Oroszországból érkező energia szankcionálását célozza, egyrészt ellehetetlenítené az európai egységes fellépés fenntartását, másrészt Magyarország és néhány más uniós ország esetében aránytalanul, szinte elviselhetetlenül nagy terheket jelentene. Az energiaellátás biztonsága elsődleges szempont, számunkra a magyar emberek biztonsága az első. Teljes mértékben elítélem azt a veszélyes dezinformációs kampányt és az ellenünk gerjesztett álhírt, amit sajnos néhány képviselő kollégám is terjeszt felelőtlenül, mert ezáltal veszélyeztetik a határ túloldalán élő emberek biztonságát.

Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D), por escrito. – Los socialistas españoles subrayamos la fortaleza de la unidad europea y reclamamos que todos los esfuerzos se concentren no solo en mantener la presión sobre Putin, sino también en fortalecer la autonomía estratégica de la Unión Europea en energía y en defensa.

Abogamos a medio y largo plazo por diversificar el abastecimiento energético, incrementar las interconexiones, crear reservas estratégicas, poner en marcha compras conjuntas de gas y acelerar el ritmo de instalación de renovables.

Y a corto plazo, reclamamos tomar decisiones urgentes para aliviar las consecuencias económicas de esta guerra que ya se están sintiendo en el bolsillo de los ciudadanos europeos, principalmente en la cesta de la compra y en la factura energética. Por eso defendemos el diseño de un mecanismo de rebaja a las familias y a las empresas más vulnerables que, a la vez, aumente los impuestos a las empresas eléctricas por los beneficios caídos del cielo, para así equilibrar los costes sociales de la crisis.

También es el momento de que Europa se responsabilice de su propia seguridad aumentando sus capacidades de defensa y seguridad de forma eficiente e innovadora.

Por último, los socialistas españoles reclamamos, una vez más, un Nuevo Pacto de Migración y Asilo.

Christine Schneider (PPE), *schriftlich*. – Wir sind nach wie vor fassungslos über die Gewalt, mit der wir jeden Tag konfrontiert werden: Bei den russischen Angriffen auf die Zivilbevölkerung und auf zivile Objekte, darunter Krankenhäuser, medizinische Einrichtungen, Schulen und Schutzunterkünfte, gibt es unzählige Todesopfer und Verletzte in der Zivilbevölkerung. Ich unterstützte die Forderung, dass sich alle Länder den verhängten Sanktionen anschließen, und dass alle Versuche, die Sanktionen zu umgehen oder Russland auf andere Weise Hilfestellung zu leisten, unterbleiben müssen. Die Aufnahme der Flüchtlinge, die vor dem Krieg in der Ukraine fliehen, fordert unsere Solidarität. Daher begrüße ich die rasche Mobilisierung von EU-Finanzmitteln für Flüchtlinge und diejenigen, die Flüchtlinge aufnehmen.

Henna Virkkunen (PPE), *kirjallinen*. – Ukrainan sota on yhdistänyt Euroopan unionin ja koko länsiliittouman ennennäkemättömällä tavalla. Osoituksena tästä myös Yhdysvaltain Presidentti Biden osallistuu huomiseen EU-huippukokoukseen. Länsiliittouman on yhdessä tehtävä kaikkensa, jotta Putinin armottomat sotarikokset Ukrainassa saadaan loppumaan. Turvallisuuspoliittista yhteistyötä on jatkettava niin NATO:n piirissä kuin laajemminkin. Tarvike- ja aseapua Ukrainaan on edelleen lisättävä.

Nyt jäsenmailta tarvitaan päätös viidennen pakotekierroksen asettamisesta Venäjää vastaan. Ruuvia on kiristettävä. Sekä Venäjään että Valko-Venäjään kohdentuvia sanktioita on tehostettava ja laajennettava Venäjän taloutta kannattelevalle energiasektorille. Samoin loputkin pankit on irrotettava SWIFTistä. On sietämätöntä, että me edelleen rahoitamme Putinin sotaa tuomalla Venäjältä fossiilista energiaa sadoilla miljoonilla joka päivä. Jäsenmaiden on lopetettava venäläisen kaasun, öljyn ja kivihien tuonti.

Komission RePowerEU-tiedonanto ja esitykset kaasun toimitusvarmuusvarastoinnista ja muista valmiustoimista ovat tervetulleita. Ne on toteutettava nopeasti. Energian korkeisiin hintoihin on vastattava ensisijaisesti kansallisen tason toimilla. Päästökauppajärjestelmään tai sähkömarkkinoille häiriöitä aiheuttaviin toimiin ei pidä ryhtyä. Pidemmällä tähtäimellä tärkeintä on vauhdittaa siirtymää omiin vähäpäästöisiin energiaratkaisuihin, mukaan lukien ydinvoima.

Venäjän hyökkäyssota Ukrainassa on osoittanut, että Euroopan unionin puolustus- ja turvallisuuspoliittista yhteistyötä on tiivistettävä. Strateginen kompassi antaa tähän hyvät suuntaviivat. Niitä on lähdeävä nyt toteuttamaan ja vahvistettava EU:n roolia Naton eurooppalaisena pilarina.

Presidente. – La seduta è sospesa per pochissimi minuti e riprenderà con l'allocuzione del Primo ministro del Canada Justin Trudeau.

(La seduta è sospesa alle 17.36)

PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA*President***17. Wznowienie posiedzenia***(The sitting resumed at 17.40)***18. Przemówienie premiera Kanady Justina Trudeau**

President. – Let me welcome the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau. Thank you for joining us here today.

Le Canada est un allié, un ami et un partenaire précieux. Nous sommes des garants solides des valeurs de démocratie, d'État de droit et de paix – des valeurs que nous partageons.

The enduring relationship between the European Union and Canada has withstood the test of time and only grows stronger. Geography may divide us, but there is no ocean that can part our shared values, shared outlook and shared way of life.

Through our Strategic Partnership, and the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, our privileged relationship has reached new heights, but today we are facing a threat to all of us.

We did not provoke Putin's illegal invasion of Ukraine, we did not invite this confrontation between peace and war, but we share a commitment to solidarity with Ukraine and the millions of people forced to flee Putin's bombs.

There is so much at stake. No one knows this better than Canada, that is home to one of the largest Ukrainian communities in the world.

The core values we all share are under attack. The democratic world order and the peace we have known are under threat. Scenes we thought were confined to the dark chapters of our history books have returned.

The fight of the Ukrainian people is a fight for freedom, democracy and our way of life. We cannot leave them alone and we will not leave them alone.

With millions forced to flee, the world is again staring at an ever-worsening humanitarian crisis that we must be ready – and we must be willing – to face. Canada is a world leader in welcoming and resettling people in search of a life away from horror and we must rely on your expertise and your solidarity now again. It is really time to come together, now like never before.

'Whatever it takes' means continuing to match massive sanctions with aid, military equipment and financial support. But it must also mean real humanitarian corridors, urgent relocation, air bridges and a redoubling of efforts to seek a ceasefire. That is the response that all our citizens – whether in Canada or Europe – expect. That is the response worthy of our place in history.

This is our generation's moment to prove we can live up to the promise of the world we inherited. We can give Ukrainian children, women and men a chance at a future without fear, but we can only do this if the world acts together.

Dear Prime Minister Trudeau, thank you for being here with us, for reaffirming your great country's commitment to democracy, to equality, to multilateralism and to Canada's proud record of defending our shared humanity.

Mr Prime Minister, the floor is yours.

Justin Trudeau, *Prime Minister of Canada*. – Madam President, I would like to thank you, David McAllister, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Stéphanie Yon-Courtin, Chair of the Delegation for relations with Canada. Distinguished Parliamentarians, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be here in Brussels with you all.

Avant de commencer, j'aimerais d'abord exprimer mes condoléances à la suite du décès en début d'année du président Sassoli. C'est une grande perte pour votre Parlement et pour l'Europe. J'aimerais également prendre un moment pour adresser mes condoléances aux proches des victimes de la tragédie de La Louvière ainsi qu'à tous ceux dont la vie a été bouleversée par ces événements. Nos pensées et notre amitié sont avec la Belgique dans ces moments difficiles.

I first addressed the European Parliament in Strasbourg in 2017. It was the first time a Canadian Prime Minister addressed your Parliament. Back then, this Parliament saw me as someone new on the world stage. We got to work tackling progressive issues, building the things that we thought mattered. We could see that something was lurking off on the horizon, something shadowy, something that was threatening. We didn't look close enough.

When I spoke to this Parliament five years ago, I spoke about making multilateralism work for the middle class and those working hard to join it, so that economic frustrations don't become fertile ground for populism, nativism, protectionism and the polarisation towards more extreme political views. Well, today we are staring these forces in the face as they threaten the peace, justice, truth, democracy and stability of our world. We have a choice about what we do next.

Since 2017, the world has changed a lot. A global pandemic has taken the lives of over six million people and disrupted the lives of everyone else. A global recession saw millions lose their jobs, with many economies still struggling to bounce back. It is a world that is no longer forecasting, but living, the dangers of climate change.

There is a growing distrust of governments and facts, and a weakening of democratic institutions. We saw one of our staunchest guarantors of the rules-based order choosing for four years to step away from NATO and away from multilateralism, and now we see Putin's criminal invasion of a sovereign, independent and democratic Ukraine.

People have a real and deep sense of uncertainty about what the future holds. These are anxious times, and people are looking for leadership and solutions. Unfortunately, we're seeing a rise in cynical populists who are trying to exploit these anxieties. They pretend to have easy solutions that play on people's fears.

Even in Canada, where 90% of people are vaccinated and our motto as a country is 'peace, order and good government', we saw anti-vaccine and anti-government protests devolve into illegal occupations of our communities and blockades of our borders. The leaders of those convoys were effective in turning citizens with real anxieties against the system best-suited to allay those concerns. But democracy isn't a game, and there just aren't easy solutions to the big, complex problems we are all facing. But that doesn't mean that the way forward isn't clear. There is no greater clarity than the will of the people who want better for themselves and their children at home, and no stronger defence against destructive forces from the outside, from outside our democracies, than the unwavering unity of like-minded partners.

Au cours des quatre-vingts dernières années, nous avons collectivement établi et renforcé une série de règles et d'institutions afin d'accroître la stabilité et la prévisibilité dans les affaires internationales. Nous l'avons fait pour protéger les gens, pour leur offrir les meilleures perspectives de paix, pour défendre leur dignité et leurs droits inaliénables et pour faire en sorte qu'ils soient libres de choisir leur propre avenir.

Aujourd'hui, ces règles et institutions sont ouvertement menacées. Vladimir Poutine a enfreint les préceptes les plus fondamentaux du droit international, et il tue maintenant les civils innocents en bombardant des hôpitaux et des immeubles résidentiels. Ce mépris flagrant des lois et de la vie humaine constitue une menace immense pour l'Europe et pour le monde entier.

Canada, the EU and all of our partners and allies are facing a defining moment. We cannot fail. We must meet this moment. I speak to you today no longer as someone quite so new. In fact, I may now be one of the longer-serving progressive leaders around. I'm certainly not going to pretend to have all the answers, but what I do know is that there is work that lies before us as thoughtful leaders, as people focused on the short— and long-term well-being of all our citizens, and as people committed to democracy and the values that underpin them. That work is more important than ever.

Putin thought democracy was weak. He saw our disagreements and debates as weakness, but what he has never understood is that the rigours of debate, that forceful civic engagement, is what makes us strong, and that democracy at its best will always be stronger than authoritarianism. If we're going to be honest, and we need to be honest in this place, we haven't always been at our best these past years. Putin thought we were divided. He thought he could weaken the EU and NATO. He miscalculated, and he is seeing it backfire.

NATO and the EU are now more resolved and united than ever, because all of us in this room who are committed to democracy know in our bones that democracy didn't happen by accident, and it will not continue without deliberate, mindful effort.

Mes amis, je veux être bien clair. Les Européens, y compris nos alliés en Europe de l'Est, peuvent compter sur l'amitié et le soutien total du Canada. Le Canada dirige le groupement tactique de la présence avancée rehaussée de l'OTAN en Lettonie, mission qui regroupe dix pays de l'OTAN. Depuis cinq ans, des centaines de militaires canadiens sont déployés à des milliers de kilomètres de chez eux pour se positionner à 200 kilomètres de la frontière russe. Ils sont déployés en Lettonie, parce que ce qui est important pour la sécurité de l'Europe l'est aussi pour la sécurité du Canada. Récemment, nous avons annoncé que nous doublions notre déploiement dans le cadre de l'OTAN pour les années à venir. Ces militaires ne défendent pas seulement la Lettonie et l'Europe de l'Est; ils défendent notre liberté, notre sécurité et toutes nos démocraties.

We cannot let Ukraine down. They are counting on us, so let's use all the tools we have at our disposal. President Zelenskyy and I have been talking often about the strong ties between our countries. Canada, as mentioned, is home to the second largest Ukrainian community in the world after Russia, so we must all collectively step up to provide humanitarian aid, to support families affected by this war, and already start thinking about investing to rebuild Ukraine afterwards.

We must all continue to send military equipment and lethal aid to help Ukrainians in their heroic defence, not just of their lands, but of all of the principles that defend ours. We must continue to impose unprecedented sanctions on Putin and his enablers in Russia and Belarus, increasing the pressure as much as we can. We must ensure that the decision to invade a sovereign, independent country is understood to be a strategic failure that carries with it ruinous costs for Putin and Russia.

Putin's attack on Ukraine is an attack on the values that form the pillars of all democracies. We have a responsibility to make the case to people about why these values matter so much, not just to Ukrainians, but to us all. We must recommit ourselves to the work of strengthening our democracies and demonstrate the principled leadership citizens everywhere are looking for. That leadership means reinforcing the things our citizens have in common, rather than playing to their differences. The task before us is not small, but given the right tools, we can do it. We should all be reassured of how much of this work is already underway in this place and in parliaments like it across Europe and around the world.

Au Canada, notre gouvernement élabore actuellement une nouvelle mesure législative pour lutter contre les méfaits en ligne. Cette année, le Canada assume la présidence de la Coalition pour la liberté en ligne, et nous comptons mettre l'accent sur la protection des droits de la personne, l'inclusion et la diversité dans l'espace numérique.

Ici, à l'Union européenne, votre devise est 'Unie dans la diversité'. Au Canada, la diversité est aussi au cœur de notre identité. Bien sûr, nous savons qu'il y a toujours plus de travail à faire, mais sur le plan de la réconciliation avec les peuples autochtones, de la lutte contre le racisme systémique, de l'égalité des sexes et de la défense des communautés LGBTQ2, nous faisons énormément de progrès. Que ce soit en assurant la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration des Nations unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones ou en investissant pour soutenir les entrepreneurs des communautés noires, nous donnons des outils pour la croissance économique à ceux qui, trop souvent, ont été laissés pour compte.

Governments can and should play a positive role in people's lives. In Canada, like in many European countries, we made massive investments to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. It was the right thing to do to protect our people, and it was the necessary thing to do to ensure a strong and robust economic recovery.

We know that when we invest in people, including in the most vulnerable, and when we grow the middle class and make life more affordable for everyone, not only do individuals benefit, but our entire country and the foundations of our democracy also benefit.

Que ce soit les conséquences immédiates de l'insécurité alimentaire, de l'inflation et des prix élevés de l'essence, ou que ce soit les conséquences à long terme du changement climatique ou de la pandémie, les démocraties doivent faire de leur mieux pour engager les conversations difficiles et nécessaires avec leurs citoyens afin de trouver des solutions.

En matière de lutte contre le changement climatique, la collaboration entre le Canada et l'Union européenne continue d'être essentielle. Notre travail se poursuit pour accélérer la transition vers une énergie verte et renouvelable, pour respecter nos engagements de la COP 26 et pour sécuriser nos chaînes d'approvisionnement, y compris pour les minéraux critiques. Il faut continuer d'agir ensemble pour bâtir un avenir plus propre et une économie plus résiliente.

Canada and European countries also share the goals of reducing poverty and inequality while growing the middle class. We share aspirations for a better, safer and cleaner future. Progressive trade agreements, like CETA, are helping our economies grow and creating good jobs while protecting high standards for workers, consumers and the environment.

Our ability to pull together, despite differences, and deliver for people really matters, and I thank you all for that. With the longest coastline in the world, Canada's shores reach out into the Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic oceans. Our connections with the whole of the Americas is strong. We're one of the most globally connected partners at the UN, with memberships in NATO, the G7, the G20, the Arctic Council, APEC, the OAS, the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*.

We all have a lot of work to do, and collaboration will be key to success towards building a better future for our kids and our grandkids. It will require constant efforts, but I'm confident that we are up to the task. I'm confident in all of us here today. I'm confident in the resilience of our institutions, and mostly I'm confident in our citizens. I can say that that because of what I have witnessed over the past four weeks. The resolve of our united response to this unacceptable invasion has been stronger than anything Putin expected – and not just from governments, but from citizens in all our countries. It's that spirit and resolve that we must take forward with us.

The European Union has mobilised to defend democracy, and, as always, you can count on the friendship and full support of Canada every step of the way.

Ensemble, nous devons soutenir les démocraties partout à travers le monde, y compris les plus fragiles, et lutter contre l'autoritarisme grâce à plus d'investissements et en nous engageant pour montrer l'exemple. Nous devons appuyer les gens courageux comme le président Zelensky et les Ukrainiens qui luttent pour leurs droits. Chacun de nous doit poursuivre son travail afin d'améliorer la démocratie dans son propre pays.

Five years ago, we saw the storm clouds on the horizon. But today, we are clear-eyed.

Continuons à combattre les mensonges par la vérité, la peur par les faits et la division par l'unité.

As long as we don't take our democracy for granted, as long as we keep working every day to make it better, as long as our partnerships are strong, we can be confident in the future. In the words of Volodymyr Zelenskyy, light will win over darkness.

(The House rose and accorded the speaker a standing ovation)

President. – Thank you so much, Prime Minister Trudeau, for those powerful words and messages.

We will now hear from representatives of all political groups in this House, starting with the PPE Group.

Siegfried Mureşan, on behalf of the PPE Group. – Madam President, I should like to welcome Prime Minister Trudeau. Welcome to Europe. Thank you for addressing the people of Europe today and thank you very much for choosing the European Parliament to address the people of Europe today.

Canadian soldiers have fought for democracy and freedom in Europe throughout the First World War and throughout the Second World War. We have seen, we have known, we have felt, that we can rely on the people of Canada and on Canada when it comes to defending freedom and democracy in Europe. And today, Prime Minister, you came again to Europe to defend a European country, and for this, we all in Europe and all of us in the free world say thank you.

The partnership between Canada and the European Union is a long one, is a strong one. It is based on democracy. It is based on the rule of law. It is based on equality. It is based on the freedom of speech. And now is the time for all free nations to stand up in the name of these values, to be united and defend Ukraine. Because defending Ukraine means defending Europe and it means defending the free world.

The rules that our western societies are built on are good for the people, and now is the time to reject the habits and the lack of rules on which the regime of Vladimir Putin is based on. Now is the time for all of us to say no to threat, to exclusion, to hate, to fear, to intimidation because we have all seen that after the people of central and eastern Europe have defeated Communism 30 years ago, choosing transatlantic values, choosing the European Union, choosing NATO membership, brought safety, stability and prosperity to central and eastern European countries. And if this is what the people of Ukraine choose for their country, it is our duty as European Union and as Canada to stand by the side of the people of Ukraine together.

This is the first and most important thing that we have to do: to answer the call of the people of Ukraine. The second thing is to be united. And I believe this is what citizens in Europe and in Canada expect of us, because we have seen people in Helsinki, in Tallinn, in Prague, in Berlin, in Paris, in Warsaw, going on the streets in defending Ukraine, exactly as people of Canada have gone to the streets, to Montreal, to Hamilton, to Edmonton, to Toronto and to Canada in the past weeks. We have to be united, this is what the people expect of us and we have shown unity already in the last weeks by acting together when it came to sanctions.

But I believe dear colleagues, I believe, Prime Minister, as you have also said, we have to do more when it comes to sanctions. Maximum support to Ukraine, but also maximum possible cost for the Russian Federation. We have to enlarge the list of Russian politicians, enlarge the list of Russian businesspeople and oligarchs who we sanctioned. We have to tell them very clearly: no more skiing in the Alps, no more shopping in Paris or Vienna, no more sunbathing in Nice or on the coasts of Europe as long as the regime which they are supporting in Russia is invading a free country. We have to close loopholes. We have to forbid access to public procurement for Russian companies, be it private or public, here in the European Union and also in Canada. And we have to reduce our dependency on Russian fossil fuels as much as possible and as soon as possible.

We have to be honest and transparent also to the people in our countries in telling them that defending democracy costs, but not defending democracy would cost even more. Now is the time for leadership. It is the time for unity. It is the time for defending the European values, the transatlantic values, the alliances that we are together in, which have proven the test of time, they stood the test of time.

Thank you once again very much for coming to Europe today, for speaking to us in the Parliament, for showing your solidarity. It is always good to know that we have friends in these times.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, señor primer ministro Trudeau, bienvenido al Parlamento Europeo. Comparece usted ante el corazón de una democracia europea que puede y debe sentir suya, porque también fue construida con el valor de los canadienses que hace ochenta años sacrificaron sus vidas en este continente para devolver la democracia y la libertad a Europa. Fue tiempo después, con la caída del Muro de Berlín en 1989, cuando nos adentramos en un horizonte de esperanza que creíamos que nunca más retrocedería en el tiempo. Sentíamos que viviríamos siempre en paz, basándonos en el multilateralismo y sin países satélites ni amenazas nucleares.

Hoy, la guerra criminal de Putin sobre Ucrania ha cambiado el orden civil y político. Esta barbarie imperialista nos traslada a la lucha entre las democracias y las autocracias del siglo anterior, como si no hubiéramos aprendido nada del sufrimiento de ese «mundo de ayer» del que hablaba Stefan Zweig. La tragedia de Ucrania ha impulsado en Canadá, en los Estados Unidos y en la Unión Europea una respuesta común impensable, con la que estamos caminando más lejos de lo que hicimos en 2014 tras la anexión de Crimea.

Juntos hemos convertido a Putin en un paria internacional con graves perjuicios para su economía. Y juntos debemos y podemos hacer mucho más: cortar el acceso de Rusia a las bolsas de criptomonedas, perseguir a los paraísos fiscales que protegen a los oligarcas y estrechar nuestra cooperación. Porque si queremos liberarnos para siempre de las tiranías, juntos debemos liderar una transición global, cimentada también en las energías renovables.

La irrupción de la guerra en Europa ha puesto al descubierto la necesidad de dotar a la Unión Europea de medios propios. Por primera vez hemos acordado aportar mil millones de euros en ayuda militar para un tercer Estado, cuyos valores democráticos son la última frontera con el agresor. Para detener a Putin, Canadá y los aliados europeos también debemos asumir nuestros compromisos con la OTAN, incluyendo un gasto en defensa del 2 % del PIB.

Construir un futuro mejor exige promover los valores democráticos no solo con palabras, sino con hechos, demostrando que nuestros valores ofrecen una vida más digna que las autocracias. Uno de los valores transatlánticos es la solidaridad, un espíritu de acogida que ahora debemos fortalecer ante el éxodo de refugiados que huyen del terror.

Esta situación nos exige estar a la altura y luchar contra las desigualdades en el corazón de la agenda transatlántica. Porque solo un modelo social basado en la igualdad de oportunidades podrá desactivar a la extrema derecha que Putin sostiene a ambos lados del Atlántico.

Señor Trudeau, si en este largo y difícil camino mantenemos la unidad trasatlántica, Putin claudicará y pasará sus últimos días, esperamos, ante la Corte Penal Internacional. La Historia nos ha enseñado que ninguna guerra de ocupación se gana, por muy poderoso que sea el ejército invasor. El espíritu de 1989 seguirá vivo gracias a la fortaleza transatlántica y al valor del pueblo ucraniano.

Malik Azmani, on behalf of the Renew Group. – Madam President, I should like to welcome Prime Minister Trudeau to the European Parliament. Welcome to the House of European democracy.

As a member of our Liberal family, Renew Europe is particularly honoured to have you here in our midst. The west is not a geographical place. It's a set of values and institutions. It entails freedom, democracy and the rule of law. We share this, Prime Minister, your great nation and our Union we hold so dear. We are partners and allies bound to each other through history, tradition and shared values.

Brave Canadians have sacrificed their lives on this continent, defending our freedom. Because of Putin's brutal war, people are dying on this continent once again, defending freedom and democracy, and this is unacceptable. And together we stand with the brave Ukrainian people.

Autocracy is gaining ground. The 'End of history' has been postponed. Autocratic dictators around the world are trying to undo the rules-based world order. They are threatening our way of life. Democrats need to stand firm. We should stand shoulder to shoulder and confront this fundamental threat together. Transatlantic relations should be at the core of our common stance once more.

Your leadership and engagement has set a strong example. Canada has stood firm with this continent in a time of need, and in need we find ourselves once more, Prime Minister. As long as Putin does not cross the 'golden bridge to retreat', we need to act swiftly with a firm hand and act as one. Peacefulness, predictability and Putin do not go hand-in-hand.

We see the world with new eyes now, and complacency is a luxury we can no longer afford. Whether in the Arctic or in the Baltics, our alliance must hold. We must work together to further isolate Putin's economy. We need to help each other in gaining energy independence so we can stop financing Putin's war. And we need to remain strongly committed to our defence of the NATO alliance. This also means living up to the 2% spending norm. This is a sensitive topic amongst many members of our alliance, but I think we need to be clear: freedom does not come cheap. And yes, this European Union will need to step up its effort to build a strong military pillar within NATO. The EU and NATO are not two separate security providers. We are both united and complementary.

Let me finish, dear Prime Minister, by echoing statements made by your government. We will not stand idly by while a nation seeks to erode the international norms that have kept us safe since the end of World War II.

Dear Prime Minister, we share a long, common history. We are partners, allies and friends. Once again, we face a common threat. Once again, we shall stand together as one. Once again, in unity, we shall overcome.

Ernest Urtasun, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Madame la Présidente, je souhaite à monsieur le Premier ministre la bienvenue au Parlement européen. Le Canada est depuis de nombreuses décennies un proche partenaire et ami de l'Union européenne, et aussi de l'Ukraine. Au nom du groupe des Verts, je tiens à vous remercier, vous et les nombreux Canadiens qui ont fait preuve de clarté et de détermination en soutenant l'Ukraine en ces heures dramatiques.

Nous le savons bien, il ne s'agit pas simplement d'une guerre entre deux pays, mais d'une attaque brutale contre un ordre international fondé sur le droit et la démocratie, et non sur la force des bombes. Au moment où nous parlons, Poutine commet des crimes de guerre en Ukraine, en bombardant des jardins d'enfants et des hôpitaux, et nous devons soutenir la lutte des Ukrainiens contre cette invasion, dans l'unité comme nous l'avons fait.

L'Union européenne et le Canada sont appelés, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, à travailler ensemble pour défendre, dans les prochaines décennies, une architecture globale fondée sur le droit international et la défense des droits de l'homme devant les menaces croissantes des autoritarismes.

I would like to thank you, Prime Minister, particularly for opening the doors to the Ukrainian refugees, helping those who are most in need. I would like to wholeheartedly thank the Canadian people for that.

But here in Europe, dear Prime Minister, we have also made mistakes. Putin's fossil-fuelled war must wake us up. Our energy transition is today not only an urgency for tackling climate change, but also a matter of security and international stability. Climate change is one of the biggest threats that humankind has faced in the last centuries, and we need to act urgently. Also in Canada, Prime Minister, where fossil-fuel infrastructure is still being built, where net zero is only planned to be reached by 2050 without any intermediate target, where tar sands, one of the most climate-polluting sources of oil, have been expanded. You may allow me, friends and partners need also to be honest and frank to each other.

Our collective addiction to fossil fuel is a security risk now. In Europe and in Canada, it is a destabilising factor. It is a threat to peace. And Canada and Europe should urgently change the course of action if we want to abide to the commitments of the Paris Agreement.

It's very good to be strong supporters of multilateralism, as we are, and believe strongly in multilateralism, but we should live up to the promises, then, of the Paris Agreement and move forward to action. It is our responsibility. It is your responsibility, Prime Minister.

We are hundreds of millions of people to build another future in Europe and Canada. In the face of this brutal attack in Ukraine, in the face of an authoritarian backlash in the world, let's work together. And let's work together, not building our societies in old, short-sighted policies, but really based on our common wish to live in a peaceful world and on an habitable planet.

Merci beaucoup, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, pour votre solidarité et pour votre présence parmi nous aujourd'hui.

Marco Zanni, a nome del gruppo ID. – Grazie Presidente, benvenuto Presidente Trudeau, bentornato al Parlamento europeo. È una grande opportunità per questo Parlamento dibattere con lei alla vigilia di incontri così importanti che hanno la necessità di mostrare come l'Occidente sia unito nel dare una risposta coordinata ed efficiente all'invasione russa dell'Ucraina.

Un'unità con la quale, fino ad ora, l'Europa si sta muovendo di concerto con la sua e molte altre importanti nazioni del mondo. Signor Primo ministro, vorrei cogliere l'occasione, alla sua presenza, per ricordare come, dopo anni di crisi, abbiamo la necessità di far sì che l'Alleanza Atlantica venga rafforzata non soltanto in un periodo di crisi e di emergenza come quello attuale, ma in modo costante e costruttivo, e soprattutto nell'accezione originaria dell'Alleanza, che è un'accezione deterrente e non offensiva.

Valorizzare quindi, appunto, la funzione della NATO come unione di forze che percorrono la via della pace a contrasto di chi tutt'oggi continua a mettere a rischio la sicurezza comune. Proprio ieri il Presidente ucraino Zelensky, parlando al Parlamento del mio paese, al Parlamento italiano, invitava l'Unione europea a utilizzare in modo efficace lo strumento della diplomazia e del dialogo, e con questo ribadendo implicitamente i principi stessi che ispirano appunto la modalità d'azione dell'Alleanza Atlantica.

Faccio un'altra considerazione, Presidente Trudeau. Nemmeno a lei, ovviamente, sarà sfuggito come il mondo stia rapidamente spostando il proprio asse verso nuovi equilibri geopolitici. Ne abbiamo avuto, purtroppo, recente dimostrazione guardando il voto all'Assemblea delle Nazioni Unite sulla risoluzione per la condanna all'invasione russa. Le forze occidentali, da un lato, si sono espresse senza esitazioni, compatte, ma un gran numero di Stati, quelli più popolosi, quelli che detengono la maggior parte delle risorse del pianeta, hanno voluto dare un segnale differente che va ben oltre il testo della risoluzione. Un segnale che deve essere compreso nel suo significato più profondo, e spero che questo sia un tema centrale dei vostri dibattiti nei prossimi giorni.

Il conflitto in Ucraina ci sta mettendo di fronte a nuove importanti scelte e a nuove sfide. Siamo a oggi alle prese con un mondo che non è più improntato al solo modello occidentale, ma è tornato multipolare. Questo non significa che l'Occidente non debba essere il punto di riferimento, anzi deve ritrovare la propria convinzione e la forza per dimostrare che i modelli democratici sono quelli vincenti e che la violenza, l'oppressione e le dittature non possono mai essere la soluzione.

Per fare questo serve riappropriarsi appieno dei nostri valori e della nostra identità sul piano politico, sociale, culturale e anche economico con chi crede che l'orgoglio di un modello di sviluppo che non si basa su guerre e sopraffazioni, ma sul rispetto dei popoli e delle loro libertà, valori che non possiamo mettere in discussione né ora né mai.

Di fronte alla follia –, e mi avvio a chiudere Presidente, è il momento della razionalità e speriamo davvero che questo sia il principio fondamentale che guiderà le vostre scelte in questi giorni drammatici e importanti. In bocca al lupo perché abbiamo bisogno di una leadership occidentale forte che riporti pace e equilibrio nel nostro continente e nel mondo.

Raffaele Fitto, a nome del gruppo ECR. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, benvenuto signor Primo ministro Trudeau, il Presidente ucraino Zelensky, prima in quest'Aula e poi nel Parlamento canadese, ha sottolineato che gli ucraini stanno difendendo i valori che formano i pilastri di tutti i paesi liberi e democratici e che l'unità di questi paesi è ora più importante che mai.

Per questo credo, signor Primo ministro, che la sua presenza oggi qui tra noi abbia un forte valore, innanzitutto simbolico, e testimonia il forte legame e spirito di cooperazione tra il suo paese, l'Unione europea e i diversi Stati membri. Nel 2014 il Canada è stato uno dei primi paesi a sostenere il governo di Kiev e la sovranità e l'integrità territoriale dell'Ucraina. Sostegno che non è mancato lo scorso giugno, al termine del summit Unione europea-Canada, e che oggi credo sia ancora una volta importante sottolineare, ribadendo il nostro impegno comune anche attraverso ulteriori sforzi e azioni da intraprendere nei prossimi giorni in tutte le sedi opportune per mettere fine all'offensiva russa.

La crisi russo-ucraina ha evidenziato la necessità da parte dell'Unione europea di tornare ad occuparsi e a investire in difesa e sicurezza, ma anche di rinnovare e rafforzare la cooperazione con i nostri partner tradizionali come il Canada, ai quali siamo legati non solo dalla comune appartenenza alla NATO, ma anche da accordi e legami bilaterali.

Unione europea e NATO, mai come in queste settimane, hanno intrapreso azioni coordinate ed efficaci in risposta all'aggressione russa e a sostegno dell'Ucraina e del suo popolo, dimostrando una unità e una determinazione senza precedenti, dalla quale dovremmo trarre insegnamento per affrontare le sfide future, non solo dal punto di vista militare ma anche per quanto riguarda la cibersicurezza, il rafforzamento della capacità di intelligence e il contrasto al terrorismo e alle minacce ibride.

Le relazioni transatlantiche e la cooperazione Unione europea-NATO, nel pieno rispetto dei principi stabiliti nei trattati e di quelli concordati dal Consiglio europeo, sono elementi essenziali rispetto ai quali dovremo agire insieme con maggiore unità e complementarità, se vogliamo affrontare con successo le sfide geopolitiche e di sicurezza comune che dovremo affrontare nei prossimi anni.

Nikolaj Villumsen, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Madam President, I should like to welcome Prime Minister Trudeau back to Brussels. It is dark times, as you rightly said.

In my housing block we have now new neighbours. I met them the other day when I was at the playground with my eldest daughter. Here we met Misha and Roma, two small boys from Ukraine at the ages of eight and four. Together with their mother they have fled Putin's invasion. Like a million more they need shelter, they need shoes, and they need food.

We need to stand together in solidarity to help the refugees. That is why I am happy to hear that Canada will take an unlimited number of refugees. Taking care of refugees cannot be a question about numbers. It is about human lives and human rights. I hope the EU and Canada can unite on this and I hope our unity will go further. We need to strengthen the sanctions. We need to cancel the Ukrainian foreign debt. We need to support Ukraine.

Dear colleagues, we need to do our utmost to support Ukraine. It is clear that Putin is exploiting the EU's dependency on Russian gas, oil and nuclear power. Our best weapon against Putin is a green transition and energy independence. It is not only about security. It is, of course, also about tackling the climate crisis before it is too late.

Mr Prime Minister, listening to the news, it is clear that there is an urgent need for humanitarian corridors in Mariupol and the besieged cities in Ukraine. Moreover, there is a need to make sure that Putin and other war criminals do not repeat the horrors that we see in Ukraine. We need to strengthen the international order under the UN. We need to make sure that all countries have freedom and self-determination.

Mr Prime Minister, we need peace, not war.

Mislav Kolakušić (NI). – Poštovana predsjednice, poštovane kolege, dragi građani, premijeru Trudeauu, sloboda, pravo izbora, pravo na život i zdravlje, pravo na rad, za mnoge od nas to su temeljna ljudska prava za koja su milijuni građana Europe i svijeta položili svoje živote. Za obranu naših prava i prava naše djece koje smo stjecali stoljećima mnogi od nas, uključujući i mene, spremni smo riskirati vlastitu slobodu i položiti vlastite živote.

Nažalost, danas su među nama i oni koji gaze te temeljne vrijednosti. Kanada, nekada simbol modernog svijeta je pod vodstvom vaše kvazi-liberalne čizme proteklih mjeseci postala simbol kršenja temeljnih ljudskih prava i građanskih sloboda.

Gledali smo kako konjima gaze žene, kako samohranim roditeljima blokirate bankovne račune da ne mogu platiti djeci školovanje, da ne mogu platiti lijekove, da ne mogu platiti račune za struju i vodu, da ne mogu platiti rate kredita za svoje domove.

Za vas to možda liberalne metode, međutim za mnoge građane svijeta to je diktatura najgore vrste. Budite uvjereni da građani svijeta udruženi mogu zaustaviti svaki režim koji želi uništiti slobodu građana, bilo bombama bilo štetnim farmaceutskim proizvodima.

President. – Thank you, dear colleagues. Thank you once again, Prime Minister, for being with us. We look forward to having you here quite soon again.

That concludes the debate.

VORSITZ: EVELYN REGNER*Vizepräsidentin***19. Pilna potrzeba przyjęcia unijnego planu działania dla zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego w UE i poza jej terytorium w związku z rosyjską inwazją na Ukrainę (debata)**

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zum Thema „Das Erfordernis eines vordringlichen Aktionsplans der EU zur Sicherstellung der Ernährungssicherheit inner- und außerhalb der EU in Anbetracht des russischen Einmarschs in die Ukraine“ (2022/2593 (RSP)).

Da wir nun schrittweise – zumindest was die parlamentarische Arbeit im Plenum betrifft – wieder in Richtung Normalität vorwärtskommen möchten, weise ich Sie darauf hin, dass Sie mithilfe ihres Abstimmungsgeräts spontane Wortmeldungen beantragen und blaue Karten einsetzen können, nachdem Sie ihre Abstimmungskarte eingeführt haben. Daher bitte ich Sie, stets die Abstimmungskarte mitzubringen. Die Anleitungen liegen im Plenarsaal aus für diejenigen, die es in der Zwischenzeit vergessen haben.

Wenn Sie sich für eine spontane Wortmeldung anmelden möchten, ersuche ich Sie, das bereits ab jetzt zu tun und nicht erst das Ende der Aussprache abzuwarten. Damit haben wir dann einen Überblick, wie viele Abgeordnete sich zu Wort melden möchten.

Ich weise Sie auch darauf hin, dass die Wortmeldungen im Plenarsaal weiterhin vom zentralen Rednerpult aus erfolgen. Dies gilt allerdings nicht für spontane Wortmeldungen, blaue Karten und Wortmeldungen zur Geschäftsordnung. Diese erfolgen am Platz.

Ich ersuche Sie daher, die Redner- und Rednerinnenliste im Blick zu behalten und sich kurz vor Beginn Ihrer Redezeit zum Rednerpult zu begeben.

Clément Beaune, président en exercice du Conseil. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Mesdames et Messieurs les Députés européens, parmi les conséquences dramatiques – dont nous ne voyons d'ailleurs que le début aujourd'hui – de la guerre organisée par la Russie contre l'Ukraine, il y a la question alimentaire, celle de notre agriculture et de notre alimentation.

Cette agression de la Russie contre l'Ukraine aura – nous le savons déjà et nous le voyons en partie – des effets importants sur les marchés agricoles et alimentaires, car les deux pays, l'agresseur russe et la victime ukrainienne, représentent à eux deux près de 30 % des exportations mondiales de blé et d'orge, et sont notamment des exportateurs-clés de maïs et d'huile végétale. En outre, nous le savons, la Russie joue traditionnellement un rôle central dans tout le commerce mondial des engrais, au bénéfice d'ailleurs, économiquement, de notre agriculture européenne.

Nous le savons aussi, depuis plus de soixante ans désormais, la sécurité alimentaire et la production agricole constituent l'ADN même de notre politique agricole commune. Cette politique agricole commune, je le rappelle, est la première des politiques européennes que nous avons constituées il y a six décennies, avec un objectif simple que nous ne devons jamais oublier. La fonction nourricière de notre agriculture est essentielle. Le projet d'autonomie européenne ne peut s'exonérer de ce projet d'autosuffisance alimentaire et d'une capacité de production qui doit intégrer de nouvelles exigences, la transition écologique en premier lieu, mais garder toujours cet objectif simple: nourrir l'Europe et contribuer à nourrir le monde.

Nous le savons aujourd'hui, les Nations unies et la FAO l'ont souligné, il y aura sans doute, à la suite de cette guerre et de ses conséquences agricoles, une immense augmentation du nombre de personnes souffrant de la faim: 8 à 13 millions de personnes pourraient être concernées dans le monde, selon la FAO.

Dans ce contexte, l'Europe a une double responsabilité: assurer et prolonger sa production pour elle-même, pour garantir ce projet d'autonomie et de souveraineté, qui passe par l'alimentation; une responsabilité aussi pour le monde, car si les exportations que j'évoquais vont être limitées ou même annihilées, l'Europe devra contribuer par sa solidarité à aider son voisinage le plus proche – je pense notamment à l'Afrique du Nord et au Proche-Orient, voire à l'Afrique de manière plus générale – à se nourrir et à éviter la faim, la famine ou les difficultés alimentaires. Cette double responsabilité a été reconnue par les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement lors du sommet informel tenu à Versailles les 10 et 11 mars dernier.

Nous avons inclus dans la déclaration de Versailles – je crois que c'est un point important qui n'a pas été suffisamment souligné –, parmi les objectifs de réduction de nos dépendances et de renforcement de notre autonomie, la question agricole et alimentaire. Pour les Européens, c'est une question de prix, c'est une question d'autonomie, c'est une question de sécurité alimentaire; pour le monde, c'est une question de faim et d'alimentation élémentaire.

Lors du débat qui a eu lieu avant-hier au Conseil en votre présence, Monsieur le Commissaire, les ministres de l'Agriculture, sous la présidence française, ont unanimement salué les mesures d'urgence que la Commission a présentées pour soutenir précisément la production agricole de l'Union à court terme et pour accroître son autonomie stratégique, à son bénéfice et au bénéfice du monde, à moyen et à long terme. Les ministres de l'agriculture et vous-même, Monsieur le Commissaire, avez souligné qu'il fallait non seulement garantir cette autosuffisance de l'Union, mais aussi renforcer cette capacité à nous montrer solidaires et à renforcer le plus rapidement possible notre capacité d'autonomie en matière de produits fondamentaux – je pense aux engrais et aux protéines.

Nous l'avons dit et nous l'avons porté depuis de nombreux mois: il est temps aujourd'hui d'agir. Parmi les mesures que vous avez évoquées et que vous présenterez certainement, Monsieur le Commissaire, les mesures d'urgence, les mesures de marché et la mobilisation de la réserve de la politique agricole commune font partie des outils qui doivent être mobilisés rapidement et sans doute encore davantage. Forts de cette expérience, les ministres avaient déjà débattu il y a quelques semaines d'un plan d'urgence pour assurer durablement l'approvisionnement et la sécurité alimentaire en temps de crise. Ce fut un débat qui eut lieu au mois de décembre; son urgence et son impératif sont encore plus évidents aujourd'hui.

Nous le savons, l'agression russe de l'Ukraine a d'ores et déjà des conséquences durables sur l'alimentation et sur l'agriculture. L'Europe doit se montrer à la hauteur, adapter ses outils, garder son objectif de transition écologique, mais, surtout, toujours garder en tête que nous devons nourrir l'Europe et contribuer encore davantage à nourrir le monde. Ce sera notre impératif et notre responsabilité d'Européens pour les semaines qui viennent. Merci d'avance pour ce débat et merci à la Commission européenne pour les mesures déjà prises et pour celles qui viendront.

Janusz Wojciechowski, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has shown us also the importance of ensuring food security at all times, both within the EU and more globally.

The objective enshrined in our founding Treaties, some 65 years ago, is today as important as ever. For the global food system, the loss of grain exports from Ukraine means that up to 25 million tonnes of wheat must be substituted in the current and the next season. This is indispensable for overall world food needs, which are also affected by a likely reduction of Russian exports.

Combined, Ukraine and Russia are responsible for over 30% of world wheat exports. The strong price increase on cereal markets puts global food security at risk, affecting vulnerable people in food deficit countries. We must shield vulnerable countries, notably in Africa, the Middle East and the European neighbourhood region, from pressures on food availability and prices.

In recent days I have spoken with Ministers from Ukrainian Government who have described the situation facing the farmers. They have spoken of destroyed land, of lost crops and livestock. We had a discussion with the Ukrainian Agriculture Minister, Roman Leshchenko, during AGRIFISH Council meeting on Monday, and he told us that Ukrainian farmers are fighting at day and working to provide food at night. He also reminded us of the uncertainty of sowing and harvesting in Ukraine may continue for several years and that this puts pressure on global markets.

I also spoke with deputy minister of Mr Taras Dzoba, who said that Russia is taking Ukrainian soil and using it as a weapon, a weapon against its own people and a weapon of starvation. In the face of this weapon, the European Union will not stand down. We will step up. We will defend our neighbours, defend the international community and defend ourselves.

The Versailles Declaration of the European Council called upon the Commission to take urgent action to present options to address rising food prices and the issue of global food security as soon as possible. Today we have adopted the Communication on safeguarding food security and reinforcing the resilience of food systems. The Communication sets out actions in three areas. First, it presents our immediate action to safeguard food security in Ukraine and around the world. Second, we have addressed the challenge of food stability in the European Union food system with a range of measures to support our farmers and maintain affordability for our citizens. Finally, we confirm our agenda to make our food system sustainable and resilient in the years to come.

Security, stability and sustainability. These are the words that define our response. First and foremost, we will stand by the people of Ukraine to address the serious impacts of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and food supplies in their homeland. To support the farmers of Ukraine, the Commission and international partners are working in ensuring that necessary inputs like seeds and fertilisers can reach Ukraine and that transportation and storage facilities are maintained to enable Ukraine to feed its citizens.

One particular problem is supply of diesel. I have spoken with the Polish Prime Minister. Mateusz Morawiecki, and he assured me that Poland can provide diesel for Ukraine from the strategic reserve.

The Commission has rapidly mobilised EUR 93 million in initial humanitarian funding for Ukraine and Moldova, of which 90 million has already been disbursed to humanitarian partners. Together with Member States, the Commission will also continue working with international partners to coordinate policies and assess the risk to global food security. We will therefore reinforce our humanitarian aid assistance to the regions most affected by food insecurity and assist them diversify their sources of food supplies. We will ensure that trade can continue and avoid restrictions that prevent food and fertilisers being brought where most needed. And we will strengthen our cooperation on transitioning to a sustainable food system across the globe.

The second area addressed in our Communication is the short-term actions to maintain food system stability in the European Union. In the EU, we are largely self-sufficient for almost all agricultural products. However, the European Union is importing feed grains and oilseeds from Ukraine and fertilisers and natural gas from Russia. Arable farmers feel the costs of high input prices and the livestock sector, pigmeat and poultry in particular, feel the strong impact of feed price increases.

Thirdly, I am pleased to underline that our European food security crisis preparedness and response mechanism is up and running and will increase cooperation to mitigate food security risk and monitor the situation. A second meeting of the mechanism is taking place today. To improve our monitoring capability. The Commission also proposes that Member States communicate data on their private stocks of essential food and feed to have a timely and accurate overview of their availability.

Let me be clear, currently, thanks to the work of our farmers and the support of the Common Agricultural Policy, food security in the European Union is not under threat. However, our food system is facing challenges. For our citizens it's not a question of availability, but affordability. While there is enough food, in the EU prices are rising – food inflation reached 5.6% compared to February 2021 — and we must protect lower income citizens and vulnerable families. We must remember that in the last three weeks, our population has grown by more than 3 million people. That is more than 3 million extra mouths to feed every day. The Commission calls on Member States to use their social policies to protect vulnerable citizens from food insecurity. Member States can also implement reduced rates of VAT on food and use the Fund for European aid to the most deprived.

For farmers it is not a crisis situation, but a critical situation, especially for a number of specific sectors and smaller family farms. Let me briefly outline what this Communication holds for farmers. Firstly, the Commission has adopted exceptional support measures of EUR 500 million to directly assist those farmers most affected by the higher input costs and the closure of export markets. The Commission will submit its proposal to use the crisis reserve for this support package to both the European Parliament and the Council. Member States can exceptionally complement this EU support by up to 200% with national funds.

In addition, the Commission will allow Member States to pay increased levels of CAP direct payments in advance, to address the cash flow difficulties that farmers are facing. We have also adopted an exceptional temporary derogation to allow the production of any crops on fallow land this year, while maintaining the full level of greening payments for farmers. In view of the particularly difficult situation in the pigmeat sector, the Commission will open a new private storage aid scheme to stabilise the market.

Member States can also take measures at national level. The temporary crisis framework for state aid has been put in place to allow Member States to grant direct aid to producers affected by the crisis and to energy-intensive undertakings such as fertiliser manufacturers.

Finally, some Member States have started to use the specific flexibilities to existing import requirements related to pesticides for animal feed, provided that safety is ensured. We must act with these measures in the short term to address food security and affordability concerns now.

Let me remind you that we do not currently face a food security threat in the European Union. It is simply prudent that we support our farmers to produce more food sustainably while they can. That is why the Commission is acting with these short term measures.

Let me say one word also on fisheries, which is of course equally part of our food system. The EU fishery, aquaculture and processing sector is also directly affected by the disruptions of the market. Contrary to agriculture, the European Union is not self-sufficient when it comes to seafood. We are very much import dependent, including as regards imports of raw materials for fish processing. The sharp rise in marine fuel prices makes most fishing fleets unprofitable. The fisheries sector will benefit from some of the measures I just mentioned, including the temporary crisis framework for state aid.

Let me say this clearly: fundamentally, the transition to sustainable agriculture as envisaged in the Green Deal and the Farm to Fork Strategy is our only path to food security. This is strongly recognised and reinforced in our Communication. We must also ensure that our food system is resilient to external shocks like the one we are now experiencing.

This is why the Farm to Fork strategy is an important part of our response. It sets the path to reducing our dependence on inputs like fertilisers, without undermining productivity. This will require a greater use of knowledge sharing and innovation in areas like precision farming, organic farming, nutrient management and agro-ecology, which must be facilitated through CAP strategic plans.

On the subject of the CAP, the Commission will address the Russian invasion of Ukraine in its letters of observation to the CAP strategic plans, which will be adopted next week. I have called on the Member States to use their strategic plans to strengthen the sustainability and resilience of their agricultural sectors, reducing energy, pesticides and nutrient dependence and prioritising actions that increase yields.

On sustainability, the Commission will support Member States who, for example, use funding to boost sustainable biogas production, improve energy efficiency, foster bio-economy solutions, convert into organic farming and protein crop production, and develop their knowledge and innovation systems.

In conclusion, honourable Members, I am confident that while we face a significant challenge, we can overcome it. But we need to act together within the European Union and with our international partners. I know I can count on the loyal cooperation of this House to face this crisis together, to address the challenges we are confronted with, and to preserve our long-term strategy, making our food system more sustainable and resilient.

Herbert Dorfmann, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. –Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, geschätzte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! 43 Milliarden Euro. So viel wiegt der Sonderplan der Kommission zur Bewältigung der Versorgungskrise mit Chips.

Mit 500 Millionen Euro – die übrigens schon in der GAP als Krisenreserve vorgesehen sind, also schon Geld der Bauern sind – will die Kommission nun die Lebensmittelkrise lösen, die klar und deutlich auf uns zurast – das hat auch die Kommissionspräsidentin Ursula von der Leyen heute hier schon gesagt. Das bedeutet also, dass ein fehlender Chip genau hundertmal wichtiger ist als ein leerer Teller, und ich bin gespannt, ob die Bürger der Europäischen Union das dann auch so sehen werden.

Deshalb: Gut, dass die Krisenreserve, Herr Kommissar, aktiviert wird, aber das kann nur ein Anfang sein. Es wird wahrscheinlich mehr Geld brauchen. Gut, dass unsere Bauern auf den ökologischen Vorrangflächen anbauen können, aber es ist ein Tropfen auf den heißen Stein. Gut, dass wir bei Importen flexibel sein wollen, aber was wir importieren, wird letztendlich in anderen Ländern fehlen.

Wir müssen diese Versorgungskrise antizipieren. Wir müssen dafür sorgen, dass der interne Markt funktioniert, dass nicht weitere Dinge passieren wie mit Ungarn, wo Exporte verboten werden.

Wir hatten gestern im Agrarausschuss ein Treffen mit dem ukrainischen Landwirtschaftsminister. Und obwohl in der Ukraine Krieg ist, müssen wir alles tun, damit die Bäuerinnen und Bauern in diesem Land auch dort produzieren und anbauen können. Sie brauchen, wie Sie gesagt haben, Treibstoff, Pflanzenschutzmittel, Dünger. Wir müssen diese Produktionsmittel nun ankaufen und versuchen, in die Ukraine zu liefern, und zwar sofort – die Aussaat beginnt in wenigen Wochen. Dazu brauchen wir grüne Korridore von der EU in die Ukraine. Wir brauchen also einen wirklichen Plan.

Was wir nicht brauchen, Herr Kommissar, sind Gesetzesinitiativen der Kommission, die die Lebensmittelsicherheit weiter gefährden. Die können auch warten, bis wir diese Krise überstanden haben. Das wird leider einige Monate dauern. Wir müssen also jetzt handeln. Sofort und entschieden.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, la tensión y la incertidumbre que vivimos estos días en Europa no tienen precedente en medio siglo. Y, sin embargo, yo hoy quiero lanzar un mensaje de tranquilidad a los europeos y europeas. La Unión Europea está preparada para hacer frente a los efectos de esta guerra y asegurar que no habrá escasez de alimentos.

Y esto es así porque llevamos mucho tiempo preparándonos. ¿Quién nos iba a decir que sesenta años después de que se creara la política agrícola común nos encontraríamos en esta situación? Sin duda, la PAC ha sido uno de los mayores logros de la Unión Europea.

Durante la crisis de la COVID-19 ya vimos la resistencia y la capacidad del sector alimentario europeo, a pesar del nerviosismo de algunos al principio que intentaban hacer acopio de alimentos. Ahora bien, la COVID-19 ya sometió a una gran presión al sector de la alimentación y a la cadena de distribución. Hicieron un enorme esfuerzo por garantizar el suministro en toda la Unión y ahora necesitan todo nuestro apoyo. Los sectores agrícola, pesquero y ganadero se enfrentan a los altos precios del combustible y a la dificultad para importar piensos y fertilizantes.

No es un debate nuevo, señorías. En esta misma Cámara ya hemos hablado desde hace varios años sobre las medidas necesarias. Precisamente, el Pacto Verde Europeo y la Estrategia «De la Granja a la Mesa» pretenden ayudarnos a producir de manera sostenible, reduciendo nuestra dependencia de petróleo, de gas y de fertilizantes.

La guerra en Ucrania solo confirma las decisiones que ya habíamos tomado y nos obliga, por un lado, a acelerar el paso y, por otro, a fortalecer los sectores afectados. Es el momento de evaluar el impacto de la guerra en las políticas y de ajustarlas para asegurar que se mantiene la producción, pero también que los agricultores, los pescadores y los ganaderos, mantienen sus ingresos. Algunas ganaderías pronto tendrán problemas para alimentar a sus animales. Esperamos con urgencia esta propuesta de la Comisión para asegurar el pienso.

El gran reto para nuestra agricultura será cortar la dependencia de los fertilizantes que importamos de Rusia y Bielorrusia, de los que difícilmente podremos prescindir a corto plazo. Debemos intensificar la búsqueda de alternativas.

Al mismo tiempo, debemos asegurar liquidez a los agricultores y a los ganaderos con la flexibilidad que ya permite la política agrícola común. Hagamos uso de la reserva de crisis, pero pensemos al mismo tiempo en el futuro. Hemos de usar todos los mecanismos disponibles en la organización común de los mercados agrícolas para estabilizar los precios, evitar la especulación y asegurar un precio decente, tanto a los productores como a los consumidores.

Y, además de a los transportistas, el alto precio del combustible también afecta al sector pesquero y para ambos es necesario encontrar apoyos.

Como decía al inicio, hacemos un gran esfuerzo colectivo, pero tenemos todos los instrumentos para afrontar esta crisis. Otros no, no lo olvidemos. La irresponsabilidad de Putin no solo nos obliga a ser solidarios y a garantizar alimentos para Ucrania y para los refugiados, sino que también debemos ser conscientes de las consecuencias globales. No podemos resignarnos simplemente a que la brutalidad de Putin haga descarrilar el segundo Objetivo de Desarrollo Sostenible de las Naciones Unidas: la erradicación del hambre.

Señorías, ante retos de esta magnitud no hay atajos. Mirar hacia otro lado no nos hace avanzar. Solo el paso firme, la unidad y la confianza de estar haciendo lo correcto.

Ulrike Müller, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, sehr geehrte Kollegen! Der Angriffskrieg Russlands in der Ukraine verschärft die ohnehin schon angespannte globale Lage mit Blick auf die Ernährungssicherheit auf drastische Art und Weise. Der Vorsitzende des UN-Welternährungsprogramms erwartet im Lauf des Jahres eine regelrechte Hungerkatastrophe in der Dritten Welt.

Dies sind alarmierende Aussagen. Wir in der EU haben eine produktive Landwirtschaft. Unsere Landwirte erzeugen hochwertigste Lebensmittel. In der jetzigen Situation sind wir besonders in der Verantwortung, unsere Möglichkeiten auszuschöpfen.

Dabei dürfen wir aber die langfristige Tragfähigkeit keinesfalls aus den Augen verlieren. Wir sollten deshalb nicht der Versuchung erliegen, die Zeit zurückdrehen zu wollen. Unsere Landwirte brauchen stattdessen Perspektiven und innovative Lösungen, um mehr mit weniger zu produzieren. Diese Lösungen aufs Feld zu bringen, sollte jetzt unser dringlichstes Ziel sein. Das gilt heute noch mehr als vor dem 24. Februar.

Martin Häusling, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Ukraine zu helfen, das muss unsere erste und wirklich wichtigste Maßnahme sein. Unsere volle Unterstützung gehört der Ukraine, und wir müssen jetzt helfen, mit Saatgut, Treibstoff und allem, was wir zur Verfügung stellen können an Technik.

Aber des Weiteren ist das Wichtige der Kampf gegen den weltweiten Hunger, der droht. Die Länder, die jetzt kein Getreide mehr aus der Ukraine bekommen, werden Hunger leiden. Russland wird seine Exporte in die Länder, die ihm wohlgesonnen sind, als Waffe benutzen. Das müssen wir sehen. Russland greift auch damit die Kornkammer Europas an, und es geht auch um einen Kampf um Nahrungsmittelreserven.

Aber geben wir eigentlich die richtige Antwort, Herr Kommissar? Wir müssen unsere ganze Agrarpolitik überdenken und was wir mit unserem Getreide machen. 60 % des Getreides wandern in den Trog, 20 % in die Industrie und in die Kraftstoffindustrie und nur 20 % dienen der menschlichen Ernährung. Können wir damit wirklich eine Antwort für die Zukunft geben? Kann Europa in Zukunft die Fleischtheke der Welt bleiben? Können wir damit die Menschen ernähren? Nein! Ich denke, da müssen wir umdenken.

Wir müssen tatsächlich der Getreideproduktion für die armen Menschen Vorrang geben. Wir müssen als Erstes nicht die ökologischen Vorrangflächen betrachten, sondern wir müssen als Erstes bedenken, dass wir den Einsatz von Kraftstoffen mit Biokraftstoffen nicht mehr zulassen.

Die Klimakrise und die Biodiversitätskrise machen halt keine Pause. Deshalb, liebe Kollegen, alle, die jetzt alle grünen Maßnahmen hier infrage stellen, an die kann ich nur dringend appellieren: Wir brauchen eine nachhaltige Landwirtschaft! Wir brauchen mehr Ökologisierung, um unabhängig von Düngemittelimporten zu werden und auch unabhängig von Importen von Soja. Das muss unsere Aufgabe sein, und nicht, das Rad zurückdrehen zu einer Politik der 70er-, 80er-Jahre.

Mara Bizzotto, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, recuperare la sovranità alimentare e l'indipendenza energetica per essere liberi dai ricatti della Russia di Putin e di tutti i paesi ostili. Sono queste le due grandi sfide che la guerra in Ucraina ci impone di affrontare con assoluta urgenza.

Sfide alle quali l'Europa arriva impreparata, dopo anni di politiche sbagliate dettate dai falsi ecologisti della sinistra italiana ed europea. I nostri agricoltori vanno aiutati a fare il loro lavoro, che è quello di produrre cibo e alimento per tutti. Esattamente il contrario di quello che l'Europa ha fatto in questi anni.

Bruxelles ha massacrato i nostri agricoltori, li ha riempiti di vincoli e burocrazia. Li ha accusati di essere i principali responsabili dell'inquinamento. In questi anni l'Europa ha colpevolmente sacrificato le nostre produzioni agroalimentari sull'altare della globalizzazione selvaggia.

L'Europa deve fare un grande mea culpa per gli errori commessi e deve cambiare velocemente politiche. Serve cambiare in profondità la strategia «Farm to Fork» e la PAC e servono soldi veri per aiutare i nostri agricoltori, stritolati dal caro bollette e dall'aumento dei prezzi delle materie prime.

Cari burocrati europei, basta inseguire fantasmi. Basta con i vostri attacchi contro il made in Italy. Basta con le vostre follie come la carne sintetica o il formaggio senza latte. La drammatica guerra in Ucraina dimostra che non c'è più tempo da perdere. Tutti noi abbiamo il dovere di difendere la nostra agricoltura e di riprenderci il prima possibile la nostra sovranità alimentare.

Veronika Vrecionová, za skupinu ECR. – Paní předsedající, jsem ráda, že se tady všichni shodneme a ruskou invazi pojmenováváme správnými slovy a za viníka války označujeme Putina. Je také dobře, že všichni vnímáme hrozby jak v podobě velké migrační vlny, tak i hrozby nedostatku potravin. Na pojmenování problému se shodneme, na způsobu řešení už méně.

Česká republika na svém území nyní hostí více než třistatisíc uprchlíků. Poskytuje Ukrajině zbraně i humanitární pomoc a náš premiér byl společně s polským a slovinským osobně podpořit prezidenta Volodymyra Zelenského v Kyjevě. Podporujeme co nejtvrděší sankce proto, aby válka co nejrychleji skončila. To je klíčové řešení. Podporujeme ukončení dovozu ropy a plynu z Ruska proto, abychom nemuseli řešit příliv milionů dalších uprchlíků a hrozící hladomor nejen na Ukrajině, ale i v severní Africe a Blízkém východě. A tady je rozdíl mezi členskými státy. Zatímco řada jich pomáhá, jako Česká republika nebo Polsko, jiné, jako Německo nebo Maďarsko, nejsou ochotny obětovat ani euro a obávají se pomalejšího hospodářského růstu a každý den posílají Rusku miliony eur na nákup dalších tanků.

Jestli chceme tuto válku zastavit a také ukončit růst cen potravin, tak musíme jednat rychle. Musíme jednat tvrdě a musíme jednat společně. Usnesení, které budeme zítra přijímat, nám mnoho nepomůže. Pomůžou pouze opravdové činy.

Anja Hazekamp, namens de The Left-Fractie. – Voorzitter, natuur is essentieel voor ons bestaan. Natuur is onvervangbaar. Natuur is onmisbaar voor onze voedselvoorziening. Dat zijn de wetenschappelijke conclusies van het IPBES.

Het is tegenstrijdig en onverantwoord dat de Europese Commissie juist deze onmisbare natuur slachtoffer onder het mom van voedselzekerheid. Opnieuw pompt de Commissie miljoenen euro's in de vee-industrie. Gebieden die bedoeld zijn om natuur te herstellen, wil ze volplanten met veevoer. De klimaat- en biodiversiteitscrises wachten niet tot Rusland de wapens neerlegt. Je helpt de voedselproductie niet door deze minder duurzaam te maken. "Dat is een illusie", zei commissaris Timmermans vorige week. Maar een week later is dat precies wat de Commissie doet.

Het voeden van megastallen gaat ten koste van mensen, dieren, klimaat, natuur en milieu. Europa zou zich nu juist moeten richten op het inkrimpen van de vee-industrie en op duurzame voedselproductie rechtstreeks voor mensen. Alleen dan bereik je echte voedselzekerheid. En daarom ben ik voorts van mening dat de Europese landbouwsubsidies moeten worden afgeschaft.

Andrea Bocskor (NI). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Majd egy hónapja tart az ukrajnai háború, mely óriási kihívások elé állította Ukrajnát és egész Európát. Súlyos a humanitárius helyzet és már látszik az élelmiszer-biztonság felborulása. Az ukrajnai gazdák nagy része nem tudja végezni munkáját, ami nagy élelmiszerhiányt fog okozni. Ukrajna legnyugatibb megyéjében, Kárpátalján a háború árnyékában sok kistermelő megkezdte a mezőgazdasági munkálatokat, de az élelmiszerhiány már most is érzékelhető. Annál inkább oda kell figyelni az élelmezési gondokra és gyors segítséget kell nyújtani azok megoldására, hiszen Kárpátalján az 1,2 milliós lakosság mellett a helyi szerveknek ellátást kell biztosítaniuk annak a körülbelül félmillió embernek, akik Kárpátalján lettek menekültek a háború elől, és akik száma a tragikus események fényében egyre csak növekszik. A háború elől menekülők nagy része folytatja útját az Európai Unió egyes tagállamaiba, de nagyon sokan szülőföldjükön maradnak, ezért folyamatos élelmiszer-utánpótlásra van szükség. Az EU-nak nagy segítséget kell nyújtania a tartós élelmiszerek, üzemanyag, gyógyszerek eljuttatásában Ukrajna területére, és azokra a területekre is, ahol jelenleg nincsenek harci cselekmények. És támogatnia kell azokat az országokat is, szomszédos országokat, amelyek befogadják az ukrajnai menekülteket. Nagyon fontos, hogy a legrászorultabbak, az anyagilag

nehéz helyzetben élők is segítséget kapjanak, de a legsürgetőbb hogy mielőbb béke legyen és stabilitás Ukrajnában.

Siegfried Mureşan (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioner and Minister, welcome back to the Parliament. We do not know the full implications and the impact of the Russian invasion into Ukraine, but we know for sure that we have to avoid a food crisis in Europe and in our immediate neighbourhood at any price. This is why we have to do the following: firstly, increase production in Europe as much as we can so that there is enough agricultural products here in Europe, so that we can come up for the eventual supply shortages in Ukraine, so that we can care for Ukrainian refugees who come and are hosted in EU Member States. And we have to also make sure that people in our neighbourhood have enough agricultural products at their disposal.

We also have to make sure that the internal market for agricultural products functions and Commissioner, the European Commission has to provide a comprehensive assessment of the Farm-to-fork measures, its consequences, because the enemy now is Vladimir Putin, the Russian Federation. It is not European farmers.

And as Herbert Dorfmann said, what the European Commission presented today is a first step. It is a good first step, but we have to be ready to do more if needed. Support the farmers.

Mohammed Chahim (S&D). – Madam President, first and foremost, I would like to emphasise that the European Green Deal and its underlying strategies will make our food system in Europe more resilient in the long run. And I am therefore a bit amazed by the EPP attempt to use this crisis to undermine and delay the European Green Deal, the Farm-to-fork strategy and the biodiversity strategy. We should stay on track to reach the goals we set out in the European Green Deal.

That being said, in the light of the current crisis, we need, yes, some more flexibility to ensure food supply and food security in Europe as well as outside Europe. And I fully support the EU's willingness to help third countries when necessary. Many countries, especially in Africa, are largely dependent on agricultural products like wheat from Russia and Ukraine. Supporting them and sharing our knowledge and expertise with other countries can make their food production more resilient and lower their dependence on Russia and Ukraine.

Besides temporary measures to increase our own production, we should also realise that there are other ways to improve our food system. Healthier diets, wasting less and greater biodiversity are just a few measures which can make a huge difference.

Jan Huitema (Renew). – Voorzitter, geachte commissaris, dank voor de communicatie over voedselzekerheid in de wereld, waarin de ernst van de situatie op een goede manier wordt beschreven.

Allereerst voor Oekraïne zelf: ik ben heel blij dat de communicatie voorziet in noodhulp en hulp aan Oekraïne. Ten tweede, voor voedselimporterende landen: dat wij, met onze kennis en kunde en ook noodhulp, dat de Europese Unie ook daarin hulp verschaft. En dan, als derde, voor de Europese Unie zelf: dat we gaan bekijken hoe we minder afhankelijk kunnen zijn van Rusland, van aardgas, van kunstmest en noem maar op.

Ik heb er lang voor gepleit dat we in plaats van kunstmest zo veel mogelijk organische mest zoals bijvoorbeeld dierlijke mest, maar ook de uitwerpselen van mensen in rioolslib gaan gebruiken. Eindelijk ziet de Europese Commissie ook in dat we dit moeten gaan gebruiken. Ik roep de Commissie wel op om niet te blijven hangen in onderzoek, maar nu – vandaag – ook daadwerkelijk actie te ondernemen. Want bijvoorbeeld voor het gebruik van dierlijke mest zijn die criteria – die RENURE-criteria – al gemaakt. We kunnen die morgen inzetten.

Benoît Biteau (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, mes chers collègues, la guerre en Ukraine a des répercussions immédiates sur l'alimentation planétaire. Les pays du nord de la mer Noire fournissaient près de 30 % du marché mondial des céréales. Les habitants du bassin méditerranéen sont inquiets car ils savent que le prix du pain va très fortement augmenter. Le système agricole mis en place par l'Organisation mondiale du commerce s'est effondré. Cette guerre démontre la vulnérabilité de ses logiques.

Sur le moyen terme, nous avons donc le devoir de revoir totalement ces politiques néolibérales. Sur le court terme, l'urgence est d'utiliser les céréales pour nourrir les humains. L'Europe doit privilégier l'utilisation des terres à des fins alimentaires. La priorité n'est donc pas de produire des agrocarburants, de l'agrogaz ou des aliments pour les animaux.

Il faut également soutenir financièrement les pays importateurs pour éviter à tout prix un défaut de paiement aux conséquences catastrophiques. Les paysannes et les paysans européens font face à deux défis: assurer l'alimentation de milliers de personnes tout en accélérant la lutte contre le changement climatique et l'effondrement de la biodiversité.

La Commission européenne ne doit pas céder à la panique en remettant en cause la stratégie «De la ferme à la table». Ces orientations nous permettront de réduire notre dépendance vis-à-vis des engrais russes et du soja brésilien. Aujourd'hui, elles sont encore plus importantes et pertinentes qu'hier. Elles nous rapprochent de la souveraineté alimentaire en renforçant notre autonomie et nous rendent plus résistants aux dangers extérieurs.

Thierry Mariani (ID). – Madame la Présidente, merci. Prenons garde, Monsieur le Commissaire, à ce que les sanctions européennes prises en réponse à la guerre en Ukraine et les sanctions contre la Russie n'entraînent une véritable crise alimentaire. Quand on prend des sanctions, je me pose toujours la question: est-ce qu'on évalue leurs coûts et leurs incidences?

Aujourd'hui, je voudrais simplement, dans le peu de temps que j'ai, prendre un exemple: les sanctions qu'on a prises il y a bientôt deux ans contre la Biélorussie. Quel a été leur résultat? Est-ce que le système et le régime de la Biélorussie se sont effondrés? Non. Par contre, quelle a été la principale sanction contre la Biélorussie? L'embargo sur la potasse, principale ressource de la Biélorussie. Résultat, le prix de l'engrais de potasse en 2021 a été multiplié par trois. Depuis le début de l'année, cet engrais a encore augmenté de 40 %.

En fin de compte, est-ce que la Biélorussie a perdu de l'argent? Non. Il semblerait même qu'il gagne plus, parce qu'il a réorienté son marché, parce qu'il y a une pénurie mondiale et que les prix, je le répète, ont triplé. Par contre, nos agriculteurs – j'entends le discours sur le remplacement par les engrais naturels et je suis entièrement d'accord, mais il faut du temps – payent aujourd'hui leurs engrais de synthèse trois fois plus cher. Nos consommateurs voient le prix de cet engrais répercuté sur les prix des matières qu'ils consomment.

Alors, je dis simplement: quand on prend des sanctions, essayons d'en évaluer les incidences. Il est toujours difficile de mesurer les effets politiques sur le pays qui est visé. Je ne connais pas de pays qui ait ployé à cause de sanctions. Par contre, je vois les effets pour le consommateur et pour nos agriculteurs. Excusez-moi, mais dans l'exemple que j'ai pris sur la potasse, c'est un échec total.

Mazaly Aguilar (ECR). – Señora presidente, señor comisario, la invasión rusa en Ucrania ha puesto de manifiesto las enormes carencias de producción agrícola europeas para asegurar el suministro de productos tan necesarios no solamente para las personas, sino también para el ganado. El encarecimiento de los precios de las materias primas está perjudicando a nuestros agricultores y ganaderos, que ven disparados sus costes de producción. Y, a todo esto, la crisis se ha visto agravada por la inmensa sequía en países como Portugal, España, Italia o Francia.

Hemos conocido hoy las medidas que ha tomado la Comisión, algunas de ellas temporalmente, como utilizar las tierras de barbecho. Pero lo que realmente debería haber hecho la Comisión era paralizar y modificar las Estrategias «De la Granja a la Mesa» y de Biodiversidad ante esta crisis que se nos presenta. Porque lo que no puede ser temporal es que la agricultura de Europa dependa de la energía o de la importación de piensos.

Nuestros agricultores saben hacer muy bien su trabajo. Dejemos que lo hagan. Hay tierras suficientes para evitar esa dependencia extrema. Pongámoslas a trabajar, aprovechemos esta oportunidad que se nos presenta para ser autosuficientes. La seguridad alimentaria es una prioridad; pero lo más urgente, señorías, lo más urgente en estos momentos es el abastecimiento, y para ello es indispensable aumentar la superficie de tierra en producción.

Eugenia Rodríguez Palop (The Left). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, medidas excepcionales para situaciones excepcionales. El sector primario acumula pérdidas desde hace años y hoy se enfrenta a la escalada de precios del combustible, la electricidad y los fertilizantes. Una escalada que se está traduciendo ya en paros, desabastecimiento y crisis alimentaria. Había que lanzar un cabo al que agarrarse sin perder el norte y esa era la idea inicial de esta resolución hasta que el PPE ha intentado boicotearla en el último momento. Parece que se olvida de que esta situación no es solo el producto de una guerra, sino de un modelo productivo insostenible y dependiente. Dependencia energética, estructural y endémica; dependencia del mercado global y dependencia de químicos para producir alimentos porque hemos devastado nuestros territorios. Si no hubiéramos llegado tarde a los diagnósticos y a las soluciones, no seríamos tan vulnerables ni estaríamos al albur de los caprichos de un sátrapa. Así que, cuidado, porque no se trata de borrar las huellas, sino de aprender la lección. La Estrategia «de la Granja a la Mesa» no es un error que vayamos a enmendar; el error ha sido no haberla implementado mucho antes. Hoy toca estar con los agricultores, los ganaderos y los pescadores. Pero lo urgente, que lo es -y mucho-, no es incompatible con lo importante.

Dino Giarrusso (NI). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa guerra sciagurata e sanguinosa non può essere pagata dai cittadini europei. Dipendiamo troppo da idrocarburi e materie prime importate e dobbiamo lavorare affinché l'agricoltura europea sia presto autosufficiente e sostenibile, restando sicura per i consumatori.

Incentiviamo la produzione interna, specie di grano, mais e girasole. Diamo risorse che rendano conveniente coltivare e trasformare il prodotto qui. Smettiamo la pessima abitudine di importare sottocosto del grano di cui non sempre abbiamo certezza della qualità – leggi glifosato – per abbassare il prezzo del grano nostrano in un perverso gioco di mercato dove ci perdono gli agricoltori e ci guadagnano solo le multinazionali.

Ristoriamo chi ha subito perdite, aiutiamo chi vorrà produrre in modo virtuoso, rendendoci indipendenti dalle materie prime russe e ucraine, ma senza nemmeno pensare di utilizzare la guerra per tradire il lavoro fatto finora sul biologico, la limitazione dei pesticidi, la sostenibilità e la difesa della biodiversità.

Oggi siamo chiamati ad una grande responsabilità, abbiamo in mano il futuro di milioni di cittadini europei e dei loro figli. Non possiamo tirarci indietro né voltarci dall'altra parte.

Norbert Lins (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Herr Staatssekretär! Die Situation in der Ukraine ist dramatisch, nicht nur für das Leben der Menschen, sondern auch für die Landwirtschaft. Die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer kämpfen tagsüber für ihre Freiheit und nachts für ihre Ernährungssicherheit. Niemand von uns kann sich vorstellen, welches Leid vor Ort gerade herrscht. Und wir müssen helfen – wir müssen helfen, wo wir helfen können. Auch die weltweiten Folgen des Krieges auf die Versorgungssicherheit sind bedeutend. Das Welternährungsprogramm warnt vor einer Hungerkrise, wie wir sie noch nie zuvor gesehen haben.

In der jetzigen Lage haben wir nicht die Wahl zwischen Brot und Kuchen. Viele haben verstanden, dass es jetzt darum geht, andere Weltregionen mit den notwendigen Rohstoffen zu versorgen. Wir haben eine globale Verantwortung, insbesondere für unsere Nachbarschaft. Ich begrüße deshalb die Vorschläge der Kommission, jetzt die Ernährungssicherheit und die Produktion an erste Priorität zu setzen.

Wir müssen aber auch schon an 2023 denken – nicht nur für uns, für unsere Ernährungssicherheit in Europa, sondern für unsere Partner, und gegen Putin, der Hunger als Waffe einsetzt. Ich wiederhole es zum Schluss noch einmal: Jede Tonne Weizen in Europa, die mehr angebaut wird, ist eine Tonne gegen Putin und für die Demokratie und Freiheit.

Clara Aguilera (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, estamos ante un debate en el que queríamos solicitar la urgencia de un plan de acción ante la invasión de Rusia en Ucrania. Lo primero, obviamente, es atender la demanda humanitaria, por supuesto, de los ucranianos; pero, en segundo lugar, tenemos que garantizar el abastecimiento de alimentos en Europa, por supuesto, y también en el resto del mundo. Y, por eso, bienvenido sea este plan de medidas de la Comisión, que va en la línea acertada.

Felicitó a la Comisión por haber presentado algunas medidas interesantes, como que las zonas CIEM se pongan en producción, como que se active la reserva de crisis. Probablemente habrá que activar más medidas, señor comisario, para todos los sectores: agricultores, pescadores, ganaderos y acuicultores. Los cuatro sectores están afectados por igual y, por lo tanto, debemos garantizar ese abastecimiento.

Aquí el problema son los precios y los costes que están sufriendo los agricultores, que hacen insostenibles las explotaciones. Si no ayudamos a los agricultores, si no ayudamos a los pescadores, si no ayudamos a los ganaderos ni a los acuicultores, probablemente abandonen sus explotaciones y abandonen sus embarcaciones, porque no se puede continuar con los costes de producción actuales. Por lo tanto, yo creo que son un buen abanico de medidas, pero habrá que tomar más.

Y ahora les expongo una cuestión sobre la propuesta de Resolución: es necesario que unánimemente aprobemos la propuesta de Resolución mañana, que se sumen los grupos que no se han sumado a la firma y que dejemos otras cosas atrás. Aquí no se trata de cuestionar el Pacto Verde Europeo, sino de aumentar la flexibilidad para atender los requisitos del abastecimiento alimentario; lo demás son estrategias políticas en las que no debemos caer.

Pierre Karleskind (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre – vous remarquerez que les micros fonctionnent mieux à Strasbourg qu'à Bruxelles et que l'on est mieux dans l'hémicycle strasbourgeois –, chers collègues, Monsieur le Commissaire, vous avez évoqué la pêche dans votre propos liminaire, Monsieur le Ministre également. Quand on parle de souveraineté alimentaire, il ne faut pas oublier que 70 % des produits de la mer que nous consommons dans l'Union européenne sont importés. Autrement dit, la souveraineté alimentaire sur ces produits est une conquête pour l'Union européenne.

Pourquoi aider les pêcheurs? Pourquoi aider les agriculteurs? Eh bien, c'est très simple: à chaque fois qu'un pêcheur renonce à aller pêcher – et c'est le cas en ce moment: les bateaux de pêche restent à quai, car ils ne peuvent plus être rémunérés correctement – à chaque fois, nous augmentons les importations. Quand nous augmentons les importations, nous allons cibler éventuellement des poissons, des produits de la mer qui pourraient nourrir des populations ailleurs dans le monde.

Au moment où nous craignons la hausse de la faim dans le monde, nous ne pouvons pas, nous, Européens, nous permettre que nos pêcheurs restent à quai. La pêche est au cœur de notre alimentation, et c'est pour cela que nous devons nous engager derrière elle.

Eleonora Evi (Verts/ALE). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa guerra sta già oggi provocando fame, speculazione e prezzi da capogiro. Le famiglie più fragili sono quelle più a rischio. Ma questo Parlamento, la Commissione e i governi di che cosa si stanno preoccupando? Di dare da mangiare agli animali negli allevamenti intensivi!

Il 70 % dei terreni agricoli europei è destinato già oggi alla produzione di mangimi e ciononostante importiamo continuamente mangimi, quasi tutti OGM, dai paesi terzi, alimentando l'ennesima dipendenza strutturale dopo quella del gas. Il problema dovrebbe essere evidente: sovrapproduzione e consumo eccessivo di prodotti animali, cibo che peraltro per oltre un terzo diventa rifiuto.

Per continuare tutto ciò oggi si vuole andare a coltivare anche nelle aree di interesse ecologico, usare più pesticidi, allentare e ritardare l'attuazione delle strategie «Farm to Fork» e sulla biodiversità. Non a caso è già stata posticipata la tanto attesa legge sul ripristino della natura. Non è quindi il momento di cedere alle lobby dell'agro-chimica, ma di ripensare profondamente il nostro modello alimentare.

Nicolaus Fest (ID). – Frau Präsidentin! Wir reden heute über die Folgen des völkerrechtswidrigen russischen Einmarschs in die Ukraine für unsere Nahrungsmittelsicherheit und damit über die EU-Agrarpolitik. Glücklicherweise waren wir mit der wie bekannt nie – zu viele Subventionen, zu viel bürokratische Kontrolle aus Brüssel und natürlich viel zu teuer für den Steuerzahler. Jüngst kamen noch grüne Lifestyle-Ideen wie Greening oder die Strategie „Vom Hof auf den Tisch“ hinzu.

Meine Damen und Herren, es ist wirklich eine Schande, dass erst der Krieg Ihnen die Augen öffnen musste und dass wir erst jetzt auf ein Ende der Politik hoffen dürfen, die Bauern mit Zuschüssen dafür belohnte, dass sie ihr Ackerland gerade nicht bewirtschaften. Jahrelang hat die Kommission, unterstützt von diesem Haus und von vielen Linken und Grünen, auf nationaler Ebene alles getan, um Lebensmittel teurer zu machen. Der deutsche Landwirtschaftsminister – natürlich ein Grüner – forderte noch im Dezember höhere Lebensmittelpreise. Nun fürchten und beklagen Sie und er genau die. Wie unglaublich kann man eigentlich noch werden? Es brauchte einen Krieg, damit Sie endlich aus Ihren globalen und – wie wir heute wissen – sicherheits- und sozialpolitisch unverantwortlichen Agrarträumen aufwachen.

Deshalb meine Bitte: Reformieren Sie endlich die Agrarpolitik! Akzeptieren Sie endlich moderne Produktionsmethoden! Unsere Änderungsanträge liegen auf dem Tisch.

Krzysztof Jurgiel (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzy! Uzgodniony wspólny tekst rezolucji, który będzie głosowany jutro, posiada poważne mankamenty. Z jednej strony wskazuje na potrzebę dodatkowej elastyczności w nowej WPR i zwiększenia produkcji żywności na obszarze Unii Europejskiej, a z drugiej z uporem lansuje cele Zielonego Ładu, zwłaszcza w strategii „Od pola do stołu”. Tych dwóch kierunków, Szanowni Państwo, nie da się pogodzić.

Pozytywne i oczekiwane przez rolników są następujące elementy, zgłoszone przez komisarza Janusza Wojciechowskiego: po pierwsze, interwencja na rynku wieprzowiny, po drugie, wykorzystanie rezerwy kryzysowej; po trzecie, czasowe zawieszenie przewidzianego w ramach Zielonego Ładu obowiązku odłogowania i umożliwienie państwom członkowskim wypłacania rolnikom pomocy do zakupu nawozów.

Ponadto w tekście wyraźnie widać typowe dla instytucji europejskich stosowanie podwójnych standardów dla państw członkowskich. Jedynym krajem krytykowanym imiennie są Węgry, ale w całym tekście ani razu nie pada nazwa Nord Stream 2. Ciągłe mamy „Europę lepszych i gorszych”.

Luke Ming Flanagan (The Left). – Madam President, short-sightedness put us in this position and it certainly won't get us out of it. The sustainable path was always to produce our food with inputs that are also produced within EU boundaries we control and regulate. We haven't done that. We became massively dependent on imports of basic inputs such as feed, fertiliser and energy – dependent in many cases on despots. You knew this and you let it happen. Now that this supposedly bullet-proof system has collapsed, the very people who created a model dependent on imported inputs are now telling us that the solution to our current crisis is to exhibit even more short-sightedness.

You are now saying that we must destroy ecological focus areas in order to feed the world. I can't go along with such a lie. 62% of the grain in the EU is fed to animals, only 23% to humans. So growing more grain is not about feeding the world. It's about feeding an intensive meat industry system that isn't fit for purpose.

Instead, here today, we should be supporting sustainable livestock production, such as extensively reared suckler beef. We're not though. Why? Because even at a time of war, you're being led by the nose, by industry. Disgrace!

Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, problemi s hranom nastali su daleko prije rata u Ukrajini tako što se malim zemljama uz pomoć njihovih marionetskih vlada uništavala domaća proizvodnja i poljoprivreda da bi bogate zemlje svoje otpatke, viškove i nekvalitetnu hranu koja ne zadovoljava standarde ni za hranu za životinje izvozila u zemlje periferije kontinenta.

Ljudi obolijevaju od hrane koju u razvijenim zemljama ne želite davati niti kućnim ljubimcima. Hrvatska je po oboljenju od raka na samom vrhu, a ovakva hrana koja nam se plasira jedan je od glavnih razloga tome.

Pozivam građane Hrvatske, ali i svih drugih zemalja, da odbace takvu politiku, da odbace takve političare, da pogledaju svoju djecu i zamisle se za vrijednost njihovih života i budućnosti. Još uvijek imamo šanse spasiti svoje poljoprivrede, svoje djedovine, svoje domovine.

Mi, kao građani periferije Europe, nismo ničiji pokusni kunići za proizvode loše kvalitete. Mi imamo svoja prava i pozivam sve građane da se zajedno izborimo i od malih zemalja stvorimo velike jer Hrvatska ima sve predispozicije biti uspješna i hranom samodostatna zemlja koja ima kapacitete na svojim plodnim poljima hraniti 30 milijuna ljudi umjesto da strahujemo hoćemo li ostati gladni.

Juan Ignacio Zoido Álvarez (PPE). – Señora presidenta, la invasión de Putin ha despertado a muchos europeos de su sueño de bienestar y de abundancia y nos ha devuelto a la realidad. Los europeos hemos tenido que reordenar nuestras prioridades a marchas forzadas para preocuparnos de la cosa del comer, literalmente. A día de hoy, el suministro de alimentos para millones de europeos no está garantizado. Y no solamente para los europeos, tampoco lo está para los millones de refugiados ucranianos que están llegando a nuestros países, para los millones de ucranianos que resisten en ciudades devastadas ni para los millones de habitantes del norte de África que dependían de los cereales rusos y ucranianos para sobrevivir.

Como la gran potencia agroalimentaria que somos, los europeos tenemos la responsabilidad histórica de garantizar el alimento de todos. Pero para lograrlo necesitamos que nuestros agricultores, nuestros ganaderos y nuestra industria produzcan al máximo rendimiento. Por eso, no podemos atarlos de pies y manos con normativas que restrinjan su capacidad productiva. Por eso, no podemos poner en riesgo nuestra seguridad alimentaria con alguna de las iniciativas recogidas en el Pacto Verde Europeo.

Maria Noichl (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Ich glaube, wir sind uns einig: Menschen, Institutionen, große Firmen, die Krieg ausnutzen – das ist verachtenswert! Es ist verachtenswert, Krieg dazu zu benutzen, sich eigene Vorteile zu verschaffen.

Aber ich möchte es hier in dem Hause auch mal ganz, ganz deutlich sagen: Es ist verachtenswert von der EVP, den Krieg auszunutzen, um die eigene Agenda in Sachen Agrar durchzudrücken. Es ist verachtenswert! Dieses Wort möchte ich hier nennen, denn es geht genau um eines: Sie setzen Ihre alte Agenda – Ihre Agenda „Pestizide auf ökologische Vorrangflächen“, Ihre alte Agenda „Immer mehr Fleisch“, Ihre alte Agenda gegen den *Green Deal*, Ihre alte Agenda gegen *Farm to Fork* – die setzen Sie jetzt ein im Schatten eines Krieges. Für mich als S&D-Frau ist es verachtenswert, dass Sie so etwas tun.

Und zu Ihnen, Herr Kommissar, möchte ich eines noch sagen, mit genauso harten Worten: Sie stehen hier minutenlang und sprechen über eine Überschrift – es geht um „innerhalb der EU“ und „außerhalb der EU“. Und Sie reden nicht einen Satz zum Thema Afrika, nicht einen Satz dazu, dass andere Menschen verhungern. Sie sprechen sogar davon, dass wir uns eigentlich ganz sicher fühlen können – bei uns ist alles in Ordnung, wir haben das gut im Griff. Und Sie verstehen nicht, dass andere verhungern. Sie benennen es nicht. Auch da möchte ich sagen: Das kann ich nicht verstehen. Eigentlich schätze ich Sie. Aber heute war ich sehr, sehr von Ihnen enttäuscht. Ja, es ist so! Die Situationen, so, wie wir sie heute haben, so heftige Situationen brauchen auch diese heftigen Worte.

Und ich hoffe – ich hoffe, dass die EVP bis morgen noch Zeit hat, ihre fünf Änderungsanträge, die so heftig sind, zurückzuziehen, um deutlich zu machen, dass es ihnen um die Sache geht und nicht um ihre alte Agenda.

Атидже Алиева-Вели (Renew). – Госпожо председател, безпрецедентната ситуация с войната в Украйна налага спешни, координирани и добре премерени мерки на европейско и национално ниво. Важно е незабавно да подпомогнем финансово фермерите, особено малките стопанства и животновъдите. Малките производители на храни, които се сблъскват с увеличени производствени разходи, с недостиг и високи цени на суровини. Помощ трябва и за всички хора с ниски доходи, за да бъде храната достъпна. Господин комисар, силно приветствам мерките, предложени от Комисията за осигуряване на продоволствената сигурност. Българските фермери са на ръба на фалита. Силно приканвам българските власти да предприемат незабавни мерки и да се възползват от всички инструменти, предложени от Комисията. Настоявам в този процес активно да бъдат включени и фермерите.

Erik Marquardt (Verts/ALE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Herr Minister! Putins Angriffskrieg ist schrecklich. Schrecklich natürlich vor allem für die Menschen in der Ukraine – aber er kann auch schnell zum Schrecken für die Schwächsten auf der Welt werden. Allein die Ukraine konnte 400 Millionen Menschen ernähren. Sie war die Kornkammer Europas. Wer dieses Land angreift, der trägt natürlich Verantwortung für das Leid der Menschen in der Ukraine. Aber er trägt eben auch Verantwortung dafür, wenn zusätzlich Millionen Menschen auf der Welt hungern und viele von ihnen sterben.

Um das zu verhindern, brauchen wir kurzfristig mehr humanitäre Hilfe und mittelfristig mehr Ergebnisse in Ernährungssicherheit und Armutsbekämpfung. Damit das gelingt, ist es gut, dass wir im Parlament hier reden, aber wir müssen eben auch investieren. Wir können nicht dabei zuschauen, wie China und Putin ihre Interessen auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent durchsetzen. Wir haben bei Putin gesehen, wo das hinführt.

Eine Minute wird noch nicht reichen, um dieses Thema – komplex, wie es ist – zu beschreiben oder die Lösung aufzuzeigen, aber vielleicht ist eine Minute Redezeit auch ganz sinnbildlich für das Thema, über das wir reden. Wir haben nicht mehr viel Zeit, müssen uns beeilen und der größte Fehler wäre, erst anzufangen, wenn es zu spät und schon vorbei ist.

Julie Lechanteux (ID). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, les conséquences des sanctions économiques et des restrictions commerciales en réaction à la guerre en Ukraine se font déjà sentir dans le monde agricole, avec une flambée des prix des matières premières, comme le blé, le soja, le colza et le maïs, mais aussi des engrais et du pétrole, qui ont une incidence sur la sécurité et la souveraineté alimentaires des nations.

Pour faire face à cette crise, il faut s'assurer de la capacité des pays à s'approvisionner, mais surtout à être indépendants. Il est donc nécessaire de revoir notre approche en matière de sécurité alimentaire afin de réduire notre dépendance à l'égard des importations de céréales, d'oléagineux, de maïs, de protéagineux et d'engrais. On comprend l'inquiétude de nos concitoyens au sujet de la disponibilité immédiate et à venir d'une alimentation suffisante, nutritive et de qualité.

Pour toutes ces raisons, nous devons agir vite afin de conjurer de possibles pénuries, en Europe, mais aussi dans les pays en développement, qui pourraient en plus créer une déstabilisation sociale et politique et engendrer de nouvelles vagues migratoires en direction de notre continent. Avec mes collègues du groupe ID, nous avons proposé à la Commission européenne la prise immédiate d'une série de mesures de prévention de perturbation des marchés et de soutien des secteurs les plus touchés par la crise, comme ceux de la viande porcine et des semences. Nous devons agir vite afin de produire davantage pour garantir notre indépendance alimentaire, en débloquent des fonds pour nos agriculteurs et pour nos éleveurs.

Milan Uhrík (NI). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, keď vidím, aký dopad začínajú mať niektoré tie sankcie na európsku ekonomiku, ako začínajú chýbať niektoré základné suroviny, ako prestávajú vyrábať fabriky, zatvárajú sa veľké automobilky, ako raketovo rastú ceny energií a potravín, tak sa vás musím spýtať, či cieľom tých protiruských sankcií má byť potrestať Ruskú federáciu alebo ekonomicky zdevastovať Európu, pretože mnohé z tých sankcií sú naozaj pripravené veľmi zle v neprospech Európy.

Hovoríme tu teraz o prichádzajúcej potravinovej kríze. Roky voláme po zásadnej reforme spoločnej poľnohospodárskej politiky Európskej únie. Neurobilo sa nič. Namiesto toho sa tu riešia nezmysly, ako počas minulého pléna, keď sa hlasovalo o chýbajúcich záchodoch pre tretie pohlavie. Preto navrhujem konštruktívne riešenie, začnime okamžite s obnovou poľnohospodárstva v strednej Európe. Je tam obrovský potenciál pre produkciu kvalitných, cenovo dostupných a zdravých potravín pre milióny ľudí. Nevyužíva sa to, nerobí sa s tým nič. Mohli by sme začať trochu myslieť konštruktívne a venovať sa konečne aj tomuto regiónu.

(Rečník súhlasil s tým, že odpovie na otázku položenú zdvihnutím modrej karty.)

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE), otázka položená zvednutím modrej karty. – Mám dotaz na pana Uhríka. Jsem úplně šokovaná tím, co jste tady řekl, že sankce jsou namířené proti obchodování, proti produkci v zemích Evropské unie. Vy víte velmi dobře, že to jsou sankce, které mají zabránit tomu, aby Putinův režim dál vyráběl zbraně, které zabíjejí děti, ženy, staré lidi, které ničí zemědělství v Ukrajině. Já se Vás chci zeptat, protože hovoříme o Ukrajině: Co Vy chcete udělat proto, abyste se nemusel dívat na to, jak ruská letadla bombardují ukrajinskou zemi, jak zabíjejí zemědělce, jak zabíjejí zvířata, jak zabíjejí, jak ničí nemocnici? Já se vás chci zeptat, co jste proto udělal a co pro to uděláte?

Milan Uhrík (NI), odpověď na otázku položenou zdvihnutím modrej karty. – Děkujem, pani Šojdrová, za modrú kartu. Čo sa týka tých sankcií, samozrejme, nikto nespochybnuje to, že majú byť namierené proti Ruskej federácii. Veď je to úplne prirodzené a taký by mal byť ich účel. Ale aj z reakcií slovenských poľnohospodárov, priemyselníkov a všeobecne obchodníkov je zrejme, že mnohé tie sankcie viac poškodzujú Európu, Európsku úniu, európsky priemysel ako samotnú Ruskú federáciu, pretože vojna stále pokračuje a európskym firmám sa prestáva dariť a takisto sa dostávajú do ekonomických ťažkostí. A uvidíme, ktorá strana vydrží dlhšie znášať túto sankčnú vojnu, či to bude Ruská federácia alebo teda Európa a európsky priemysel. To je pragmatická vec, to teraz nie je zastávanie sa Ruska alebo obhajovanie ruskej agresie, jednoducho musí niekto myslieť trochu aj racionálne. Nemôže každý len nariekať nad nešťastím, ktoré sa momentálne deje na Ukrajine, ale musíme myslieť na to, čo bude s Európou ďalej. Takže takto treba na to pozeráť do budúcnosti.

François-Xavier Bellamy (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, l'attaque de la Russie contre l'Ukraine ne met pas seulement en danger la vie des Ukrainiens, elle met aussi en danger les conditions de la vie pour bien d'autres et pour longtemps en menaçant les semis et les moissons en Ukraine, mais aussi en coupant du monde une région qui produit aujourd'hui 30 % du blé mondial.

Pendant ce temps, dans nos pays, les agriculteurs et les pêcheurs sont dans une extrême difficulté à cause de la montée des prix du carburant et de toutes les matières premières, laquelle met directement en danger la poursuite de leur activité. C'est pourtant de la condition de la vie que nous parlons, et nous devons aujourd'hui redire notre soutien aux agriculteurs face aux soupçons dont ils font encore l'objet et que nous entendons encore ici.

Pour cela, il est nécessaire aussi de réviser, Monsieur le Commissaire, nos politiques en la matière. Je pense notamment à la stratégie «De la ferme à la table». Comment pouvons-nous poursuivre cette stratégie, dont le groupe d'étude de la Commission européenne lui-même dit qu'elle va faire baisser la production alimentaire européenne, augmenter les prix pour les consommateurs, diminuer le revenu pour les agriculteurs et augmenter notre dépendance à l'égard des importations mondiales? Ce serait une folie de persévérer dans cette voie.

Madame Noichl, comment pouvez-vous accuser ceux qui osent mettre sur la table ce débat pourtant nécessaire dans le moment que nous traversons? Ceux qui mettent en danger notre souveraineté, ceux qui nous rendent fragiles face à l'attaque de la Russie, ce sont ceux qui veulent faire baisser la production européenne quand nous avons besoin au contraire de la renforcer.

Paolo De Castro (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario, per troppo tempo l'Europa ha ritenuto la pace, così come la sicurezza alimentare, qualcosa di acquisito. L'attacco russo nei confronti del popolo ucraino ha fatto saltare questa convinzione, con ripercussioni profonde da un punto di vista umanitario, politico, sociale ed economico.

Le misure messe in campo oggi, che raccolgono le richieste di questo Parlamento, caro Commissario, rappresentano un primo e importante segnale per i nostri produttori: l'Unione è al vostro fianco, con scelte a favore di una maggiore produttività e con la mobilitazione di 1,5 miliardi di euro a supporto dei settori più colpiti.

Non possiamo però strumentalizzare la guerra e rimettere in discussione gli obiettivi strategici fissati dal *Green Deal*. Al contrario, la rinnovata attenzione sulla sicurezza alimentare deve creare le condizioni per raggiungere una maggiore autonomia strategica dell'Unione, anche sui mercati agroalimentari.

Per vincere questa sfida serve una vera *Global Food Policy*, che superi posizioni che porterebbero alla decrescita del nostro potenziale produttivo e che renda agli agricoltori dunque un'arma formidabile per garantire cibo sufficiente, sostenibile e di qualità per tutti.

VORSITZ: NICOLA BEER

Vizepräsidentin

Jérémy Decerle (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, la guerre en Ukraine est un désastre. Les Ukrainiennes et les Ukrainiens sont sous les bombes, tués, négligés et sacrifiés à cause d'un homme fou et dangereux. Les Ukrainiennes et les Ukrainiens risquent bientôt de souffrir de faim parce que leurs champs sont devenus des théâtres d'opérations militaires.

Alors, Européens, décideurs, entreprises, chacun à son niveau, notre responsabilité est aujourd'hui d'aider l'Ukraine à se nourrir. En Europe, avec dignité et retenue, tirons au moins de cette guerre des enseignements: remettons au même niveau la souveraineté alimentaire et nos ambitions environnementales. Soyons déterminés à reconstruire enfin une Europe agricole solide, souveraine et durable.

Roman Haider (ID). – Frau Vorsitzende! Mit Russland und der Ukraine fallen zwei der größten Agrarproduzenten der Welt de facto aus. Es droht eine weltweite Lebensmittelknappheit. Und was macht die EU in dieser Situation? Sie hält stur an ihrer völlig widersinnigen Agrarstrategie *Farm to Fork* fest. Sie hält an einer Agrarstrategie fest, die die Agrarproduktion in Europa um mindestens 13 % absenken würde.

Da muss ich mich schon fragen: In welcher Realität leben Sie eigentlich hier? Ist Ihnen überhaupt bewusst, was für einen immensen Schaden Sie hier anrichten? Nicht nur in Europa – weltweit. Für die EU bedeutet das massive Preissteigerungen, soziale Verwerfungen, enorme Inflation. Für Nordafrika und für den Nahen Osten bedeutet das Lebensmittelknappheit, Hunger, Instabilität, Krieg. Wollen Sie das?

Es gibt nur einen einzigen Ausweg: Befördern Sie *Farm to Fork* dorthin, wo dieser Plan hingehört, nämlich auf den Misthaufen der abgehobenen Spinnereien. Am besten beerdigen Sie den ganzen *Green Deal* gleich mit dazu.

Daniela Rondinelli (NI). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Commissario, l'ingiustificata ed ingiustificabile guerra di Putin contro l'Ucraina ci sta dimostrando come anche la pressione alimentare e le carestie sono armi politiche e questioni negoziali. Per questo è urgente una risposta forte e coesa dell'Unione europea.

Dobbiamo aiutare l'Ucraina, un paese a forte vocazione agricola, a non interrompere la sua produzione e a rifornirla di cibo, lavorando alla costruzione di corridoi alimentari insieme a quelli umanitari.

Dobbiamo liberare il nostro potenziale produttivo per raggiungere il massimo grado possibile di autosufficienza alimentare, ma allo stesso tempo preservando quegli obiettivi di sostenibilità sociale e ambientale che rappresentano essi stessi gli strumenti fondamentali per conseguire la nostra sovranità alimentare.

Infine, abbiamo la responsabilità di sfamare quei paesi terzi, penso per esempio a quelli dell'Africa e del Medio Oriente, che dipendono dall'agricoltura ucraina. Regioni già instabili e fragili che potrebbero diventare nuovi focolai di tensioni e conflitti dalle conseguenze imprevedibili.

Prevenire fame e carestia è in imperativo non solo morale ma anche strategico per garantire un futuro di pace per tutta l'Europa e per l'intero pianeta.

Gabriel Mato (PPE). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, gracias por esta comunicación, especialmente por incluir a la pesca y a la acuicultura que, junto con toda la cadena de valor de los productos de la mar, son sectores fundamentales que contribuyen a la seguridad alimentaria en la Unión Europea. Muchas gracias.

Sin embargo, las medidas previstas para la pesca son claramente insuficientes. Desde hace meses, los sectores de la pesca y la acuicultura se han enfrentado a una difícil situación económica. Vemos con preocupación cómo buques de muchos Estados miembros están amarrando como consecuencia del fuerte aumento de los costes. Es hora de ejecutar acciones urgentes y no de palabras bonitas. Se necesita compensar a los operadores por la pérdida de ingresos o los costes adicionales, proporcionar ayudas al almacenamiento y compensaciones por el cese temporal de las actividades. Además, necesitamos aumentar el límite de las ayudas *de minimis* y un aumento de la flexibilidad de las cuotas interanuales.

Las circunstancias excepcionales necesitan medidas excepcionales y valientes para la agricultura, para la ganadería y también para la pesca.

Carmen Avram (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, salut rezoluția Parlamentului și planul Comisiei de salvare a sectorului agricol în acest moment de mare criză. Dar pentru securitatea alimentară, avem nevoie de și mai multe măsuri, bine calculate, ca: adaptarea la noua realitate a planurilor naționale strategice, amânarea unor prevederi care pot scădea producția, creșterea procentului de avans la subvenții, soluții viabile pentru independența totală a producției europene, ajutor pentru producătorii afectați de criza energetică și cea a îngrășămintelor și mai ales sprijin pentru statele care pot suplini golul lăsat de Ucraina pe piața agroalimentară.

România poate face asta prin culturile ei de floarea-soarelui, cereale și soia, dar, de patru ani, aflată deja în mare risc de deșertificare, țara mea se confruntă cu secetă extremă. Cu un buget de fix zero euro pentru agricultură în PNRR, România are nevoie de redeschiderea Planului, fără modificarea sumei alocate, pentru a investi în sisteme sustenabile de management al apei și în spații de depozitare a produselor agricole. Nu este un moft, este o necesitate vitală pentru asigurarea securității noastre alimentare, a țărilor cu un flux masiv de refugiați, a Uniunii și a statelor vulnerabile.

Martin Hlaváček (Renew). – Paní předsedající, pane komisaři, kolegové, před pár minutami nás zasáhla těžká zpráva. Madeleine Albrightová, první Češka, první žena v úřadu ministra zahraničí USA, která se velmi zasadila po pádu železné opony o začlenění střední a východní Evropy do demokratického světa EU a NATO, zemřela. Doufám, že tím, co tady děláme, budeme podporovat dál její odkaz.

Nacházíme se v situaci, které jsme nečelili po desetiletí. Dostupné a cenově přijatelné potraviny, které mnozí považovali za samozřejmost, jsou poprvé v reálném ohrožení. Je třeba poděkovat všem zemědělcům, kteří produkují potraviny pro naše občany. Pane komisaři, je třeba přijmout kroky, které odvrátí sociální rozklad evropské společnosti. Kombinace energetické, úrokové a potravinové inflace představuje nebezpečný koktejl pro naši jednotu a soudržnost. Děkuji Vám, že jste tak rychle zareagoval a budeme Vás všemi způsoby podporovat.

V krátkém horizontu je třeba především pomoci Ukrajincům, jejich zemědělství a maximalizovat produkci potravin v Evropě. Ve střednědobém horizontu, prosím, zvažte využití nástroje k řízení obchodu, které Vám Smlouva poskytuje. Je třeba stabilizovat trhy, ceny komodit a zahájit transformaci, která bude v dlouhodobém horizontu řešit naši závislost na energiích, osivech a především bílkovinách.

Krzysztof Hetman (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Agresja Putina na Ukrainę ma poważne i długoterminowe konsekwencje wychodzące daleko poza samą Ukrainę, a nawet Europę. Jedną z nich jest ryzyko globalnego kryzysu żywnościowego. W zaistniałej sytuacji nie możemy mieć złudzeń – nasza polityka nie może w żaden sposób zagrozić lub ograniczyć produkcji żywności, ani stanowić dodatkowego obciążenia dla rolników. Obecnie funkcjonujące i nowo wprowadzane polityki unijne w zakresie rolnictwa muszą być w trybie pilnym poddane ocenie pod kątem ich potencjalnego wpływu na produkcję żywności i bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe.

Potrzebujemy całościowej strategii dla Unii Europejskiej w celu zapewnienia bezpiecznego łańcucha produkcji. Musimy też wykorzystać wszystkie instrumenty, jakimi dysponujemy w ramach WPR, aby ustabilizować rynki i wspierać produkcję żywności w Unii. Ważne jest także zapewnienie większej elastyczności w odniesieniu do udzielania pomocy państwa dla rolnictwa. Unia Europejska powinna też wspierać Światowy Program Żywnościowy i państwa rozwijające się w budowaniu ich zdolności i odporności. W tym trudnym czasie musimy realnie spojrzeć na ogrom stojących przed nami wyzwań i podjąć zdecydowane działania. Pustymi słowami nie nakarmimy ludzi.

Alin Mîtuța (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, domnule ministru, fermierii europeni sunt îngrijorați de prețurile la combustibil, la îngrășăminte sau la furaje, iar cetățenii sunt îngrijorați, pe bună dreptate, de prețul la alimente.

În momente ca acestea, ne dăm seama cât de important este să avem o politică agricolă comună care ne asigură securitatea alimentară. Avem acum datoria să folosim toate aceste instrumente de care dispunem la nivel european și să sprijinim fermierii noștri, nu doar pentru a produce alimente pentru Uniune, dar și pentru alte regiuni dependente de exporturile din zonele de război.

Trebuie să activăm rezerva de criză pentru a ajuta fermierii să aibă acces la îngrășăminte la un preț rezonabil; trebuie să cultivăm fiecare hectar rămas nefolosit, pentru a suplini exporturile din Ucraina și din Rusia; și, nu în ultimul rând, trebuie să ajutăm Ucraina cu sprijin financiar, logistic și cu stabilirea unor coridoare alternative de transport.

Simone Schmiedtbauer (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar! Nahezu täglich hören wir Berichte – Ukraine, die Kornkammer Europas, und darüber hinaus. Wir wissen, die Ukraine und Russland gemeinsam machen über 30 % des weltweiten Handels mit Weizen, über 32 % mit Gerste, über 17 % mit Mais und gar über 50 % mit Sonnenblumen aus. Diese Mengen wird es dieses Jahr nicht mehr am Weltmarkt geben, und auch nächstes Jahr nicht. Sämtliche Rahmenbedingungen haben sich vollkommen verändert, und so ist es höchste Zeit für unseren Entschließungsantrag. Europa hat eine Verantwortung. Europa hat eine Verpflichtung. Nicht nur seinen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern gegenüber, sondern auch über die Grenzen Europas hinaus.

Drei Punkte: Die EU-Gesetzespakete für den Agrarsektor, *Farm to Fork* und die Biodiversitätsstrategie müssen vollkommen neu bewertet werden. Produktionseinschränkungen sind heute fehl am Platz. Wir brauchen echte Unterstützung für europäische Landwirte, die trotz der exorbitant hohen Futtermittel-, Dünger- und Spritpreise tagtäglich für unsere Ernährungssicherheit im Einsatz sind. Wir brauchen frisches Geld – nicht aus der Krisenreserve, denn dann bezahlen wir uns diese Krise selbst. Und drittens: Gratulation an die Kommission! Rund 4 Millionen Hektar stillgelegte Anbauflächen wurden für den Anbau freigegeben. Das ist ein Beitrag zur Ernährungssicherheit.

María Soraya Rodríguez Ramos (Renew). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, esta ilegal y criminal invasión de Ucrania va a generar una situación de inseguridad alimentaria a miles y miles de kilómetros de la guerra. Muchos países que viven hoy ya de la ayuda alimentaria van a ver deteriorada su situación y países de renta baja que dependen en gran medida de la importación de alimentos también.

En la Unión Europea nuestra situación es que somos autosuficientes en muchísimos productos. Exportamos trigo, pero dependemos de insumos como fertilizantes, plaguicidas o combustibles fósiles que han incrementado muchísimo la producción. Por eso, nuestros agricultores necesitan medidas excepcionales, flexibles, rápidas y temporales para ayudarles a producir, pero, desde luego, sin comprometer la hoja de ruta del Pacto Verde Europeo, que va a evitar el deterioro de nuestros ecosistemas y de la biodiversidad y va a hacer indudablemente que la agricultura europea sea mucho más sostenible, resiliente y, desde luego, independiente.

Annie Schreijer-Pierik (PPE). – Voorzitter, ik ben het eens met de resolutie en roep het Parlement op om de amendementen van de EVP-Fractie te steunen. Dat vraag ik ook aan de commissaris.

Geen goede landbouwgrond meer naar natuur! De “van boer naar bord”- strategie en de biodiversiteitsstrategie ondermijnen de voedselproductie. Dat horen we overal. Deze moeten snel de ijskast in. De doelstellingen moeten heroverwogen worden.

Het is tijd om in te zetten op innovatie: dat is toch Europa? Om groene kunstmestvervangers uit verwerkte dierlijke mest volledig toe te staan. Ik wacht daar al 35 jaar op. Roept u commissaris Timmermans op om dit een keer te realiseren? Dit is noodzakelijk om onze onafhankelijkheid van CO₂-intensieve en peperdure chemische kunstmest te verminderen en om daarnaast biogas als alternatieve energiebron te benutten. Dat is heel belangrijk.

Het is tijd om de voedselproductie in onze Europese landen op te voeren. We moeten nu onze boeren, tuinders en vissers steunen om dit te realiseren.

Tot slot moet Europa er alles aan doen om het huidige zaad- en pootgoedseizoen in Oekraïne te redden, zoals de Oekraïense minister van Landbouw ons gevraagd heeft. Europa is vrede, voldoende voedsel, maar ook innovatie. Laten we aan het werk gaan.

Álvaro Amaro (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Caras e Caros Colegas, não deveria ser por razões desta guerra absurda, mas sim pela justiça para com os agricultores, que são homens e mulheres que querem produzir respeitando as boas práticas ambientais. Mas a verdade é que a agricultura, a segurança e a soberania alimentar vieram para a agenda política por essas razões que não deviam existir. Razões que nos levam também a que hoje possamos encarar a realidade e deixarmo-nos de ideologias e de combate ideológico que não faz nenhum sentido.

O PPE, naturalmente, tem que defender os agricultores europeus. Nós temos de produzir mais porque a Europa tem que alimentar mais. E Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, situações excepcionais exigem medidas excepcionais.

Por isso lhe proponho: a Comissão deve rever os objetivos e os prazos das Estratégias do Prado ao Prato e da Biodiversidade. Rever os prazos, não acabar. Suspende os processos legislativos. E por último, Senhor Comissário, reforce, mas faça chegar com toda a urgência, os apoios aos agricultores.

Marlene Mortler (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kollegen! Als dieser brutale Krieg mitten in Europa begann, war die erste Reaktion eines Vertreters der Kommission: Putin will vom Klimaproblem ablenken, und: das Parlament missbrauche den Putin-Krieg, weil es nach mehr Produktion rufe. Ich sage Ihnen klar: Wir sind nicht nur verantwortlich für das, was wir tun, sondern auch für das, was wir nicht tun. Und unsere reale Welt ist keine heile Welt. Deshalb ist es unsere Pflicht, humanitäre Hilfe zu leisten. Und die Tränen des ukrainischen Agrarministers gestern waren nicht nur echt, sie waren ein echter Hilferuf.

Unsere Bäuerinnen und Bauern in Europa stehen in den Startlöchern, um mitzuhelfen. Deshalb begrüße ich alle Maßnahmen, die jetzt und in Zukunft beschlossen werden, um unsere Potenziale und unseren Beitrag zur Ernährungssicherung für die Menschen in der Ukraine und für hungernde Menschen weltweit zu leisten. Das ist nachhaltige Politik. Danke allen politischen Kräften für Ihre Einsicht und Weitsicht.

Benoît Lutgen (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, il y a quinze jours, j'étais en Ukraine. Dois-je vous avouer que je suis parfois gêné d'entendre certaines positions ici, gêné des tergiversations de certains alors que l'heure devrait être à la mobilisation pour produire? Nous savons que les capacités de production, de stockage et d'exportation de l'Ukraine sont soit mises à mal, soit détruites aujourd'hui. Nous savons aussi que les risques de la guerre et de sa continuité apporteront peut-être demain des catastrophes encore plus importantes.

Pendant ce temps-là, certains tergiversent. Oui, nous devons produire et utiliser chaque centimètre carré cette année pour faire en sorte que la production soit suffisante. Nous le devons aux Ukrainiens, à nos agriculteurs et à nos consommateurs, pour qu'ils puissent encore se nourrir demain à un prix décent. Nous le devons aussi aux Somaliens, aux Égyptiens et à tous ceux qui, effectivement, auront besoin de notre nourriture demain pour pouvoir s'alimenter, tout simplement, et faire face à leurs besoins. Alors oui, l'heure n'est pas aux tergiversations, l'heure est à la production et à la mobilisation générale. Je pense qu'on ferait bien de s'inspirer de cette force et de cette volonté qui existent en Ukraine.

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Paní předsedající, dámy a pánové, je velmi těžké mluvit v této chvíli, zatímco na Ukrajině umírají a trpí lidé.

Pane komisaři, podpořme ukrajinské zemědělce! Ale je těžké v tuto chvíli hospodařit, když Putin zabíjí zemědělce, zabíjí lidi, bombarduje jejich pole, ničí infrastrukturu. Víme, že skutečným opatřením je zastavení Putinovy agrese. Zastavení financování Putinovy armády z našich peněz za plyn a ropu. Víme, ale nekonáme. Samozřejmě také víme, že po letošní sklizni bude chybět 30 % světového obchodu pšenice a ječmene z Ukrajiny. Proto považujeme zajištění dostatečné zemědělské produkce a potravin za naši povinnost nejen vůči našim občanům, ale i vůči Ukrajině. Musíme zemědělce podpořit. Musíme k tomu využít maximum půdy a prostředků. Pokles produkce v tuto chvíli o 10 % podle *Farm to Fork* si prostě nemůžeme dovolit. Proto, pane komisaři, konejte!

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Salvatore De Meo (PPE). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa guerra ingiusta e ingiustificabile sta mettendo in crisi le nostre filiere produttive e la nostra autonomia alimentare. La guerra è un evento eccezionale e straordinario, rispetto al quale l'Europa deve agire e reagire con misure altrettanto eccezionali e straordinarie, sia per favorirne la cessazione sia per difendere la nostra sicurezza produttiva alimentare.

Mentre si costruisce una strategia di lungo termine per la nostra autonomia, dobbiamo avere il coraggio di riconoscere che le varie strategie di sostenibilità precedenti alla guerra in Ucraina devono essere contestualizzate. E quindi necessario capire come rimodulare ogni iniziativa che possa incidere sulla capacità produttiva europea e adeguare le nostre strategie alla luce delle criticità emerse.

Nessuno intende rinunciare ad un'agricoltura più sostenibile e rispettosa dell'ambiente, ma bisogna essere pragmatici. La sostenibilità ambientale non può prescindere da quella economica se vogliamo rendere le nostre aziende più competitive per raggiungere il risultato che noi abbiamo posto come ambizioso e vogliamo raggiungere.

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Madam President, the issue of food security is the reason why Putin's invasion of Ukraine is on the verge of becoming the most disastrous geopolitical moment in modern history.

A group of states already on the edge of famine are totally dependent on Ukraine and Russian exports. Even for the more commercially independent, the rise in global energy and food prices will push citizens over the edge. We should remember that the last food crisis in 2007-2008 resulted in riots in 40 countries across the world.

The resolution correctly diagnoses the seriousness of the situation in the EU, but we have to understand how much more serious the situation is for the developing world.

In Europe, one of the most food-secure regions in the world, it's about balancing, on the one hand, the need to increase production, while retaining our gains on climate targets. It's a question of managing disruption, of managing price pressures. But in the developing world, it is a question, sadly, of life and death.

Bronis Ropé (Verts/ALE). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, gerbiami kolegos, iš tikrųjų, visi turbūt suprantame, kad Ukrainai šiandien reikia taikos. Tai yra tai, ko reikia labiausiai. Tačiau karas paveikė ir kitas sritis. Ir, iš tikrųjų, jeigu Ukrainoje trūks maisto produktų, tai trūks jų ir pasaulyje, todėl turime dėti visas pastangas, turime girdėti, ką sako Ukraina, kad padėtume jiems kuo daugiau pasėti. Toks dabar laikas, nėra kada laukti. Ir, iš tikrųjų, kuo daugiau Ukraina pasės, tuo turėsime daugiau galimybių mes čia Europoje vykdyti savo įvairias programas. Ir antras dalykas, turime padėti eksporto keliams. Pagrindinis eksporto šaltinis iš Ukrainos yra jūrinis – uostai. Uostai yra okupuoti, užminuoti ir šiandien negali vykdyti veiklos. Tai irgi turim atkreipti dėmesį ir padėti. Net jeigu užauginsime, neturėsime galimybės išvežti.

Bogdan Rzońca (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Chciałem podziękować panu komisarzowi za powrót do naturalnego rolnictwa, bo sytuacja jest bardzo poważna. Musimy przecież odtworzyć małe naturalne gospodarstwa rolne, które zostały zniszczone w ostatnich latach przez wielkie mafie producentów żywnościowych działających na skalę przemysłową. Musimy do tego powrócić i musimy też uderzyć się w piersi, bo co dzisiaj widzimy na łąkach europejskich? Zamiast krów i owiec widzimy wielkie ściółki farm solarnych. Ponad lasami wyrastają dzisiaj farmy wiatrowe. Tego ekolodzy nie widzą. Tego Zieloni nie widzą.

Myślałem, że dzisiaj Zieloni pomogą nam odpowiedzieć na pytanie, co zrobić? Usłyszałem tylko, że trzeba mniej jeść i wtedy będzie lepiej. Proszę państwa, mamy problem z zatrzymaniem wody. W tej chwili ekolodzy przeszkadzają w budowie zbiorników wodnych dla rolników, a ta woda jest potrzebna do produkcji żywności. I moje pytanie na koniec do pana komisarza: czy nie będzie jakiegoś zakłócenia dla tych rolników, którzy produkują biomasę? Czy da się to pogodzić w tej trudnej sytuacji?

Franc Bogovič (PPE). – Ukrajinska nesreča. Agresija Rusije je 27. februarja razblinila evropske sanje, da bodo za našo varnost skrbeli v Natu in pa Združenih državah Amerike, da bomo imeli energetska varnost zagotovljeno v Rusiji, in tudi pri prehranski varnosti, ki je bolj poskrbljena kot prvi dve varnosti, vidimo, kako smo odvisni od trga Ukrajine in pa tudi Rusije.

Že pred to vojno smo videli velike podražitve tako na eni strani energije, posledično gnojil, pomanjkanje tudi nabave gnojil, zato je bila prehranska varnost ogrožena že prej.

Ta kriza pa zagotovo zahteva od nas to, kar je predlagala Komisija – da sprejmemo odločne ukrepe, da zagotovimo čim večjo proizvodnjo v letošnjem letu. In tudi to, kar smo zapisali v strategijo, da se temeljito razmisli o vplivih teh strategij, ki so na naši mizi.

Če nismo dobili prej presoje vplivov, kaj te strategije pomenijo, ko bi jih morali dobiti, je sedaj čas, da o tem resno razmislimo. Hvala.

Irène Tolleret (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, nous devons collectivement, ici et maintenant, être au rendez-vous des besoins de l'Ukraine et des Ukrainiens. Nous devons nourrir les réfugiés, nourrir leurs enfants, les éduquer, les éduquer aussi à rebâtir leur pays. Nous devons envoyer de la nourriture en Ukraine. Nous devons aussi aider l'Ukraine, comme cela a été demandé hier, à faire ses récoltes. Il est important que nous mettions en place les couloirs verts qui ont été demandés et que nous fournissions tous les produits pour aider l'Ukraine à manger.

Cette guerre a des conséquences dans notre Union et elle révèle nos faiblesses. Cette guerre révèle notre dépendance énergétique. Elle révèle aussi notre dépendance vis-à-vis de pays tiers pour la nourriture animale. Il est important que nous gagnions en souveraineté en investissant. Nous le devons à l'Ukraine et au monde.

Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE). – Señora presidenta, nuestro sector pesquero se enfrenta en estos momentos a una situación también dramática: los precios de los combustibles y de la logística están disparados e impiden que la flota salga a faenar. La Unión Europea debe adoptar soluciones ambiciosas de manera urgente para mitigar el impacto económico en la pesca y la acuicultura de la trágica guerra de Ucrania.

El umbral de las ayudas de Estado, las conocidas como «ayudas *de minimis*», debe incrementarse hasta los 500 000 euros por buque y se debe movilizar de forma urgente la financiación del nuevo Fondo Europeo Marítimo y de Pesca para compensar a los operadores. Además, mi grupo, el Popular, ha presentado una enmienda a la propuesta de Resolución que votaremos mañana para reclamar una reforma legislativa que permita que este Fondo pueda también dar ayuda a la emergencia en tiempos de crisis. Por otra parte, ante un escenario de paros generalizados, deberíamos aumentar hasta el 25 % la flexibilidad interanual de las cuotas pesqueras.

En cualquier caso, las soluciones no deben venir exclusivamente de Bruselas. Los Gobiernos de los Estados miembros tienen también la responsabilidad de apoyar a la cadena mar-industria en estos momentos realmente críticos.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Janusz Wojciechowski, Członek Komisji. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Rozmawiamy rzeczywiście w wyjątkowo dramatycznych okolicznościach, których sobie do niedawna nie wyobrażaliśmy. Kiedy dwa dni temu, w poniedziałek, mieliśmy posiedzenie Rady i występował ukraiński minister rolnictwa, mówił o tym, że jego dwóch przyjaciół, rolników pracujących w polu, zginęło w czasie prac polowych, a w pewnym momencie wystąpienie ukraińskiego ministra zostało przerwane alarmem bombowym, który miał miejsce w Kijowie. Takiej sytuacji, z małymi wyjątkami, Europa nie знаła od 1945 roku. To się zdarzyło w latach 70-tych na Cyprze, to się zdarzyło w latach 90-tych w krajach byłej Jugosławii i to wreszcie spotkało Ukrainę.

Państwo, które jest znane od kilku wieków co najmniej ze swoich imperialnych skłonności, zaatakowało Ukrainę, czyli kraj, który jest ważnym producentem rolnym. Niszczy infrastrukturę tego kraju, zablokowało porty, uniemożliwiło eksport dziesiątek milionów ton zbóż tak ważnych dla bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego na całym świecie. Padł zarzut, że nie mówiłem o Afryce. Mam wrażenie, że wymieniłem Afrykę wśród tych regionów, które są dotknięte skutkami tej sytuacji.

Co Unia Europejska w tej sytuacji może zrobić? Oczywiście pomagamy Ukrainie w różny sposób, także w tej dziedzinie. Przede wszystkim trwa wielki wysiłek, żeby pomóc uchodźcom – to jest wielki wysiłek Europejczyków (dwa czy ponad trzy miliony uchodźców przybyłych w ciągu trzech tygodni). W wielkim kryzysie migracyjnym w 2015 roku było milion osiemset tysięcy migrantów w ciągu całego roku. Wielki szacunek dla wszystkich, którzy pomagają uchodźcom. Ponad 2 miliony uchodźców jest w kraju najlepiej mi znanym, w moim ojczystym kraju, w Polsce. Pomagamy rolnikom ukraińskim, zdając sobie sprawę z tego, jak ważni są dla bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego, jak ważna jest ich praca. Oni bronią nie tylko własnych pól, ale bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego w szerszym światowym wymiarze.

Dostarczamy paliwo. Polska jest gotowa dostarczyć i już dostarcza paliwo ukraińskim rolnikom, a Unia Europejska, Komisja Europejska jest gotowa ponieść skutki finansowe tych dostaw – i to jest bardzo ważne i stąd zmiany i te, które prezentowałem w pierwszym moim wystąpieniu i które są zawarte w tym komunikacie. W sytuacji, kiedy o kilkadziesiąt milionów ton zmniejszy się podaż żywności na świecie (już to wiemy), zablokowana Ukraina jako ofiara agresji i w dużej mierze zablokowana Rosja jako sprawca agresji, czy możemy pozwolić sobie na to, żeby ziemie w Unii Europejskiej, 4 miliony hektarów ziemi zdolnej do produkcji, nie produkowało? Nie, to nie byłoby rozsądne. To byłoby sprzeczne z racjonalnością i troską o bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. I dlatego ta zmiana została zaproponowana i myślę, że większość z Państwa występujących w tej debacie podeszło do tego ze zrozumieniem.

Duża część dyskusji dotyczyła właśnie bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego. Przypomnę tylko, że w strategii „od pola do stołu” jest wyraźnie zapisane (sam o to wnosilem, żeby taki zapis się w niej znalazł) że mamy monitorować wpływ realizacji tej strategii na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe – podobnie jest zresztą w strategii bioróżnorodności. I mamy do czynienia właśnie z taką sytuacją, że musimy zareagować na te elementy strategii, które mogą mieć negatywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. Odłogowanie właśnie w tym momencie taki wpływ ma i dlatego trzeba było to zrobić, to znaczy pozwolić na produkcję na obszarach dotychczas ugorowanych.

Natomiast inne elementy strategii, w moim głębokim przekonaniu, mają wręcz pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe: rolnictwo węglowe i wielkie plany jego rozwoju, wspieranie rolników w praktykach korzystnych dla środowiska, ale też korzystnych dla gleby, dla klimatu – to jest pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe – czy krótkie łańcuchy dostaw, które mają zdecydowanie pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe, są wręcz niezbędne dla tego bezpieczeństwa, czy rolnictwo precyzyjne, które ma absolutnie pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. Dobrostan zwierząt – każdy rolnik wie, że w produkcji zwierzęcej dobrostan przynosi lepszą produkcję, a brak dobrostanu przynosi straty. To każdy rolnik wie, więc nie ma powodu, aby od tych elementów, które mają pozytywny wpływ na produkcję, odstępować. W związku z tym nie mogę zgodzić się z wypowiedziami, które mówią, żeby tę strategię wyrzucić do kosza. Nie, trzeba monitorować, oceniać wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe, a wiele elementów tych strategii ma bardzo pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. Polityka rolna staje się polityką bezpieczeństwa. Do tej pory sobie z tego nie zdawaliśmy w pełni sprawy, że na równi z polityką obronną, z polityką energetyczną, a może nawet w niektórych elementach bardziej, nie da się żyć bez żywności i musimy tę politykę tak traktować.

Tu nawiążę, przepraszam, że nie odniosę się oczywiście szczegółowo do wypowiedzi, ale pan Dorfmann o tym wspominał, i kilku innych mówców, między innymi pan Lins, że potrzebujemy więcej funduszy. To nie jest rolą komisarza takie postulaty zgłaszać tu w tym momencie, ale na tę politykę bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego, na Wspólną Politykę Rolną, wielką politykę bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego dzisiaj wydajemy około 0,3% produktu krajowego brutto Unii Europejskiej. Te 58 miliardów euro, które rocznie wydajemy na WPR, w porównaniu z 15 bilionami euro produktu krajowego brutto Unii Europejskiej, no to jest właśnie tyle. Myślę, że trzeba się głęboko nad tym zastanowić. Jeśli chcemy mieć bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe, zapewnić fundamentalne bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe, musimy zwiększyć możliwości naszego działania w tym obszarze.

Pani Przewodnicząca, Szanowni Państwo, bardzo dziękuję. Ta debata była bardzo potrzebna i oczywiście to jest początek wysiłków na rzecz wzmocnienia bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego. Dziękuję za debatę, ale dziękuję przede wszystkim za inspirację do decyzji, które już podjęliśmy w ramach Komisji. Myślę, że odniosą one skutek w tym krótkoterminowym wymiarze, a w dłuższym – musimy głęboko rzeczywiście przemyśleć naszą strategię działania nad tym, żeby Europa była bezpieczna pod względem żywnościowym i żeby miała też pozytywny wpływ na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe na świecie.

Clément Beaune, *président en exercice du Conseil*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Mesdames et Messieurs les Députés, je serai bref pour simplement ajouter quelques remarques au nom de la présidence. La double responsabilité européenne que j'évoquais en introduction à ce débat est, je crois, largement partagée au-delà des nuances et des différences d'expression qui ont eu lieu, et je crois qu'elle est partagée au sein du Conseil: à la fois produire une alimentation suffisante et de qualité pour les Européennes et les Européens – c'est notre devoir, que nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue, et la première fonction de cette politique agricole – et avoir une capacité de production qui nous mette en situation d'assumer la solidarité internationale qui est indispensable aujourd'hui – nous le disions, et beaucoup d'entre vous l'ont relevé.

La réponse est la même face à ces deux responsabilités: produire en Europe, conformément aux règles, aux standards et aux normes que nous avons définis. Je crois qu'il n'y a pas de contradiction, cela a été dit par plusieurs intervenants, entre cette fonction nourricière et une politique agricole qui contribue évidemment à la transition écologique. Les agriculteurs sont les premiers acteurs de la lutte contre le changement climatique, et je crois qu'il n'y a pas de choix européen à faire entre ces deux impératifs.

Il faut sans doute discuter – ce sera aussi évoqué au cours du Conseil européen et des conseils des ministres de l'agriculture, à nouveau – des ajustements pragmatiques, le cas échéant, pour tenir compte de la crise que nous vivons, de la guerre et de ses conséquences sur l'Europe et sur le monde.

C'est dans cet esprit que le président de la République portera une initiative européenne et internationale au nom de la France, au nom de la présidence, pour que nous coordonnions, comme nous l'avons fait en matière de vaccins et de dispositifs médicaux lors de la crise de la COVID-19, des gestes et des actions de solidarité internationale pour s'assurer que des pays, parfois proches de l'Europe, ne se retrouvent pas dans des situations désastreuses et dramatiques, qui seraient d'ailleurs aussi lourdes de conséquences pour notre Europe dans les prochaines semaines et dans les prochains mois.

Je relève pour finir que, puisque nous avons parlé d'alimentation, cela concerne évidemment le secteur de l'agriculture, mais aussi la question de la pêche, qui a été soulevée par plusieurs intervenants, et qui nécessite que nous ayons, face à cette crise également, des dispositifs de soutien et d'accompagnement. Et au nom du Conseil, Monsieur le Commissaire, comme cela a été fait encore il y a quarante-huit heures, je ne saurais que trop encourager la Commission à surveiller l'ensemble des dispositifs que nous devons mobiliser, et à aller, le cas échéant, plus loin que les premières mesures déjà prises pour soutenir à la fois notre agriculture et notre pêche dans l'Union européenne.

Die Präsidentin. – Gemäß Artikel 132 Absatz 2 der Geschäftsordnung wurden sieben Entschließungsanträge eingereicht (*).

Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 24. März 2022, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Асим Адемов (PPE), в писмена форма. – Руската военна агресия срещу Украйна доказва за пореден път, че производството на храни е стратегически сектор и продоволствената сигурност не може да се приема за даденост. В отговор на създалата се ситуация, ЕС трябва да намали зависимостта си от вноса на някои стратегически суровини. За целта е необходимо да увеличим вътрешното производство и да диверсифицираме веригите на доставки, без да допускаме вредни практики като забраната за износ на зърнени култури, които застрашават правилното функциониране на вътрешния пазар на селскостопански продукти. В условията на нарастващи цени на енергия, суровини, торове и фуражи, земеделските ни стопани се нуждаят от допълнителна подкрепа, за да се смекчат последиците върху най-засегнатите сектори и да се компенсира увеличението на производствените им разходи.

Затова приветствам предложените от ЕП мерки за мобилизиране на резерва за кризи в размер на близо 500 млн. евро, незабавното прилагане на спешни мерки срещу смущенията на пазара, по-голяма гъвкавост при отпускането на държавни помощи, разширяване на обхвата на извънредните мерки за развитие на селските райони във връзка с Ковид, за да се преодолеят текущите проблеми с ликвидността на фермерите, увеличаване на авансовите плащания, както и адаптиране на националните стратегически планове съобразно новите обстоятелства, включително и допускане на възможността да се увеличат обработваемите площи.

Dominique Bilde (ID), par écrit. – La guerre ukrainienne, outre ses conséquences dramatiques pour tant d'Ukrainiens amenés à prendre les armes ou jetés sur les routes, est un nouveau révélateur des déséquilibres des systèmes alimentaires mondiaux. En dépit de la disponibilité de terres arables, le continent africain, par exemple, reste largement tributaire des importations de denrées alimentaires. L'Égypte importe environ 90 % de son blé de Russie et d'Ukraine. Et si des solutions de substitution sont sans doute possibles, on ne saurait faire l'impasse sur un aggiornamento, qui permettrait de parvenir à l'autosuffisance alimentaire. L'aide au développement de l'Union européenne devrait contribuer à des investissements indispensables à l'essor de l'agriculture locale, par exemple en ce qui concerne l'électrification rurale, trop longtemps laissée en jachère. Dans l'immédiat, il s'agit de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour éviter une crise de la faim dans certains pays les moins avancés, parfois en butte également à des défis sécuritaires majeurs – c'est le cas au Sahel. Espérons toutefois que cette tragédie aboutira à une prise de conscience salutaire.

Daniel Buda (PPE), în scris. – Europa cunoaște cea mai mare tragedie de la sfârșitul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial. Agresiunea Rusiei nu produce doar moarte și suferință poporului ucrainean, această agresiune afectează într-o formă sau altă întreaga omenire.

Totul în jurul nostru este influențat de războiul din Ucraina, de la combustibil la îngrășăminte, conflictul Rusia-Ucraina tulbură piețele. Acest război și sancțiunile legitime impuse Rusiei au dus deja la o perturbare de mare amploare a piețelor mondiale agricole. Mai mult decât atât, din cauza bombardamentelor rusești asupra porturilor de la Marea Neagră, comerțul cu alimente devine aproape imposibil.

Uniunea Europeană, fără întârziere, trebuie să ofere un sprijin financiar suplimentar sectorului agricol, pentru a-i ajuta pe fermieri să atenueze lipsa importurilor din Ucraina și Rusia. De asemenea, este nevoie de reevaluarea strategiei *Farm to Fork* și a Pactului verde european, astfel încât să fie crescută suprafața cultivată.

Uniunea Europeană trebuie să fie un lider, să asigure securitatea alimentară atât a Europei, cât și a țărilor în curs de dezvoltare și cu venituri mici, care sunt în special expuse riscului de criză alimentară.

Sara Cerdas (S&D), *por escrito*. – Em consequência da invasão da Ucrânia pela Federação Russa, a União Europeia passa agora pela fase inicial de uma crise alimentar, provocada pela disrupção nas cadeias de abastecimento e distribuição e pelo aumento exponencial dos preços dos combustíveis. É necessário desenvolver um plano de ação detalhado que assegure a autonomia estratégica da UE, nomeadamente a autonomia e resiliência do sistema alimentar.

Para tal, os nossos sistemas agrícolas e de pesca devem tornar-se mais sustentáveis e virados para o futuro, visando diminuir a dependência de importações e aumentar a produção doméstica. Devemos reduzir a dependência de combustíveis fósseis e de fertilizantes, procurando alternativas, mas garantindo sempre a proteção dos nossos agricultores, nomeadamente através da Política Agrícola Comum.

Neste sentido, devemos tomar partido das medidas já planeadas e adotadas a nível europeu como o Pacto Ecológico Europeu e as Estratégias da UE para a Biodiversidade e do Prado ao Prato que contribuirão para a mitigação desta crise e redução da incerteza nos setores afetados. Na resolução desta crise, deveremos manter os fluxos comerciais alimentares em todas as regiões europeias, nomeadamente aquelas que, pela sua distância da plataforma continental, podem ser desproporcionalmente afetadas, como as regiões ultraperiféricas.

Pedro Marques (S&D), *por escrito*. – O apoio à Ucrânia e a capacidade de resposta que a UE tem de ter para fazer face às consequências da guerra tem que se traduzir em atos concretos. Estamos confrontados com dramas humanitários, ao mesmo tempo que já começamos a sentir as consequências económicas desta guerra inexplicável. Esta realidade já se traduz nos preços que pagamos pelos produtos alimentares que, para além da especulação, repercutem a turbulência das cadeias de distribuição, o preço dos combustíveis e do transporte dos alimentos, e refletem a falta de matérias tão fundamentais como os fertilizantes.

Incluo-me, portanto, naqueles que defendem que deve ser acionado o Mecanismo de Proteção Civil da UE. Na vertente humanitária, sem dúvida, mas também para tentar prevenir riscos que adivinhamos para a segurança alimentar da UE, que possam resultar de uma escalada ou do prolongamento desta guerra. É, por isso, avisado a UE ter um plano de ação capaz de assegurar as cadeias de abastecimento, recorrendo a «corredores alimentares» por via marítima, ferroviária ou rodoviária, acelerando ao mesmo tempo medidas com impacto no setor agrícola.

Janina Ochojska (PPE), *na piśmie*. – W następstwie niesprobowanej i nieuzasadnionej agresji Rosji na Ukrainę stoimy w obliczu kryzysu żywnościowego w Europie i naszym najbliższym sąsiedztwie. Z Ukrainy i Rosji pochodzi około 30 % światowych dostaw pszenicy, 32 % jęczmienia, 17 % kukurydzy oraz ponad 50 % oleju słonecznikowego. Ponadto łańcuch dostaw nawozów i surowców potrzebnych do ich produkcji już w tym momencie jest zdestabilizowany. Nie możemy jednak dopuścić do sytuacji, w której za parę miesięcy na półkach w sklepach w UE zabraknie chleba lub jego cena wzrośnie kilkukrotnie.

Przed wszystkim powinniśmy tymczasowo zwiększyć produkcję w Europie tak bardzo, jak tylko jest to możliwe, abyśmy nie byli podatni na szoki rynkowe wynikające z niedoboru produktów rolnych, ale także abyśmy mogli eksportować zboże na Ukrainę, jeśli działania wojenne uniemożliwią zebranie plonów w tym roku.

Chcę podkreślić, że działania te nie mają na celu uniezależnienia się od importu zbóż i oleju z Ukrainy w przyszłości, gdyż jest to kraj z ogromnym potencjałem rolnym. Rolnictwo stanowi ważną gałąź gospodarki ukraińskiej i musimy o tym pamiętać, kiedy przyjdzie czas odbudowy tego kraju. Putin jest tego świadomy, dlatego wydał rozkaz minowania pól, aby skazać obywateli Ukrainy na głód i zdestabilizować rynek zbóż w sąsiedztwie. Nie pozwólmy mu na to!

Tom Vandenkendelaere (PPE), schriftelijk. – Het is opvallend hoe we een oorlog aan onze grenzen nodig hebben om een debat te krijgen over de Europese voedselzekerheid. Toen we in de zomer de resultaten van een aantal studies over van boer tot bord in handen kregen, wezen die ook al op minder Europese productie, hogere voedingsprijzen en meer import uit derde landen. In tijden van dreigende voedseltekorten met enorme prijsstijgingen moet er een stevig pakket aan maatregelen komen.

Op korte termijn pleit ik zeker voor een uitzondering voor het circulaire gebruik van verwerkte dierlijke mest, om afhankelijkheid van dure kunstmest uit derde landen te drukken. Ook een alomvattende Europese eiwitstrategie om onze veeteelt verder te verduurzamen en minder afhankelijk te maken, dringt zich op.

De coronacrisis heeft getoond dat het EU-landbouwbeleid werkt: terwijl we moesten smeken om mondklappers, paracetamol en chips, bleven de rekken in de supermarkten wel vol. Vandaag wordt eens te meer duidelijk dat voedselproductie een strategische sector is. Als we nu niet snel de klik maken en onze boeren soigneren om die voedselproductie hoog en kwalitatief te houden, dan moeten we binnenkort misschien niet alleen werk maken van een EU-chipverordening, maar ook van een EU-voedselverordening.

(¹) Siehe Protokoll.

20. Skład komisji i delegacji

Die Präsidentin. – Die ID-Fraktion hat der Präsidentin Beschlüsse über die Änderung von Ernennungen in Ausschüssen übermittelt. Diese Beschlüsse werden im Protokoll der heutigen Sitzung veröffentlicht und treten am Tag dieser Ankündigung in Kraft.

21. System pilotażowy na potrzeby infrastruktury rynkowych opartych na technologii rozproszonego rejestru (debata)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Johan Van Overtveldt im Namen des Ausschusses für Wirtschaft und Währung über den Vorschlag für eine Verordnung des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates über eine Pilotregelung für auf der Distributed-Ledger-Technologie basierende Marktinfrastrukturen (COM(2020)0594 – C9-0305/2020 – 2020/0267(COD)) (A9-0240/2021).

Johan Van Overtveldt, rapporteur. – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner McGuinness, dear Minister Beaune, integrated capital markets are a prerequisite for sustaining growth over the longer term. I therefore welcome all measures to provide additional input impetus to the European Capital Markets Union.

At the same time, digitalisation is rushing through the financial services industry, and to cope with this trend, it is not only vital to make existing financial legislation fit for digital, but also to show an openness towards new technologies that could make financial markets safer and more efficient. The digital finance package is an important milestone in that regard.

The technology that underpins crypto assets – the so-called distributed ledgers, or DLT – has a great potential for creative destruction and this will lead to productivity improvements. Its possible benefits in the provision of financial services include less complexity, strengthened network resilience, and reduced operational and financial risks.

Currently, financial markets infrastructures are not authorised to use DLT to issue, trade, and settle financial instruments such as bonds, shares and exchange-traded funds. The DLT pilot regime aims at testing exactly that while also addressing associated risks.

The project fully fits the CMU objectives, helps us to keep on track in an evolving digital world and puts the EU at the forefront of innovation. During the trilogues Parliament held high six objectives or principles. First, innovation. We followed a 'sandbox' approach, meaning that we allow for temporary and conditional exemptions from current legislation. The experience gained that way should foster innovation further.

Secondly, market integrity. The existing Market for Financial Instruments Directive and the Central Securities Depositories Regulation apply in a traditional, account-based environment. To ensure adequate regulatory and supervisory requirements for this regime, we checked in detail which rules from both pieces of legislation would also be essential for application in a DLT environment.

Third principle: investor protection, which I think speaks for itself.

Fourth element: financial stability. Our feeling was that the initial commission proposal was a bit too lenient on financial stability safeguards, as provided for in the CSDR. We have significantly strengthened these safeguards.

Fifth: level playing field. Providing equal opportunity to all market players is a fundamental principle of EU legislation.

And the sixth and last of the objectives was of course technological neutrality.

As a final remark, I would like to address our successors as co-legislators with a few words of caution for the longer term. What works in a limited testing environment does not necessarily work in a broader context. If the project turns out to be successful, simply expanding its scope and changing the permanent regulatory framework for financial services accordingly might create risks that are not noticeable or that were not noticeable in the pilot phase.

Secondly, future co-legislators should thoroughly scrutinise the exemptions granted under the pilot project before upscaling them. This is notably the case for possible risks linked to settlement in commercial bank money.

Thirdly, the Parliament negotiating team would also have liked a stronger role for ESMA as a central supervisor of the DLT pilot regime, but that turned out to be a no-go for the Council negotiators.

Let me, to finish, express my thanks to all involved in the file: the shadow rapporteurs, particularly Jessica Polfjård, Eva Kaili, Stephanie Yon-Courtin and Ernest Urtasun; the Slovenian Presidency; the European Commission, particularly Commissioner McGuinness; and of course the parliamentary services.

Mairead McGuinness, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, I would just like to say how pleased I am, actually, to be here this evening for this discussion on what has been a very successful agreement on the distributed ledger technology (DLT) pilot project. And I want to begin by thanking, of course, the rapporteur from the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs (ECON), Mr Van Overtveldt, who has given an extremely good rundown of what has been achieved and indeed given us some warnings about the future, which I have taken good note of.

But together we're paving the way for the future of European finance with this initiative. Digital innovation is becoming ever more important, and again, I am pleased that this House shares the commitment of the Commission to support innovation within the regulated space. As you know, this regulation forms a key part of our digital agenda and ensures that EU financial services legislation is fit for the digital age. We are providing regulatory certainty to pioneer the use of distributed ledger technology in financial services. So briefly, I want to mention some of the key elements of the agreed regulation.

The digital representation of financial instruments on distributed ledgers is expected to open opportunities for efficiency improvements in trading and post-trading processes. The issuance of traditional asset classes in tokenised form will enable them to be issued, stored and transferred on a distributed ledger, which will also increase efficiency. With this regulation, the European Union is opening up to the use of DLT in existing financial market infrastructures such as investment firms, market operators and central securities depositories.

In concrete terms, it will allow for targeted exemptions from existing rules where those rules would pose technical obstacles to achieving the full benefit of DLT. As regards supervision, national competent authorities will remain in charge for authorisation, while the European Securities and Markets Authorities (ESMA) can issue an opinion on application. An explanation would be needed if national competent authorities decide to deviate significantly. And last but not least, consumer protection. DLT operators will have to put in place mechanisms to handle client complaints and compensation.

In the trilogues, I know that it was especially important for Parliament to ensure a level playing field, and a significant role for ESMA. I'm glad that we were able to find good solutions and significantly improve the Commission proposal in these areas. The pilot regime is, by its nature, temporary. It will last five years. This will allow market participants to safely experiment with the DLT to issue, trade and settle securities. This experience will inform future policymaking in digital finance and could open the door to more policy initiatives.

Before I finish, I want to thank again the rapporteur and all of the shadow rapporteurs, because this is groundbreaking work and I look forward to our debate.

Jessica Polfjärd, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, I should like to thank Commissioner McGuinness for being here.

I would like to start by thanking the negotiation team under the leadership of Johan Van Overtveldt for the great cooperation on this file. By early on agreeing on several core principles, we made a good proposal even better.

The DLT pilot regime is an important step in the work to make Europe fit for the digital age. European rules must be innovation-friendly, and this agreement is a good example of sound European lawmaking. As we never know what the future will bring, we should allow experimenting to see what potential benefits new technology might have. And I believe DLT could indeed bring several improvements to how financial markets function. But we will, of course, not know if we don't try.

We have managed several successes in this work. First of all, legal certainty for market participants wanting to try new technologies. Also expanding the scope and thresholds will make it more attractive to participants in general. And this is crucial in ensuring the usefulness of this pilot regime. If no one tries, we cannot identify the shortcomings.

If we want to use this pilot regime to identify potential changes to the existing rule book, we have to ensure that enough actors participate. I believe it bodes well for future legislation as well, that both in the European Parliament and in trilogues, we so easily agreed on the principle of technology neutrality.

Furthermore, by making use of EFMA's expertise in the annual reports, both market participants and regulators will get a better understanding of the progress of functioning, which I believe will be crucial in the coming years.

In many ways, this agreement is not only a good example of a European Union that understands that we have to be open to new things and internationally competitive: it is an example of a European Union that also acts on these facts. That gives me a lot of inspiration for the further work.

Eva Kaili, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madame President, let me start by thanking our rapporteur, Mr Van Overtveldt, a lot for successfully steering the Commission's proposal, in the spirit of cooperation and compromise, to achieve the best result. Asset organisation is a major application of distributed ledger technology (DLT) in finance, and we need to test how it could be deployed, as well as financial market infrastructures on the issuance, registering, trading, settling and safekeeping of tokenised financial instruments. It is of great importance to acknowledge the benefits of the use of blockchain that allows, basically, the transactions to be recorded on a distributed ledger, and for trading and settlement to happen without delays – virtually in real time – enabling the merger of trading and post-trading activities. I think it's very important that we manage to test this technology in a structured manner across the EU, in accordance, as our reporter rightly said, with the technology neutrality principle and innovation-friendly principle, building upon the spirit of the first blockchain resolution in 2015. Hopefully the related markets in cryptoassets (MiCA) file will also follow the

same spirit. The DLT pilot regime regulation has been adopted by a large majority. I hope that this will enable a trustworthy framework and a protected result to follow, in a safe way, the implementation of a more permanent legislation. So thank you so much, rapporteur, and thank you Commissioner.

Caroline Nagtegaal, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, I will speak on behalf of my dear friend and colleague Stéphanie Yon-Courtin.

The distributed ledger technology (DLT) pilot regime is yet another good proof that Europe is the continent for digital finance. With the pilot regime, Europe will be a pioneer on the use of blockchain on the financial markets. And with this pilot regime, innovative financing solutions for SMEs will be developed in Europe.

So with the pilot regime, disruption will shape the future of the financial markets with no concessions on financial stability and on consumer protection. In that case, Renew fully supports the trilogue agreement and we hope for swift progress on the rest of the digital finance package.

France Jamet, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, mes chers collègues, manquer le défi de l'innovation dans le domaine des chaînes de blocs serait une faute grave, évidemment. Un obscurantisme pseudoécologiste voudrait les interdire sous prétexte qu'elles seraient trop consommatrices. Il est étrange d'ailleurs que les mêmes ne songent pas à interdire YouTube et autres réseaux sociaux très prisés et tout aussi énergivores.

Les seules conséquences avérées à l'absurde limitation des registres électroniques distribués – autrement dit des chaînes de blocs – seront de permettre à la Chine, aux États-Unis ou à d'autres de nous dominer technologiquement et économiquement, comme on l'a vu pour le nuage de données – je veux parler du cloud. On ne doit pas entrer dans un millénarisme de la décroissance, mais faire confiance dans la capacité de l'homme à innover, à s'adapter et à se dépasser. C'est le génie de notre civilisation depuis Aristote.

Michiel Hoogeveen, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, the use of distributed ledger technology (DLT) can be a tremendous ally in the quest for a stronger capital markets union. The current regulatory framework is not sufficiently equipped to deal with the increasing digitalisation of the financial sector. Well-targeted derogations from existing legislation should allow our capital markets to take advantage of the opportunities offered by this technology. We welcome the creation of a testing ground for the use of digital ledger technology in this field, with the potential for countless innovations. DLT offers, for example, the opportunity to reimagine clearing and settlement in a true, borderless 24-7 operating environment, providing access to securities and cash pools to facilitate real-time settlements, delivering at near-100% settlement rates. With the vote on the DLT pilot regime tomorrow, we are taking a quantum leap towards the much-needed further digitalisation of our capital markets. Therefore, I congratulate the rapporteur and Parliament's negotiating team for a job well done.

Chris MacManus, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Madam President, I wish to thank Mr Van Overtveldt for his fair and diligent work on this file. Unfortunately, the end result goes much too far in the direction of deregulation for The Left Group. This is best summed up by the fact that thresholds set by the Commission proposal to contain this pilot project have been increased recklessly. The European Central Bank (ECB), for example, expressed concern at the beginning of the process that for some countries, the thresholds might need to be lowered and that there was a danger of them being circumvented. The Left were not alone in this position, with MEPs from other Groups also seeking to reduce or at least maintain these thresholds.

Let me be clear; this is not opposition to innovation or technological advances. It is opposition to irresponsibility and to industry lobbying leading to a pilot project spiralling into what would be, effectively, an exercise in deregulation.

Jonás Fernández (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, en primer lugar, y dado el amplio apoyo que ha concitado la propuesta de Reglamento sobre un régimen piloto para desarrollar infraestructuras digitales, quería felicitar al conjunto de los ponentes y muy especialmente a Eva Kaili, la ponente alternativa de mi grupo.

Y me gustaría también aprovechar este debate —a la vez que agradecemos ese amplio acuerdo para esta propuesta de Reglamento— para lamentar que no haya habido un acuerdo similar para la aprobación del Reglamento MICA hace apenas unos días en la Comisión ECON y que, además, esa comisión, o la derecha en esa comisión, haya bloqueado el debate en el Pleno sobre el Reglamento MICA, porque ese Reglamento exigía, en nuestra opinión, un debate claro en este Parlamento, especialmente en estos momentos y después de escuchar el debate previo sobre los efectos de la invasión de Rusia en Ucrania. Porque esas tecnologías, esas monedas digitales, tienen un consumo energético brutal; esas tecnologías se están usando para blanquear capitales, para blanquear movimientos de capitales. Y espero que en el diálogo tripartito ambos requisitos puedan ser incorporados en la negociación entre el Parlamento y el Consejo.

Mairead McGuinness, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, can you hear me? I have to say, there's something rather bizarre about a debate on technology when the technology fails. But what is wonderful is that we actually do have technology supplements, so well done, Madam President, and all the technical advisers. I think one of the earlier speakers mentioned that they would not sing – in fact a fellow Irish person, I believe. I've certainly been known to do that.

But what really strikes me, getting back to our debate here this evening, is the unity of purpose amongst you, the rapporteur and the shadows, and also your leadership, Mr Van Overtveldt, is deeply appreciated, because this is a first. And I think it's good to be involved in something that is a first, but also it is not a free-for-all. It is a first with conditionality. We have to test something to see does it work before we make any more decisions.

So it's been really good to hear this debate here this evening. I very much look forward to the vote in this House tomorrow. And in terms of deregulation, I'm on record, I think, in one of my first interventions in this Parliament as Commissioner responsible for financial services, that deregulation is not on my agenda, but effective, better regulation is: innovation and technology is part of that.

Lastly, if I may say that I had the great pleasure of meeting a group of young people today. They were young leaders, in fact, from Northern Ireland, and they were in the Commission, and it was absolutely impressive to hear them talk about cryptocurrencies, this technology and what young people are doing. So it's really important that we in this House are involved in this, because the future is digital and young people are not starting from where we start from. They're already there.

So well done to all of you for your work, for your cooperation, and for being part of what is a first.

Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 24. März 2022, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Andżelika Anna Moźdzanowska (ECR), na piśmie. – Postęp w dziedzinie digitalizacji dotyka wszystkich sfer naszego życia, także sfery ekonomicznej. Cechą charakterystyczną naszej cywilizacji – a zarazem tym, co decydowało o jej rozwoju – była zawsze otwartość na inwencję twórczą. Osiągaliśmy sukcesy dzięki wolnej od uprzedzeń adaptacji wynalazków i innowacji. Rozwijające się technologie cyfrowe rewolucjonizują rynki finansowe. Pozwalają na zawieranie skutecznych i bezpiecznych transakcji w zupełnie nowy, nieznany dotąd sposób. Pozwalają też na powstawanie nowych, cyfrowych form aktywów.

Ustawodawstwo i nadzór ostrożnościowy w całym świecie dopiero dostosowuje się do nowych realiów. Unia Europejska – często kojarzona z nadmiarem biurokracji i ociążałością administracyjną – zyskuje więc szansę, by przez przyjazną legislację „przyciągnąć” rynki finansów cyfrowych i rozbudować tę gałąź gospodarki. Jest to tym ważniejsze, że pojęcia wolnego rynku i swobody wyboru narodziły się właśnie w Europie: powinniśmy być naturalnym liderem w tym wyścigu.

Program pilotażowy DLT jest otwarciem drogi dla bezpiecznego i kontrolowanego obrotu kryptoaktywami. Oczywiście, w tej dziedzinie naturalnym przedmiotem naszej troski jest zjawisko prania pieniędzy, któremu chcemy za wszelką cenę przeciwdziałać. Dlatego równoległe do wprowadzanych ułatwień musimy finalizować pracę nad pakietem AML.

22. Rozporządzenie w sprawie roamingu (wersja przekształcona) (debata)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Angelika Winzig im Namen des Ausschusses für Industrie, Forschung und Energie über den Vorschlag für eine Verordnung des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates über das Roaming in öffentlichen Mobilfunknetzen in der Union (Neufassung) (COM(2021)0085 – C9-0085/2021 – 2021/0045(COD)) (A9-0286/2021).

Angelika Winzig, rapporteur. – Madam President, dear Commissioner McGuinness, dear colleagues, first, I would like to thank the Slovenian Presidency and Commissioner Breton for the good cooperation during the trilogue negotiations. Special thanks to the shadow rapporteurs and the involved staff for your excellent work.

I am convinced that we found a good agreement for European citizens and businesses. The new Roaming Regulation is not just a simple prolongation, but it represents a significant improvement for all end-users. Consumers will benefit from the same quality of service across the entire Union. This means that operators cannot deliberately slow down the data speed of the customers anymore.

Furthermore, the new regulation foresees increased transparency obligations in terms of value-added service numbers as well as emergency communication. From now on, consumers will be able to better differentiate between ordinary numbers and numbers where additional charges apply. This access to emergency communications when travelling will be easier and more transparent.

The mobile telecommunication market as a whole, and especially the roaming market, are developing fast. With the development of future network technologies as well as the increased use of IoT-devices and M2M services, we are looking towards an exciting future.

In order to keep the regulation up to date, we need to gather as much data as possible, to take the right action to foster innovation and facilitate business development. Therefore, the Roaming Regulation extended reporting obligations, which brings us in the position to keep the finger on the pulse of the market.

It is very clear that the European Parliament needs to stay in charge of the next review of the Roaming Regulation. In this regard, the European Parliament fought to take out the delegated act and prevailed, as Parliament we are pushing the Commission to have a closer look into fair-use policies.

It is a fact that a true 'roam like at home' experience is only possible when end-users can benefit from the full subscription abroad. The balance between the ability of operators to offer roaming services sustainably and the possibility for customers to use the tariffs as extensively as possible should be re-evaluated.

We also tackled the topic of the intra-EU calls. It's not understandable for our citizens when I have to pay surcharges when calling from my Member State to another EU country but I don't have to pay extra when I'm travelling across the Union. The Roaming Regulation contains a provision that urges the Commission to carry out an evaluation of the current situation.

Last but not least, the most important issue in this regulation, the wholesale caps. Low wholesale caps empower small operators to offer a roaming service sustainably and are key for more competition in the telecommunication market, and I think that's necessary. At the end, we found a balanced agreement which takes into account both aspects: the consumers and the investment needs of operators. Starting with two euros in 2020, we gradually reduced the wholesale charges on data to one euro in 2027. I know there's still a lot of work in the future and I'm looking forward to the discussion now.

Andreas Schwab, Verfasser der Stellungnahme des mitberatenden Ausschusses für Binnenmarkt und Verbraucherschutz. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich möchte zunächst einmal die Gelegenheit nutzen, Frau Kollegin Winzig zu einer exzellenten Arbeit als Berichterstatterin für den federführenden Ausschuss zum Thema Roaming zu danken. Es ist wichtig, dass wir das Kernanliegen der Regulierung in diesem Bereich aufrechterhalten, dass wir nämlich den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern, den Nutzerinnen und Nutzern, den Verbrauchern den Binnenmarkt in einer Weise anbieten wollen, dass er ihnen am meisten nutzt.

Richtig ist dabei, dass dadurch natürlich die wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Anbieter ein Stück weit eingeschränkt werden mussten; und wir sehen – und ich weiß, dass auch Frau Kollegin Winzig sich dessen bewusst ist –, dass das Investieren in den europäischen Telekommunikationsmarkt in den vergangenen zehn Jahren deutlich weniger attraktiv war als beispielsweise in den amerikanischen Markt. Wir sehen das auch bei einigen Unternehmen, die ich jetzt nicht namentlich erwähnen möchte. Aber das muss uns natürlich für die kommenden zehn Jahre Auftrag sein, dass wir die Investitionsbedingungen auch in Europa wieder vereinfachen.

Gleichzeitig, Frau Präsidentin, möchte ich kurz darauf hinweisen, dass mir drei Punkte wichtig sind, auch mir als Mitglied des Ausschusses für Binnenmarkt und Verbraucherschutz: Anrufe innerhalb der EU sind in den Anwendungsbereich aufgenommen worden. Das ist gut. Es macht keinen Sinn, dass Anrufe von zu Hause in ein anderes EU-Land im Anwendungsbereich sind und möglicherweise teurer sind als Anrufe im Ausland. Zum Zweiten hat Frau Kollegin Winzig für die EVP sicherstellen können, dass bei Diensten im In- und Ausland die gleiche Qualität gewährleistet wird. Das ist wichtig, denn mit 5G wird es immer bedeutsamer, dass die Dienste eine entsprechende Qualität haben. Und schließlich ist es wichtig, dass der effektive Zugang zu Notrufen in allen Mitgliedstaaten die gleiche Bedeutung bekommt und überall in gleicher Geschwindigkeit verfügbar ist.

Es sind drei gute Argumente, warum heute alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Europäischen Union von diesem Vorschlag profitieren. Und deswegen herzlichen Dank, Frau Kollegin Winzig.

Mairead McGuinness, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, really, I do want to say a big thank you to honourable Members and the rapporteurs because your work on the negotiations means that every European will continue to benefit for a further 10 years from the freedom to travel across the Union without having to pay additional roaming charges for calls, text messages and mobile data. And this is an excellent result.

For many people it's not only a feature that they enjoy and they are aware of, it's a clear symbol of what it means to be part of the single market. We've seen that leaving the single market brought back roaming surcharges for many British citizens. With the agreement reached in December EU citizens will not only be free from surcharges but will also be guaranteed better quality, better protection from hidden costs and better access to emergency services.

The work of this House also greatly contributed to making this regulation more sustainable for telecom operators by providing a path for reduction of the caps for prices at wholesale level while still ensuring cost recovery. It's now crucial that the new rules enter into force before the existing Regulation expires in June.

One final point. Recently, many of you, and indeed many of our Member States, have raised the roaming charges issue in the context of Putin's aggression against Ukraine as a way to show our support and solidarity with the people of Ukraine in this tragic moment. I could not agree more. In the face of this crisis, for Ukrainian citizens forced to flee their country, being able to communicate with their loved ones back home is of the utmost importance.

I'm very happy to report that various European telecom operators took swift action to reduce roaming costs, to provide hundreds of thousands of free SIM cards or free calls to Ukraine or free Wi-Fi in border areas or shelters. These voluntary measures are the quickest way to address this challenge and have already made a real difference on the ground to many refugees.

The Commission has been calling on European operators to continue these measures for as long as this tragic situation persists, and for more operators to join this action as Ukrainian citizens are increasingly moving across all of Europe. We are also looking into possibilities to go further. Together with the European telecom regulators we are working closely with EU operators and Ukrainian authorities on this issue. I'm sure this is very important for this House and I'm very pleased to bring that information to you, and I look forward to our debate.

Robert Hajšel, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, let me thank the rapporteur Angelika Winzig for the fruitful cooperation in reaching the agreement on this revision, also to other shadow rapporteurs from other political groups.

'Roaming like at home' became a reality in 2017 and it changed our travelling patterns forever. After more than two years of pandemic, with the war in Ukraine, Europe is now facing even more serious challenges. As S&D negotiator for roaming, I am glad we managed not only to extend the rules for another 10 years, but also to remove existing barriers and discriminatory practices. We managed to further lower wholesale prices, introduced guarantee of quality of service, improve transparency and secure free access to emergency services. All of this hasn't been the case until now.

Europeans benefiting from free movement cannot be punished with lower quality or higher charges, no matter where they come from or how long they stay in another Member State.

Facing the war in Ukraine, I am happy that I insisted on inclusion of the free roaming provisions also in the international agreements to be concluded in the future. In this context, I think that the lower charges for mobile-phone use in Europe should be very helpful to all the refugees coming from Ukraine.

Izaskun Bilbao Barandica, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, este acuerdo para prolongar diez años la gratuidad del *roaming* permite a cualquier persona entender qué significa avanzar en el mercado único digital. Gracias a un proceso de integración consolidamos un derecho que notamos, además, en nuestros bolsillos, porque no habrá sobrecostes por hacer llamadas de voz o usar servicios de datos mientras viajamos por la Unión Europea.

Aprovecho aquí para proponer que nos empeñemos —como ha dicho la comisaria— en resolver el problema que causa el *roaming* a los millones de desplazados que llegan a la Unión desde Ucrania: conectar con sus familiares y amigos que defienden allí, sobre el terreno, los valores de nuestra Unión contra la dictadura de Putin es una necesidad básica, y hacerlo desde aquí tiene para ellos un gravoso sobrecoste.

Avanzar en el mercado único digital es, además, un estímulo que abre oportunidades para que la innovación propicie la aparición de nuevos servicios que fortalezcan nuestra competitividad en la economía de los datos, en la economía digital.

Finalmente, este paso adelante es, además, una esperanza. Este acuerdo demuestra que, si hay voluntad de diálogo y empeño, hay mecanismos para intervenir en los precios cuando el mercado por sí mismo no funciona adecuadamente. La Unión debe desplegar con urgencia esta misma capacidad regulatoria en otros sectores, como la energía, cuyo mercado necesita una mayor integración. La soberanía y la resiliencia de Europa dependen de ello.

Jordi Solé, *en nombre del Grupo Verts/ALE*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, hace cinco años, el fin de las fronteras para las tarifas móviles supuso un antes y un después para los usuarios. La aplicación estos años de la normativa ha sido un éxito, demostrando no solo la oportunidad, sino también la viabilidad de la misma. Hoy, con la extensión del Reglamento sobre el *roaming* para los próximos diez años, damos un paso más reforzando el principio de «*roam like at home*» y las garantías de calidad de prestación del servicio.

Gracias al papel del Parlamento durante las negociaciones, hemos conseguido que se rebajen paulatinamente los precios máximos que las operadoras se cobran entre ellas por el uso de la red, facilitando así una mayor diversificación del mercado. También es destacable que se incluyan más números de servicios de emergencia, que deberán prestarse sin coste adicional para el usuario de *roaming*.

Finalmente, en definitiva, creo que el texto atribuye unas obligaciones asumibles para las operadoras, a la vez que refuerza los derechos de los usuarios para acceder a los servicios móviles con la misma calidad y al mismo precio que en su país de origen.

Por último, quiero agradecer a la ponente y al resto de ponentes alternativos el trabajo realizado.

Evžen Tošenovský, *za skupinu ECR*. – Paní předsedající, paní komisařko, v prvé řadě bych chtěl velmi ocenit spolupráci s celým parlamentním týmem v čele s paní zpravodajkou Winzigovou a současně jí poblahopřát k dojednanému nařízení, protože to nebylo nic jednoduchého. V telekomunikačních roamingových službách se bohužel v minulosti ukázalo, že administrativní zásah je nutný. Trh dlouhodobě nebyl schopen nalézt rozumné parametry. Vidíme, že zafungovalo odbourání roamingu napříč Unii založené na principu *roam like at home*, a jsem proto rád, že ze stávajícího systému budou moci profitovat naši občané i v příštích deseti letech. Dojednali jsme další zlepšení informovanosti spotřebitelů při překročení hranic, vyřešení problému čísel pro tísňová volání i služeb s přidanou hodnotou. Vzhledem k tomu, že jsem byl stínovým zpravodajem pro předchozí legislativu k roamingu, byla pro mě závěrečná noční debata o velkoobchodních cenových stropech určitým *déjà vu*. Je zajímavé, že vždy schvalujeme roaming někdy hluboce po půlnoci. Můj přístup byl vždy spíš konzervativnější. Cenové stropy by měly sloužit jako pojistka, jako opravdový strop, pod který se

schovají všichni operátoři. Nalezený kompromis definující stropy pro velkoobchodní ceny za datové přenosy je ve výsledku velmi rozumným řešením. Ještě jednou děkuji paní kolegyni Winzigové a všem kolegům stínovým zpravodajům.

Lina Gálvez Muñoz (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, en primer lugar, me gustaría dar la enhorabuena al equipo negociador que, tras complejas conversaciones, ha llegado a un compromiso equilibrado que garantiza la continuidad del *roaming* por otros diez años más, evitando que se interrumpiera ese logro para los consumidores. La política de itinerancia como en casa o *roaming*, es un logro europeo que debemos seguir defendiendo para que los consumidores puedan seguir usando sus teléfonos móviles cuando viajan por la Unión Europea sin sorpresas ni cargos adicionales.

El acuerdo al que se llegó en un diálogo tripartito que tuve el honor de presidir garantiza el derecho a la misma calidad y velocidad de conexión móvil cuando se viaja a otros Estados miembros, igual que en casa, y reduce progresivamente las tarifas de itinerancia al por mayor, el acceso gratuito a los servicios de emergencia, también para personas con necesidades especiales, y prevé que la Comisión evalúe si es necesario seguir reduciendo los recargos para las llamadas internacionales dentro de la Unión. Por todo eso, creo que debemos votar a favor del acuerdo que garantiza la continuidad de la política de itinerancia como en casa, y mantener así el gran éxito visible para la ciudadanía europea dentro del mercado único digital.

Dita Charanzová (Renew). – Madam President, consumers today may take it for granted, but I remember the huge bills consumers faced for using their phone while roaming. It was outrageous. For me, it is clear: extending the ban on roaming charges is the right step. The end of roaming is a concrete example of the European Union solving a practical problem.

We did the same with limiting the costs of long-distance calls – so-called intra-EU calls. During the last mandate, I fought hard for our citizens to get a deal on lower prices on long-distance calls. However, the price limits that protect the most vulnerable among us will expire in May 2024. So the Commission should now extend the price limits on intra-EU calls, or even go further and abolish long-distance surcharges altogether. The message today is clear: ‘no’ to roaming charges and ‘no’ to long distance.

Miapetra Kumpula-Natri (S&D). – Madam President, five years went quickly. I am very happy now because I was the rapporteur last mandate. I know the mandate before, we didn’t succeed. Last mandate we did and it was thanks to the good work of Parliament mainly that we managed to push down prices. And now I may congratulate the negotiators on the good results, with the right data prices, fair-use policy, even improved quality of service. But today we do have people among us who long for their dear ones in Ukraine. And thanksto the generosity of the telecom operators, as the Commissioner told us, there have been free SIM cards and services and WiFi offered. But I also see, and there has been readiness for the regional roaming agreement, which was due to be signed by the end of the year. I have not seen any news that it took place. Is that the case? We need to help and I want to have concrete measures. We are helping many companies. Can we also not only plead with them to do it for free?

VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND

Vizepräsident

Mairead McGuinness, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, just to say this is a very pleasant debate because it’s good work and it’s progress, all building on what has already been the case.

Ms Charanzová, I think you were right to remind us of how it used to be, because we tend to just take this for granted that we can ‘roam like at home’. So again, to thank the Parliament for this good cooperation and ensuring that the continued benefits apply for all EU citizens and businesses, particularly in the single market and how it functions.

I want to thank those of you who commented on the issue of roaming for Ukrainian refugees. I want to give you the assurance that my colleague Thierry Breton and his services are committed to supporting Ukraine and its people, and are actively engaging with all relevant counterparts, with support by BEREC, to ensure fast and coordinated action, and I think all of us fully support that. So thank you.

Angelika Winzig, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, I want to close this debate in a special way. The terrible Russian war against Ukraine is having a devastating impact on the Ukrainian population. Over three million people have already made their way to the EU. These refugees try to stay in touch with their relatives and friends who have remained in Ukraine. This is often resulting in immense roaming costs.

Many European operators have already announced that they will suspend roaming costs for their customers inside and outside of Ukraine. I welcome those efforts but unfortunately this has no significant impact on Ukrainian refugees as they are using Ukrainian SIM cards and are not customers of the European operators. I want to take this opportunity to call on European operators to go a step further and truly make a difference for Ukrainian refugees by temporarily suspending the wholesale caps they are charging their Ukrainian partners. This way the latter can offer their customers free roaming in the European Union.

In addition I am urging European operators to provide Ukrainian refugees unbureaucratic access to European SIM cards, possibly with special tariffs, so that they can stay in touch with their family back in Ukraine.

Der Präsident. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 24. März 2022, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Csaba Molnár (S&D), *írásban*. – Az európai uniós polgárok életét jelentősen megkönnyítette, hogy az Európai Unión belüli utazásaik során a mobil kommunikáció mindenki számára korlátlanul elérhetővé és megfizethetővé vált. A mobil kommunikáció EU-n belüli 2017-es forradalmi megkönnyítése ugyanilyen mértékben tette komfortosabbá és biztonságosabbá a személyek szabad mozgását az Európai Unió tagországai között közvetlenül erősítve a négy alapszabadság egyikét, indirekt módon jelentősen kihatva a többi három alapelvre is. A Demokratikus Koalíció víziója az Egyesült Európai Államok megvalósíthatóságának érdekében a technikailag és gazdaságilag is határok nélkül hozzáférhető mobilkommunikáció kiemelkedő jelentőségű, hiszen azt szeretnék elérni, hogy a magyar polgárok jogait és ügyeit európai uniós szinten kezeljék és védjék. Az EU 2007-ben csökkentte először a roaming díjakat, amiket aztán fogyasztók felé 2017-ben megszüntetett. 5 évvel a jogszabály elfogadása után ezt azt intézkedést hosszabbítjuk meg és tovább csökkentjük a mobilszolgáltatók terheit, hogy roaming szabályozás fenntartható maradjon.

Edina Tóth (NI), *írásban*. – Az Európai Parlament csütörtökön megszavazta az Unión belüli nyilvános mobilhírközlő hálózatok közötti barangolásról szóló, az ún. roaming rendelet átdolgozását. Üdvözlöm a javaslat 2032-ig történő meghosszabbítását, amelynek célja, hogy az magasabb szintű fogyasztóvédelmet vezessen be a szolgáltatások átláthatósága és minősége tekintetében. Az új barangolási szabályoknak köszönhetően a polgárok a barangolásról szóló jelenlegi rendelet 2022. június 30-i lejártát követően is úgy telefonálhatnak, SMS-ezhetnek és internetezhetnek a többi uniós országon belüli utazásaik során, hogy nem kell magas összegű számláktól tartaniuk. Úgy gondolom, hogy a digitális egységes piac egyik legnagyobb sikertörténete a mai napon elfogadott rendelet átdolgozása, hiszen a belföldi díjszabás szerinti barangolásra vonatkozó javaslat megkönnyítette és olcsóbbá tette a kommunikációt minden Európán belüli utazás esetében. Fontosnak tartom, hogy állampolgáraink ugyanolyan minőségű és sebességű mobilinternet-kapcsolathoz juthassanak hozzá külföldön, mint Magyarországon.

23. Suisse Secrets – jak narzucić państwowym trzecim normy przeciwdziałania praniu pieniędzy (debata)

Der Präsident. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zu „Suisse Secrets“ – Wie in Drittländern Standards zur Bekämpfung von Geldwäsche eingeführt werden können (2022/2572(RSP)).

Ich weise Sie darauf hin, dass Sie mithilfe Ihres Abstimmungsgeräts spontane Wortmeldungen beantragen und blaue Karten einsetzen können, nachdem Sie Ihre Abstimmungskarte eingeführt haben. Ich bitte Sie daher, stets Ihre Abstimmungskarte mitzubringen. Anleitungen liegen im Plenarsaal aus.

Wenn Sie sich für eine spontane Wortmeldung anmelden möchten, ersuche ich Sie, das bereits ab jetzt zu tun und nicht das Ende der Aussprache abzuwarten.

Ich weise Sie auch darauf hin, dass Wortmeldungen im Plenarsaal weiterhin vom zentralen Rednerpult aus erfolgen. Dies gilt allerdings nicht für spontane Wortmeldungen, blaue Karten und Wortmeldungen zur Geschäftsordnung.

Ich ersuche Sie daher, die Rednerliste im Blick zu behalten und sich kurz vor Beginn Ihrer Redezeit zum Rednerpult zu begeben.

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, diese Durchsage kenne ich jetzt fast schon auswendig seit der Pandemie. Es kommt ein weiterer Hinweis dazu: Wenn Sie hier vorn vom Rednerpult sprechen, achten Sie bitte darauf, dass Sie das Mikrofon nicht berühren, weil wir sonst einen sehr lauten Ton haben, der für die Dolmetscher auch sehr schmerzhaft sein kann.

Clément Beaune, *président en exercice du Conseil*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, Mesdames et Messieurs les Députés, je vous remercie d'avoir invité la présidence à contribuer à ce débat sur un sujet sensible et important. La lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux et le financement du terrorisme est une priorité pour la présidence française du Conseil, pour laquelle le Conseil tient justement son engagement dans son ensemble.

Il s'agit d'un enjeu pour notre sécurité et d'un point de vigilance croissant pour nos concitoyens. Au cours de ces dernières années, le Parlement, le Conseil et la Commission ont travaillé en étroite collaboration sur ces sujets, de sorte que notre cadre de lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux a été considérablement renforcé et amélioré de manière progressive.

Comme nous le savons, malgré ces progrès, il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Dans ce sens, nous travaillons actuellement pour faire avancer les discussions sur le sixième paquet anti-blanchiment présenté par la Commission européenne, Madame la Commissaire, en juillet dernier. Nous poursuivons activement nos efforts sur ce dossier pour entamer les négociations interinstitutionnelles dès que possible.

Sur le dossier plus spécifique des Suisse Secrets, les soupçons suscités par ces fuites sont évidemment une très forte préoccupation. Ils sont extrêmement dommageables lorsqu'il s'agit de blanchiment de capitaux. Pour ce qui est de déterminer concrètement ce qu'il s'est réellement passé, compte tenu de la gravité des faits, je laisserai à la Commission l'appréciation d'éventuelles investigations. La Commission est naturellement directement chargée de notifier ces risques qui affectent le marché intérieur de l'Union européenne, en coopération, le cas échéant, avec des autorités judiciaires.

Au sein du Conseil, nous sommes évidemment prêts à examiner toute liste actualisée par la Commission et toutes conséquences qui devraient être tirées de l'établissement des faits, comme cela a toujours été le cas. Nous savons que, dans les semaines et les mois à venir, nous aurons l'occasion de définir le régime le plus efficace que nous ayons jamais mis en place pour lutter précisément contre le blanchiment de capitaux et le financement du terrorisme à travers cette activité.

Parmi les dossiers législatifs à l'examen, le règlement relatif à la lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux devrait justement permettre de continuer à codifier et à renforcer les règles de l'Union européenne relatives à notre politique à l'égard des pays tiers. En tant que tel, ce projet de législation constitue un très bon point de départ, selon la présidence, pour nos futures discussions, dès que nous aurons finalisé nos positions respectives au Conseil et au Parlement.

En ce qui concerne le règlement sur les transferts de fonds, pour continuer dans les dossiers législatifs, nous avons également l'intention d'entamer des négociations avec le Parlement européen dès que votre assemblée en aura ainsi décidé. Nous espérons qu'un accord politique pourra encore être trouvé au cours de notre semestre de présidence du Conseil.

Je vous remercie pour votre engagement sur ce sujet, pour votre engagement personnel, Madame la Commissaire, au sein du collège, et je me tiens évidemment à votre disposition pour continuer nos échanges.

Mairead McGuinness, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, thank you for the opportunity to speak on a really important topic. Before I really get into the depth of the debate, can I thank you, Minister, for your commitment, and that of the French Presidency, for our anti-money-laundering package. It's really important and I do appreciate the support and the work.

We've all followed successive revelations on money laundering with huge concern. These Swiss secrets are just the latest. They reveal that Credit Suisse maintained business relationships with dozens of corrupt government officials, criminals and alleged human-rights abusers for several years. In the Commission, we've made the fight against money laundering and the financing of terrorism a key priority. And we know that there is work to be done to tackle this issue. We stepped up the fight with the adoption of the legislative package in July of last year, and I know that we can rely on this House to work in a timely way on these proposals.

The Commission has put a particular focus on the enforcement of existing rules, as communicated in the action plan on money laundering in May 2020. We all share the view that we need to continue to strengthen our defences against money laundering and terrorism financing in the Union and that we need to address the risks from third countries.

So now I want to turn to the 'Swiss secrets' case in more detail. Like the European Parliament, the Commission regards these revelations as very concerning. I would like to reassure this House that we will not ignore the severe failings which this case has laid bare. I am determined to spare no effort in the fight against money laundering and the financing of terrorism, both in the EU and in third countries.

The war in Ukraine is showing yet again that there is a need to clean up the financial system. We are determined to continue our work within the Union and with our allies to rid the global financial system of money laundering.

The Swiss secrets revelations focus on the shortcomings of Credit Suisse in its customer due diligence checks. Credit institutions need to verify customer identities and the source of funds to avoid their services being used to launder money. The intensity of these checks depends on the customer's risk profile. The proper application of customer due diligence for onboarding customers and throughout the entire business relationship is a cornerstone of the EU's preventative framework for anti-money laundering and countering terrorism financing.

We have carefully analysed the implications of the Swiss secrets revelations to ensure that the EU's financial system is protected. To our knowledge, and according to the information from the investigative journalists, the cases revealed refer exclusively to this particular bank and its activities in Switzerland. I would like to underline that all subsidiaries and branches of third-country institutions in the EU must apply EU rules and are supervised for their implementation accordingly. However, deficiencies in a third country's anti-money laundering framework can also pose a problem for the EU, where there is a high level of integration of the financial system and a high volume of cross-border transactions with the EU.

The Commission has a legal obligation to protect the functioning of the EU's internal market, and that is why, in line with our Anti-Money Laundering Directive, the Commission has to identify third countries with strategic deficiencies in their national anti-money laundering and countering of terrorism regimes. Switzerland's anti-money laundering framework and its implementation were assessed by the Commission in 2019. That assessment found deficiencies in the Swiss framework. This autonomous assessment also took into account the results of the mutual evaluation report of Switzerland in 2016 by the Financial Action Task Force – the global standard-setter in the fight against money laundering and terrorist financing.

The European Union and Switzerland have strong economic ties. As recently demonstrated, the Commission is working closely with Switzerland on sanctions imposed on Russia. An important element of our approach towards third countries is dialogue and cooperation with the countries concerned. The Commission has already engaged with its Swiss counterparts to improve Switzerland's measures to fight money laundering. The Commission met with the Swiss authorities most recently on 1 March of this year.

This approach of dialogue and engagement is starting to show positive results. Switzerland has adopted reforms in relation to the fight against money laundering over the past few years. In March of last year, the Swiss Parliament passed amendments to the Swiss AML (anti-money laundering) Act. These amendments include an obligation for banks to verify beneficial owners and apply higher standards of 'know your customer' procedures. My services are taking a closer look at these latest reforms and are analysing whether they address the issues revealed by Swiss secrets. We understand that these amendments enter into force in July of this year. This is a step in the right direction, but effective implementation is of the utmost importance and the Commission will closely follow up on this. We are intensifying contact with Swiss counterparts to impress on them our concerns. We will maintain our dialogue with Switzerland to ensure deficiencies are tackled and we will thoroughly monitor developments.

Before concluding, I would like to address the demands raised by some political groups and members to consider adding Switzerland to our list of high-risk jurisdictions in the immediate future. At this stage, the Commission is of the view that including Switzerland in our list of high-risk third countries would be premature. The Swiss secrets refer to one Swiss bank and concern issues which, in some instances, date back several years. We have a constructive dialogue with Switzerland, and recent reforms appear to deal with shortcomings related to customer due diligence procedures in the Swiss framework. According to our rules, the EU listing cannot occur before the dialogue with the relevant third country has been exhausted. We have ongoing engagement with Switzerland and we must ensure that this dialogue with our Swiss counterparts yields positive results and ultimately addresses our concerns regarding the Swiss anti-money laundering and countering of terrorism framework. But I really want to assure this House this evening that we will carefully monitor Switzerland's progress. Should this progress be insufficient, or current engagement be broken, we do not rule out taking further action. And, of course, the Commission will keep the European Parliament fully informed on all developments.

Емил Радев, *от името на групата PPE*. – Господин Председател, скандали като „Панама пейпърс“, „Парадайс пейпърс“ и „Пандора пейпърс“ доказват, че изпирането на пари продължава да бъде сериозен проблем в Европа. Към тази дълга поредица от разкрития трябва да добавим и така наречените „Швейцарски тайни“, които осветлиха съмнителните бизнес практики на голямата швейцарска банка „Креди Сюис“.

Това не е просто най-машабният досега теч на данни от голяма швейцарска банка, а скандал за близо 100 милиарда евро, свързани с повече от 30 000 клиенти на финансовата институция. Замесени са десетки видни държавни служители и бизнесмени от над 120 юрисдикции, предимно извън границите на Европейския съюз. На този фон Асоциацията на банкерите на страната обяви, че по сметки в швейцарските банки има между 160 и 213 милиарда долара, които принадлежат на руски клиенти. Специалисти твърдят, че действителният размер на средствата е многократно по-голям от обявения.

Разкритията придобиха и нов смисъл в контекста на военната агресия срещу Украйна и санкциите, които Европейският съюз налага на Русия. Швейцарските банки поддържат тесни връзки с останалите европейски банки, така че установените пропуски в борбата с прането на пари не бива да се разглеждат като изолирани случаи, а като проблем за целия европейски финансов сектор. Очевидна е необходимостта да се направи детайлна и обективна оценка на риска. В противен случай, при липсата на ефективен надзор, всяко отклонение от правилата може да отвори пробойна в сигурността на финансовата система на Европейския съюз.

Marek Belka, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner, for long have we heard that the Swiss banking sector has changed, that the banking sectors giving a possibility for criminals to launder money is a lazy and outdated stereotype. The Swiss Leaks have shown that the government was telling us lies, or at least not the whole truth.

Nothing – or not much – has changed. The due diligence made by Credit Suisse was virtually non-existent, enabling criminals, people covered by EU sanctions or linked to dictators to use their services. Well I hope I'm wrong, but maybe Switzerland will be included one day in our blacklist of countries having strategic deficiencies in their regime on anti-money-laundering legislation.

Now, with the EU putting sanctions on Russian oligarchs with such weak due diligence, how do we know that they do not live their life to the fullest with the money on their Swiss accounts? Let us not fool ourselves that everything has changed. Switzerland, unfortunately, is not helping us enough in our fight against tax fraud and money laundering.

Ramona Strugariu, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, over 100 billion at their peak. Among account holders reported and identified, dozens of corrupt government officials, alleged human rights abusers and criminals. This is not the only Swiss scandal, but the biggest one, involving the second-largest bank in the country, fully ignoring Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendations and all anti-money laundering (AML) rules because Swiss law allows them to.

Commissioner, if Swiss banking secrecy laws are at least immoral and Swiss legislators are behaving like enablers of financial crimes, why isn't Switzerland on the list of high-risk third countries? On any list, as a matter of fact. This is wrong, and as long as it will continue, we cannot apply our rules related to high-risk third countries to these jurisdictions. If this happens here at our door, how exactly are we to be taken seriously with our new strategy and our new rules? This will never happen.

It is a pity because the new package has very good provisions on the relationship of our obliged entities with these third countries which can lead to closing down operations if the law of that third country does not permit compliance with EU requirements. And this would hurt. But first we need to make sure that our own backyard is clean and that we name and shame those who deserve to be named and shamed.

Ernest Urtasun, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, well I think that we're in front of a new, important scandal and now affecting a Swiss bank. Well, the record of problems of the Swiss financial sector are well known. I know the Commissioner just said that probably under their assessment Switzerland maybe should not be in the AML blacklist yet. Well, one of the problems maybe is how do we do that list and what kind of criteria do we use? And this is something as well that the fact that Switzerland is not yet in that list should also make a reflection on how are we using and how are we making that listing.

Secondly, I think that the cooperation with third countries should be improved. I think this is something that we can also take as a conclusion of this scandal, particularly because we don't have enough bilateral agreements with some countries where we know AML enforcement is really a problem. And also, we need to be aware that those kinds of problems can also happen at some point in the EU because we have real problems yet on the implementation and enforcement of AMLD5, for instance, which is not fully implemented.

So I think that once again this scandal should give us an impulse to improve our legislation and our measures.

Assita Kanko, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, Switzerland has bomb shelters for its entire population. Good. But they also have and provide financial shelter for those who make us need bomb shelters: Russian oligarchs evading EU sanctions.

The investigative report showing that Switzerland's second bank, Credit Suisse, harbours dirty money from, among others, Russian oligarchs, reminds us that we have to be alert for Swiss loopholes that can undermine EU sanctions against Putin's friends. Oligarchs installed not before, but after Russia started its insane war in Ukraine, although Switzerland joined these sanctions.

According to the *Financial Times*, Credit Suisse sent letters to investors requesting them to destroy documents linked to the securitisation of assets. These documents show for example that Russian oligarch Alisher Usmanov – identified as 'one of Putin's favourite oligarchs' and subject to an asset freeze and EU travel ban – is linked to about 27 secret corporate accounts. We must review Swiss banking and money-laundering practices.

Behind the Russian soldiers shooting at Ukrainian children and committing war crimes in Ukraine right now, there are those Swiss banks and the oligarchs they support. They are all accountable. To quote the Ukrainian soldiers: 'they should all go fuck themselves'.

Clare Daly, on behalf of The Left Group. – Mr President, I think it's ironic that we're calling this debate 'Suisse Secrets', given it's absolutely no secret at all the role played by Switzerland in facilitating global financial crime. It's been carrying out this global daylight robbery for years, and the billions and billions Credit Suisse accumulates every year by criminal elites has been permitted in the name of profit maximisation and western enrichment. And we have to say that the EU has been complicit by failing to call Switzerland out. And we heard it again tonight. Excuses before, 'oh, it might damage the banking sector' but we've no problem in listing the likes of Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen and so on, countries where there's hardly a banking sector at all.

We've got to get real about this. Western financial secrecy centres in the Netherlands, in Luxembourg and at home in Ireland are complicit in this system. These cross-border transfers take over a trillion dollars every year, gutting southern and developing nations. This isn't our money. The EU will have no credibility unless we deal with all of these issues.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, este escándalo revela lo que no deja de ser un hecho. Y es que hay un sector de la banca suiza que no coopera contra el blanqueo de capitales y no cumple los estándares comunes de comunicación de información cuando se trata de clientes de alto riesgo. Todo esto tiene lugar en el contexto de las sanciones impuestas por la Unión Europea contra los oligarcas rusos y subraya la vulnerabilidad estratégica y geopolítica que supone cualquier defecto en la lucha contra el blanqueo de capitales.

Pero este Parlamento Europeo está comprometido, como lo pone de manifiesto el que estamos en estos momentos legislando nada menos que sobre el nuevo paquete de lucha contra el blanqueo de capitales: cinco Reglamentos, uno de los cuales se refiere a una autoridad central europea contra el blanqueo.

Hay que imponer a cualquier banco que incumpla la legislación, incluida la banca suiza, no solamente diligencia debida, sino sanciones para que se impongan leyes más estrictas. Y hay que asegurar que la Autoridad Bancaria Europea ejerza su papel de supervisión sobre las unidades de inteligencia financieras en relación con las autoridades nacionales contra el blanqueo. Solo de ese modo podremos sacar una lección de cada hecho o de cada escándalo.

Kira Marie Peter-Hansen (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, we've heard it all before. We've had this debate before. LuxLeaks, the Panama Papers, Pandora Papers, Paradise Papers, and so on. And now Suisse Secrets. I wonder how many scandals do we need to take this crime seriously.

We learned from all those leaks that we have in the recent years that not only Switzerland but several EU countries have actively helped Russian oligarchs to launder money, avoid taxes and hide their wealth. Luckily, the EU showed that we are ready to take actions against Russia with economic sanctions as we have done with the oligarch freezing assets actions.

And I call on us now to use this situation as a wakeup call and make sure that we are as ambitious as possible with the anti-money-laundering package. This means banning golden visas, ensuring transparency on beneficial ownership and proper exchange of tax information, and making sure that Member States transpose and enforce existing anti-money-laundering rules. And it also includes a proper risk of high-risk countries. So I hope and I count on all the EU institutions to take up the task.

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Mick Wallace (The Left). – *(start of speech off mike)* ... revelations about the practices of Credit Suisse and their secretive clientele. I support the recommendations of Transparency International, which calls for extra supervision of mechanisms by national supervisory authorities, centralised and verified beneficial ownership registers and strong punitive action against misbehaving banks.

However, does it really come as any surprise to us that Swiss banks have dodgy customers? We've known this for years. Why did it take a whistle-blower to start this discussion? Sure, we should tackle anti-money laundering (AML) practices on the EU's doorstep, but we also have to look inside our own house. We have countries like Barbados and the Cayman Islands on the AML blacklist, but not Switzerland or even the UK. What are we doing about the weaknesses in our own system? We have countries like Ireland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands where shell companies and transparency laws make it nearly impossible to see who owns what or where the money is coming from. We do need to tackle anti-money laundering, but we need to tackle it everywhere.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Mairead McGuinness, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, thank you to the colleagues for this debate. I think we should acknowledge that Suisse Secrets are no longer secrets because of the work of investigative journalists, and we should be grateful that there are investigative journalists and that we have press freedom.

I mentioned in my opening remarks that we're very committed to maintaining a tough approach in the fight against money laundering, both inside Europe and with third countries. I mentioned also that we are not resiling from watching whether progress is made or indeed if progress stalls, and we will take further measures if that is required.

I want to thank you for mentioning Europe's own anti-money laundering efforts. We've had five iterations of the Anti-Money Laundering (AML) Directive, and it's not enough because some Member States haven't fully implemented. And indeed we know that we need to go further. So I hope that we can work together on this package, which is a strong package that has to tidy up the more-than-loose ends in our current legislation. But we do need to work hard and we need to work fast, and indeed the French Presidency are showing great leadership.

I think the other point which has really come into sharp focus is the aggression by Russia in Ukraine and our sanctions. We now realise how much vulgar wealth there is in the hands of very few, globally. And I think that that visibility is really repulsive to our citizens. We are freezing assets, but we do have a Task Force in the Commission and its title is Freeze and Seize. And I know Member States will be looking at the second part of that with their own legislation, and I do believe this is a moment we should not allow to pass by without making a firm commitment that the financial system has got to be cleaned up both inside the European Union and outside.

Clément Beaune, *président en exercice du Conseil*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, je serai extrêmement bref, d'abord pour vous remercier une nouvelle fois d'avoir organisé ce débat et exercé votre vigilance sur cette question, qui nécessite avant tout un renforcement de notre législation, nous l'avons dit. Je le répète, la Commission européenne a proposé des textes il y a quelques mois, l'été dernier pour le sixième paquet. La présidence française est très engagée pour avancer le plus rapidement possible au cours de ce semestre sur ces textes, en lien, évidemment, avec le Parlement européen.

Je voulais, au-delà de cela, redire que nous aurons sans doute encore à renforcer, dans le contexte que nous connaissons, notre vigilance à l'égard des pays tiers, et que nous faisons confiance, sur ce dossier spécifique, à la Commission européenne pour apprécier la réalité des faits et pour en tirer les conséquences vis-à-vis de nos partenaires suisses.

Partageant l'appréciation que la commissaire McGuinness a formulée au début de notre débat, je crois qu'aujourd'hui nous ne sommes pas dans un moment où il faudrait tirer des conséquences générales à l'égard de la Suisse. Aussi discuterons-nous et débattrons-nous – sans aucune complaisance je crois, ni au Parlement européen ni au Conseil, soyez-en certains – de toute proposition que la Commission pourrait faire à la lumière des faits qui seront établis. Encore une fois, la confiance que nous plaçons dans la Commission est absolue sur ce dossier. Merci, Madame la Commissaire, de le porter très fortement ces derniers mois et pour l'avenir.

Der Präsident. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Ibán García Del Blanco (S&D), *por escrito*. – La investigación «Suisse Secrets» abarca más de 18 000 cuentas ocultas de Credit Suisse que llegaron a acumular fondos por más de 100 000 millones de dólares y que el banco mantuvo abiertas pese a las señales de alarma. En muchos casos, pertenecían a clientes acusados de delitos graves o vinculados a regímenes autocráticos.

Es vital impedir que la banca pueda ayudar a delincuentes y cleptócratas -incluidos los oligarcas rusos vinculados a Putin- a ocultar sus fortunas ilegales y a tomar participaciones en sectores clave, poniendo en peligro la seguridad de nuestros ciudadanos y de nuestras economías.

Con ese objetivo, el Grupo S&D lidera la batalla contra el blanqueo de capitales: nuestros componentes en el Reglamento y Directivas LBC impulsarán un régimen más estricto en la UE, limitando la discrecionalidad de los bancos en el trato a clientes de alto riesgo. Propondremos también que la UE tenga herramientas más potentes para actuar contra entidades en terceros países. Asimismo, exigimos a Suiza la adopción de leyes para proteger a los denunciantes de irregularidades y la derogación de las desmesuradas penas por violación del secreto bancario. Por último, solicitamos a la ABE que investigue la posible existencia, en las filiales de Credit Suisse en la UE, de cuentas implicadas en el escándalo.

Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D), *por escrito*. – La investigación «Suisse Secrets» abarca más de 18 000 cuentas ocultas de Credit Suisse que, en algunos momentos, llegaron a acumular fondos por más de 100 000 millones de dólares y que el banco mantuvo abiertas pese a las señales de alarma. En muchos casos, pertenecían a clientes acusados de delitos graves (tortura, tráfico de personas o asesinato) o vinculados a regímenes autocráticos.

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Alfred Sant (S&D), *in writing*. – There are still weaknesses in the EU anti-money laundering framework. While scandals have already forced many reforms, over-reliance on them to stimulate reforms unduly politicises AML initiatives. Threats posed by third countries, especially those with such close ties to the EU as Switzerland, endanger the integrity of the EU's financial system as a whole. As AML practices are increasingly toughened inside the EU, interested parties seek to circumvent the system using third country channels.

Switzerland could be placed on the blacklist of 'countries at risk' for money laundering, in the hope of triggering changes in the country's anti-money laundering mechanisms and deeper reforms. A few years ago, the Commission placed Tunisia on it, just when the country needed economic support from the EU, in order to push forward difficult democratic reforms. However, such blacklisting decisions are in reality highly political.

One alternative solution proposed is that non-EU legal persons with an EU connection must register their beneficial owners in EU registers of beneficial owners. These registers would comply with harmonised rules at European level to present information in real time. While there may be merits to blacklisting, with much more cumbersome control procedures for transactions, truly effective solutions should be more proactive and objective in nature.

24. Udzielenie pomocy makrofinansowej Republice Mołdawii (debata)

Der Präsident. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Markéta Gregorová im Namen des Ausschusses für internationalen Handel über den Vorschlag für einen Beschluss des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates über eine Makrofinanzhilfe für die Republik Moldau (COM(2022)0004 – C9-0007/2022 – 2021/0438(COD)) (A9-0043/2022).

Ich weise Sie darauf hin, dass Sie mithilfe Ihres Abstimmungsgeräts spontane Wortmeldungen beantragen und blaue Karten einsetzen können, nachdem Sie Ihre Abstimmungskarte eingeführt haben. Ich bitte Sie daher, stets Ihre Abstimmungskarte mitzubringen. Anleitungen liegen im Plenarsaal aus.

Wenn Sie sich für eine spontane Wortmeldung anmelden möchten, ersuche ich Sie, das bereits ab jetzt zu tun und nicht das Ende der Aussprache abzuwarten.

Ich weise Sie auch darauf hin, dass Wortmeldungen im Plenarsaal weiterhin vom zentralen Rednerpult aus erfolgen. Dies gilt allerdings nicht für spontane Wortmeldungen, blaue Karten und Wortmeldungen zur Geschäftsordnung.

Ich ersuche Sie daher, die Rednerliste im Blick zu behalten und sich kurz vor Beginn Ihrer Redezeit zum Rednerpult zu begeben.

Hier auch nochmals die Bitte, dass Sie, weil wir heute Probleme mit der Mikrofonanlage haben, versuchen, das Mikrofon nicht zu berühren, weil das sonst sehr unangenehm insbesondere für die Dolmetscher ist.

Markéta Gregorová, *rappporteur*. – Mr President, in the last few years, the Republic of Moldova has faced an exceptional triple crisis, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, the energy crisis and the prevalent fight against systemic corruption and nepotism that caused significant weaknesses in several sectors, including limited administrative capacity.

While Moldova is still one of the poorest countries in Europe, the economic recovery plan for Moldova can be an essential stimulus for mitigating the effects of the pandemic, the energy crisis and state weaknesses, while also creating the changes needed to make Moldova more efficient and resilient to coming changes, which will be more than plenty. Currently, there is tremendous potential for necessary reforms, which would be a shame to miss. Even though Moldova has already taken some reform measures to combat corruption, organised crime and illicit financial flows, there are still significant opportunities for strengthening, notably in democratic institutions, improving decentralisation and implementation of crucial reforms concerning the institutional set-up of the public administration.

Moreover, the critical state institutions in Moldova also need to be strengthened to make them more resilient against capture, which has been problematic. Developing a rigorous framework to preserve judicial independence, integrity and accountability is critical to addressing corruption and reducing routes for political influence, sowing more trust in the legal system and improving access and delivery to justice.

The proposed EUR 150 million macro-financial assistance (MFA) operation for Moldova is foreseen to be disbursed in three equal tranches to be released between 2022 and 2024, with the first tranche disbursement envisaged before the summer. The financial programming over the 2022-2024 period allows for a grant component of EUR 32 million to be financed from the available budget. The proposal for MFA to Moldova is provided as an integral part of international support for the economic stabilisation of the Republic of Moldova. As usual, the disbursements would be conditional on satisfactory reviews under the IMF programme and progress on implementing the EU-Moldova Association Agreement and the deep and comprehensive free trade area (DCFTA).

In the light of all the considerations at this plenary, I believe that the European Parliament should agree with the Committee on International Trade (INTA) to approve the Commission's proposal to provide micro-financial assistance to Moldova. It is essential to consider the whole picture. The Republic of Moldova is following a good reform trajectory, even though some spheres still need to be strengthened, the right conditions are presently fulfilled for our support.

I will address the Commission in my final remarks, but allow me to stress also at this point the need for the Commission to include policy reforms into the memorandum of understanding and to ensure clear conditions. Given the current situation in Europe, I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Republic of Moldova for taking care of the refugees from Ukraine fleeing the Russian aggression war, despite the fact that it has its complications for such a small nation.

Paolo Gentiloni, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, I am pleased to be here tonight for the finalisation of the proposal of macro-financial assistance to Moldova. I would like to thank the Parliament and in particular the members of the International Trade Committee, as well as Ms Gregorová, the rapporteur for this file, for your support and cooperation. We do have a common responsibility towards Moldova in these very difficult times and are ready to do what is needed.

The Commission has proposed, as the rapporteur just said, a new operation of EUR 150 million, consisting of EUR 120 million in medium-term loans and a EUR 30 million grant component. This is to be disbursed in three tranches over two and a half years, with commonly agreed policy conditions attached to each disbursement. Given the urgency, we will do our best to frontload the first tranche.

The request for a new MFA by Moldova was made in November amid a difficult situation, including the post-pandemic recovery and the gas crisis. Now, due to the war in Ukraine and its immediate impact on Moldova's economy, this assistance has become more urgent. We know that Moldova, the poorest country in Europe, continues to struggle with multiple crises at the same time, including the spillover effects of the Russian invasion of Ukraine via the high influx of refugees: 368 000 went to Moldova and around 100 000 are remaining there.

Let me recall that also both the IMF and World Bank are looking into increasing their support to Moldova in light of the effects of the war in Ukraine on the country's economy. This MFA should also build upon the progress made under previous macro-financial assistance, for example, the COVID-19 MFA. It will also provide for a further push in some key reform areas, such as good governance, the fight against systemic corruption, the rule of law and energy sector reforms.

Moreover, this MFA will also build on the window of opportunity that we currently see in Moldova, whereby all branches of the administration, including the President, the government and the Parliament are aligned on a common and ambitious reform agenda.

The Moldovan authorities have recently requested an increase of the MFA amount. In response to this, the Commission is working on a comprehensive support package where the request for more grant assistance can be accommodated as soon as possible, as Moldova faces direct humanitarian economic consequences of the war. We expect that the first MFA tranche could be disbursed in early summer and such support is warranted in view of the magnitude of the challenges that Moldova is facing.

Siegfried Mureşan, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, the Republic of Moldova is the European country that has received the biggest number of refugees from Ukraine compared to its population – bigger than any EU Member State. People in Moldova have opened their houses, and authorities in the Republic of Moldova have done all the necessary in order to provide for people coming from Ukraine in need of support. The Republic of Moldova has acted in a European spirit. It has defended European values, and we are all seeing right now how important and how relevant the Republic of Moldova is for the whole European Union. We can only live in safety, security and stability within the borders of the 27 Member States of the Union, if we are surrounded by countries which are safe and stable, and the Republic of Moldova is an immediate neighbour to us.

A safe Moldova and a stable Moldova is in the fundamental interest of the European Union. And I would also argue that the Republic of Moldova is as relevant as Ukraine is for the security of the European Union. And so, dear colleagues, let us adopt this macrofinancial assistance in the plenary tomorrow with a large majority. And Commissioner, as soon as you put forward proposals for additional support, we will also do all we can in Parliament to adopt them quickly to support you, because aside from the support that Moldova is offering now during this crisis, we are witnessing a pro-European government, a pro-European president, ready to embark on closer cooperation with the European Union, ready to reform the country. And if they are ready to get closer to the Union, we should support them. Because imagine if, in addition to the pro-Russian dictator Lukashenko in Belarus, there were a pro-Russian president in Moldova. We should avoid that. We should support Moldova's European path.

Marek Belka, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, the discussion on the assistance programme to the Republic of Moldova is very timely. Over 500 000 refugees have entered the country, which does not list as affluent in any development ranking. This did not stop the people of Moldova in providing help and shelter to the victims of war.

In the same vein, the European Union should provide macro-financial assistance to the country. Grants and loans should be disbursed in accordance with the accepted International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme. This, of course, is only one of the many assistance programmes the EU will, is and should be providing to safeguard the stability of Moldova and help to tackle the current energy crisis, post-pandemic economic recovery and the negative effects of the unfolding security crisis.

We should not forget our commitments, which stem from the Association Agreement and the DCFTA, and be mindful of Moldova's efforts to modernise the economy and their European aspirations. Moldova needs our friendship and help more than ever. The EU has to be its true friend in need.

Dragoș Tudorache, în numele grupului *Renew*. – Domnule președinte, Republica Moldova și-a asumat fără echivoc drumul european, valorile și obiectivele, și-a asumat ideea de solidaritate și unitate care stă la baza Uniunii noastre. Cetățenii și autoritățile de stat au făcut dovada acestor asumări nu doar declarativ. Ei o fac, în aceste clipe, la modul cel mai concret posibil, fiind solidari cu sutele de mii de refugiați ucraineni, ajutându-i cu puținul pe care ei înșiși îl au.

Este rândul nostru, al instituțiilor europene și guvernelor statelor membre, să ne asumăm un ajutor cât se poate de concret pentru Republica Moldova. Pachetul de asistență pe care îl aprobăm acum este binevenit, dar nu este nici pe departe suficient. Nevoile Moldovei, așa cum au fost ele estimate la conceperea pachetului, sunt astăzi de o cu totul altă magnitudine.

De aceea invit Comisia Europeană, care a dat deja dovadă, în aceste momente de cumpănă, de viziune și curaj, să își asume alături de acest Parlament o nouă abordare a relației cu Republica Moldova, de o altă anvergură politică și cu suport financiar pe măsură.

Markus Buchheit, im Namen der *ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Vorsitzender, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, liebe Kollegen! Es besteht doch gar kein Zweifel daran, dass wir denjenigen Staaten, die hier uneigennützig humanitäre Hilfe leisten, auch Unterstützung zukommen lassen müssen.

Gleichwohl darf ich doch auch darauf hinweisen, welche Zeichen wir mit der Makrofinanzhilfe aussenden. Es geht doch hier – und das kam heute auch schon heraus – auch zumindest darum, den Eindruck einer künftigen EU -Mitgliedschaft zu erwecken. Davor möchte ich nur warnen. Ich glaube, wir sollten die Mittel, die wir jetzt an Moldawien schicken – auch vor dem Hintergrund der gegenwärtigen Flüchtlingskrise –, die wir gerne von mir aus noch erhöhen können, zielgerichtet einsetzen und eben nicht im Rahmen einer Makrofinanzhilfe. Denn das trägt letztlich auch die Frucht, dass wir eben falsche Signale aussenden in Richtung Moldau. Und das hat auch dahingehend überhaupt keinen Sinn, da wir sagen: Dieses Land ist nach wie vor auf dem Korruptionsindex weltweit auf Platz 105 und hatte seit 2012 überhaupt keine Verbesserung in diesem Ranking.

Insofern: Lassen Sie uns Hilfen gewähren! Lassen Sie uns auch die humanitäre Situation berücksichtigen, aber doch bitte zielgerichtet und nicht im Rahmen der Makrofinanzhilfe.

Cristian Terheș, on behalf of the *ECR Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, one of the countries most affected by the criminal Russian invasion of Ukraine is Moldova. EU has a humanitarian responsibility to help Moldova, which received hundreds of thousands of refugees from Ukraine who are fleeing the Russian bombs in order to save their lives. But EU also has a historical responsibility for Moldova.

It became a modus operandi of Putin to invade, under different pretexts or excuses, regions from southern European countries which were before part of the Soviet Union. We've seen this happening in Georgia and Ukraine. There's modus operandi was initially implemented by the Russian Federation in Moldova, which since the fall of Soviet Union, keeps its 14th Army in Transnistria. Even though Moldova had its territorial integrity violated by the Russian Federation for 30 years, countries had no problems cutting deals with Putin for cheaper gas, oil or coal.

The precedent instrumentalised by Russia in Moldova and left unpunished for so long, just motivated Putin to keep invading countries until he caused the current war and humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. It is time to restore justice in Europe, and Moldova deserves justice, not just being by being helped financially, but by having the Russian army withdraw.

Helmut Scholz, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar! Moldau braucht dringend Unterstützung. Schon vor dem Überfall Putins auf die Ukraine war Moldau in einer schweren wirtschaftlichen Situation. Eine schwere Rezession stellte die neue Regierung vor sehr schwere Aufgaben: sozial nachhaltige Strukturreformen, Greening der Wirtschaft inklusive der Energieerzeugung, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Corona-Bekämpfung. Zusätzlich suchen nun als Folge des russischen Angriffskrieges Hunderttausende Menschen, vor allem Kinder und Frauen, auf dem Weg durch Moldawien nach Schutz. Wir müssen die Bevölkerung des ärmsten Landes Europas unverzüglich bei ihrer selbstlosen Hilfe für die Flüchtlinge unterstützen. 150 Millionen Euro werden nicht reichen, zumal zu unserer Schande 120 Millionen Euro davon nur als Darlehen gewährt werden.

Ich fordere die Kommission auf, nachzulegen und bei den kommenden EU-Hilfsprogrammen im Zusammenhang mit dem Flüchtlingsnotstand Moldau in transparenter Weise unbedingt zu berücksichtigen. Und: Ist nicht spätestens jetzt von der EU-Kommission, den lettischen, schwedischen, deutschen und anderen Regierungen jenen Banken Druck zu machen, bei denen die Milliarde aus dem Jahrhundertraub einer Mafia-Clique in Politik und Wirtschaft verschwunden sind. Die Menschen in Moldau brauchen jetzt ihr Vermögen zurück.

Ernő Schaller-Baross (NI). – Mr President, Commissioner, I support the Republic of Moldova to benefit from this macro-financial assistance operation. Moldova, the most fragile neighbour of Ukraine, apart from the humanitarian emergency, is also noting a massive economic hit from the loss of its imports from Ukraine, a collapse in investor confidence and cross-border activity. This MFA operation would help Moldova to cover part of its external financial needs and contribute to reducing fiscal vulnerabilities.

In these times of multiple crises, the European Union plays a key role in ensuring economic resilience within the EU as well. The European Commission should therefore refrain from subordinating financial stability to political interests. To this end, Hungary asked for immediate and effective access to EU funds allocated to it. Amid war and consequently growing economic insecurity, it would be of utmost importance for the Commission to act on a professional basis.

Andrzej Halicki (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! 150 mln euro, w tym 30 mln dotacji, to ważna suma, ale to kropla w morzu potrzeb. I chcę powiedzieć, że w obliczu tego, co podkreślił Siegfried Mureşan, tej ogromnej otwartości społeczeństwa mołdawskiego, które przyjęło rzeczywiście najwięcej uchodźców per capita, więcej nawet niż polskie społeczeństwo, chociaż my przyjęliśmy ich aż 2,5 miliona, to ta pomoc jest za mała. Musimy zwiększyć i nakłady, i naszą aktywność.

Europejskie oczekiwania Mołdawii wymagają naszej stałej pracy, stałej grupy wsparcia w Komisji Europejskiej, obecności na miejscu – myślę o misji Parlamentu Europejskiego. To są nasze zadania, które jesteśmy zobowiązani uczynić wobec tego testu, który społeczeństwo mołdawskie dzisiaj zdało. Tak, społeczeństwo Mołdawii już jest w Europie, już jest razem z nami i udziela tej pierwszej pomocy, pomimo że jest biedne i nie ma ku temu wystarczających środków. I naszym zadaniem jest mu pomóc.

Juozas Olekas (S&D). – Mr President, I welcome the quick adoption of macrofinancial assistance to the Republic of Moldova. It's a strong sign of European solidarity. However, as you said Commissioner, this package was proposed even before the Russian war against Ukraine. Therefore, the need for help is now higher and greater than it was before. Europe has to rise up to the challenge, because Moldova is fighting on two fronts at least. The first front is energy. This fight started when Russia drastically increased its energy price in an attempt to punish Moldova for its pro-European choice. The second front is refugees. Moldova has received the biggest per capita flow of Ukrainian war refugees. Commissioner, the EU and its partners have to help Moldova to deal with this crisis. I strongly believe that this crisis will only make Moldova stronger and will prove that the pro-European choice is the right choice for the country.

Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Ja byłem członkiem delegacji Unia-Mołdawa i wiele razy byłem w tym kraju, który w wymiarze kulturowym, cywilizacyjnym, nie tylko geograficznym, jest absolutnie częścią Europy. Mówili moi koledzy o tym, jak społeczeństwo mołdawskie otworzyło serca i domy dla uchodźców, ale myślę, że także wysiłki pani prezydent Mołdawii, pani premier Mołdawii, tych wszystkich, którzy myślą w kategoriach europejskich – wspólnego europejskiego domu, należy docenić. Należy wspierać Mołdawię, ale jednak wbrew temu co słyszymy na tej sali, jednak wspierać po to, aby w przyszłości otworzyć szeroko drzwi dla tego kraju, jeśli chodzi o członkostwo Unii Europejskiej – to im się po prostu należy. Europa musi być z Mołdawią, Mołdawia z Europą.

Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, στηρίζουμε σήμερα, και ορθώς, την πρόταση της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής για την παροχή περισσότερης χρηματοδότησης στη Μολδαβία για την αντιμετώπιση των οικονομικών επιπτώσεων του πολέμου στην Ουκρανία. Όμως ο πόλεμος του Πούτιν δεν έχει επιπτώσεις μόνο για την Ουκρανία και τη Μολδαβία, αλλά για όλες τις χώρες της Ευρώπης και όχι μόνο. Δυστυχώς κάθε μέρα που συνεχίζονται οι εχθροπραξίες χύνεται περισσότερο αίμα, προκαλείται περισσότερος ανθρώπινος πόνος, έχουμε περισσότερους πρόσφυγες και περισσότερες συνέπειες που αφορούν στην οικονομία, στην ενέργεια, στην ασφάλεια τροφίμων και σε πολλούς άλλους τομείς, συνέπειες που θα τις υποστούμε όλοι και όλες.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση οφείλει και πρέπει να κάνει περισσότερα για να αντιμετωπίσει τις συνέπειες αυτές. Πρέπει να επιδείξει περισσότερη ενότητα, περισσότερη αλληλεγγύη, αλλά και να διαθέσει περισσότερη χρηματοδότηση. Κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, ο πόλεμος στην Ουκρανία προκάλεσε μεγάλα προβλήματα όλων των ειδών. Τα μεγάλα προβλήματα απαιτούν μεγάλες αποφάσεις και τα μεγάλα οικονομικά προβλήματα απαιτούν μεγάλες οικονομικές παρεμβάσεις.

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, în primul rând aș vrea să mulțumesc cetățenilor din Republica Moldova pentru dovada de solidaritate pe care au dat-o, așa cum au dat-o și cetățenii din țara mea, din România, din Polonia, din Ungaria.

Este clar că asistența macrofinanciară trebuie făcută dar, domnule comisar, a rezultat din dezbaterile de astăzi că aceste sume erau stabilite înainte de a fi războiul și evident că acum Republica Moldova are nevoie de un ajutor mai mare și mai consistent, mai ales în partea de granturi, pentru că da, creditele vor trebui să fie date înapoi.

De aceea, v-aș adresat două rugăminți. În primul rând, să discutați în Comisie posibilitatea de creștere a granturilor și, în al doilea rând, să devansați ca prima tranșă să meargă mai repede, poate în luna mai, pentru că acum au nevoie de ajutor cetățenii care și-au deschis casele, până la urmă, și știm bine că Republica Moldova avea oricum o problemă din punct de vedere al locurilor de muncă, din punct de vedere al veniturilor pe cap de locuitor. Așadar apelul meu este să ajutăm Republica Moldova, dar să o ajutăm cu cât trebuie și când trebuie.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Paolo Gentiloni, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, thank you to all the honourable Members for intervening and supporting the macro-financial assistance (MFA) proposal and also the idea of further strengthening our package of support in the near future.

I think that this support is very important for several reasons. Firstly, the humanitarian effort that Moldova is having in these weeks. Secondly, geopolitical reasons; we all know what kind of pressure is on this country because of its position. And thirdly, because – and I had the opportunity to meet members of the government – I think it's the right time also to help because there is a strong commitment for reform, for anti-corruption and for defending our common European values. And this is the reason why I think your support for the MFA is very important and our commitment to go beyond in the near future is also so important.

Puhetta johti HEIDI HAUTALA*varapuhemies*

Markéta Gregorová, rapporteur. – Madam President, I tried to catch the eye, but I was unsuccessful so I will waste a little bit of my precious seconds to just remind a few of my colleagues that the MFA so very important for Moldova is not related to the refugee crisis and to the war. Thank you.

And as for the remarks I promised on the Commission and our role, first, I still stress the need for the Commission to include policy reforms into the memorandum, such as addressing asset recovery linked to 2014 bank fraud, continued public-finance management reforms, the justice sector reform, enhancing transparency, accountability, etc. And I emphasised that each instalment disbursement should be linked to clear conditions.

Secondly, I want to note that it is shameful that the European Parliament does not enjoy an adequate role in the MFA process, despite being a co-legislator. MFA is assent with urgency and as a consequence the EP cannot have proper scrutiny. Furthermore, the political conditionalities are agreed only between the Commission and the recipient country in the framework of the Memorandum of Understanding, where the Parliament has no say. That is why I need to stress to the Commission that the European Parliament must get duly informed throughout the disbursement of the MFA programme. You should monitor and rigorously control the fulfilment of these conditions and inform us throughout the whole MFA process.

Thirdly, the MFA combination of loans and grants, where loans usually have the most significant share, is not that favourable. Currently, Moldova is seeing the impact of war, raised energy prices and some additional costs. Thus I welcome the Commission's efforts to find also some other ways to support Moldova in stabilising the economy and facing the new unprecedented challenges. The macro-financial assistance is not already sufficient to cover the financial gaps, so this would be very important.

Puhemies. – Keskustelu on päättynyt.

Äänestys toimitetaan torstaina 24.3.2022.

25. WRF na lata 2021-2027: zwalczanie oligarchicznych struktur, ochrona funduszy UE przed nadużyciami finansowymi i konfliktami interesów (debata)

Puhemies. – Esityslistalla on seuraavana Petri Sarvamaan talousarvion valvontavaliokunnan puolesta laatima mietintö monivuotisesta rahoituskehiksestä 2021-2027: harvainvaltaisten rakenteiden torjuminen, EU:n varojen suojeleminen petoksilta ja eturistiriidat [2020/2126(INI)] (A9-0039/2022).

Monika Hohlmeier, stellvertretende Berichterstatterin. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, Herr Kommissar! Ich begrüße alle, die noch zu so später Zeit hiergeblieben sind, und freue mich, dass wir, wenn auch zu später Zeit, doch diesen sehr wichtigen Initiativbericht miteinander diskutieren. Wir finden innerhalb der Europäischen Union zunehmend oligarchische Strukturen, und auch außerhalb der Europäischen Union, an unseren Grenzen, existieren sehr gefährliche oligarchische Strukturen. Wir sind dafür nicht ausreichend gerüstet. Vielleicht deshalb, weil wir meistens glauben, mit gutem Willen zu arbeiten. Vielleicht auch deshalb, weil wir uns eher mit den positiven Dingen, der Förderung und der Unterstützung, befassen und weil wir auch Vertrauen haben in die nationalen Behörden – und weil wir manchmal dabei Faktoren übersehen, die doch ziemlich gefährlich sind.

Unter Oligarchentum verstehe ich oder versteht man landläufig die kriminelle Verquickung von Geschäftsleuten mit hochrangigen Politikern zur gegenseitigen illegitimen Bereicherung – und auch um gemeinsam Macht auszuüben in illegitimer Form. Dabei werden Binnenmarktregeln außer Kraft gesetzt, dabei werden Wettbewerber kriminell verdrängt und mit kriminellen Methoden bedrängt und aus dem Markt gebracht. Dabei gibt es einen systemischen Betrug bei Ausschreibungen. Man findet eine bemerkenswerte Konzentration von Fördermitteln bei bestimmten Einzelpersonen.

Und wir haben nicht einmal die Möglichkeit, digital relativ rasch zurückverfolgen zu können, an welche Wirtschaftsberechtigten Geld oder Förderungen gegangen sind, welche Wirtschaftsberechtigte hinter entsprechenden Förderungen stehen. Wir haben bedauerlicherweise auch in etlichen unserer Fonds, im Besonderen auch im landwirtschaftlichen Bereich, teilweise noch Möglichkeiten, dass es keinerlei Obergrenzen für die Förderungen gibt, auch nicht für die dauerhaften Förderungen. Das ist etwas, wo der Haushaltskontrollausschuss sich vehement dafür eingesetzt hat, dass wir solche Obergrenzen bilden. Denn das Geld soll an die Breite und zum Vorteil der Breite der Bevölkerung gehen. Der Steuerzahler muss wissen, an wen das Geld geht, wofür an jemand das Geld geht, welche Projekte gefördert werden, und das muss lückenlos rückverfolgbar sein.

Wir brauchen also endlich das, was wir miteinander diskutiert haben. Die Kommission nähert sich schrittweise, aber alle Schritte sind bis jetzt freiwillig. Es gibt keine verpflichtende interoperable Datenbank, in der man einfach – ich sage jetzt mal, auf Knopfdruck – zurückverfolgen könnte, wer hat wie viel wofür bekommen? Wer steht hinter einer Firma? Wie setzen sich Firmen zusammen?

Es gibt nach wie vor intransparente Firmenstrukturen, die kaum nachverfolgbar sind. Es gibt Strohmänner und Strohfrauen, die entsprechend versuchen, sich auch über europäisches Geld herzumachen oder insgesamt über Geld europäischer Steuerzahlerinnen und Steuerzahler. Und deshalb, lieber Herr Kommissar, ist es auch wichtig, dass wir den Konditionalitätsmechanismus, wenn wir solche Strukturen entdecken, entsprechend auch anwenden – und zwar mit Konsequenz anwenden. Dass wir dort, wo wir erleben, dass Oligarchen, Politiker auch mit organisierter Kriminalität gemeinsame Sachen machen, konsequentest und härtest einschreiten und die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft entsprechend ausstatten. Dass wir aber auch mit großer Konsequenz endlich die Möglichkeit haben, digital zurückzuverfolgen, wer bekommt warum wie viel Geld?

So viel ist das doch eigentlich gar nicht verlangt. Wenn wir digital an der Spitze der Welt stehen wollen, dann muss es doch wenigstens möglich sein, unsere Fördergelder bis zu den Wirtschaftsberechtigten endlich mal zurückverfolgen zu können. Das sollte nicht an nationalen Stellen scheitern, und wir müssen auch wissen, ob nationale Stellen überhaupt legitim und ordnungsgemäß ausgestattet sind, geschweige denn, ordnungsgemäß arbeiten wollen. Ich bedanke mich bei Petri Sarvamaa für den hervorragenden Bericht und bei der Frau Präsidentin, dass sie mich nicht gleich gestoppt hat.

Johannes Hahn, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, first I would like to thank Petri Sarvamaa and his colleagues for this very – and rightly so – ambitious report.

The Commission is fully committed to protecting the Union budget from fraud, conflicts of interest or any other offence. The current legal framework is already well equipped to protect the Union budget, and the Financial Regulation also applies, of course, to the funding that is being mobilised for the Recovery and Resilience Facility.

As it makes up the majority of the Next Generation EU funds, I would like to highlight a few features of the Recovery and Resilience Facility that are particularly relevant for protecting our budget. As you know, the Commission can disburse funds under the Recovery and Resilience Facility only if the Member States have established robust internal control systems to prevent, detect and correct fraud, corruption and conflicts of interest. The Member States must also collect data on the entities receiving Union funding and on the physical persons behind those entities. The Commission can also recover funds and reduce its contribution where a Member State does not act. The Commission, the European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF), the European Court of Auditors and the European Public Prosecutor's Office (EPPO) all have competences and responsibilities to protect the financial interests of the Union under the Recovery and Resilience Facility.

Another feature of the Recovery and Resilience Facility is that plans should contribute to effectively addressing all or a significant subset of challenges identified in the country-specific recommendations. This also covers country-specific recommendations that are related to the independence of the judiciary or to the fight against corruption. Some Member States have measures in their plans targeted towards such challenges.

The Union budget is also protected from breaches of the principles of the rule of law that affect or seriously risk affecting the budget. That includes, for example, breaches that relate to conflicts of interest, corruption, arbitrary decisions by public authorities, and effective cooperation with OLAF and the EPPO.

Under the Conditionality Regulation, the Commission has sent requests for information so far to two Member States and it continues to assess the situation across Member States. The Commission will inform the European Parliament about any written notification under the Conditionality Regulation without any delay.

I would also like to highlight that the establishment of the EPPO is a great achievement. The EPPO is in charge of investigating, prosecuting and bringing to judgment criminal offences against the Union budget. The cooperation offered by the Commission, together with the rules protecting the prerogatives of the EPPO, contribute to the effective protection of the Union budget from criminal offences. However, for the Commission, all of the European Court of Auditors and the EPPO to do their work, it is necessary that data in the domain of EU funding are recorded and made available by Member States. We need to always have clear and complete information about the final recipients of the funds. In that respect, we are fully on the same page.

This brings me to the next point: the digitalisation of controls and audits and improving the quality and interoperability of the data on recipients of EU funding. The Commission intends to use the upcoming targeted revision of the Financial Regulation as another opportunity and attempt to promote electronic collection of data on recipients of EU funding and the beneficial owners and the use of an integrated IT system for data mining and risk scoring to assess and analyse those data. The Commission stands ready to work closely with the European Parliament to advance as much as possible on this proposal.

When it comes to protecting the rule of law, the Commission and the Union have a number of instruments at their disposal. This rule of law toolbox consists, among others, of infringement procedure proceedings, the Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union procedure, the country-specific recommendations in the framework of the European Semester and the annual rule of law report, including assessments of corruption vulnerabilities. These instruments vary because they are tailored to address the specific types of situations in Member States, aiming at preventing or responding to rule of law and corruption issues. Finally, the early detection and exclusion system (EDES) allows the early detection and the possible exclusion of fraudulent or unreliable economic operators, possibly even imposing financial penalties on them.

So I have confidence in the comprehensive tools for our management and control of the Union budget. We will never reach literally zero errors, but our multiannual approach allows us to make sure that No EU money is lost, wasted or affected by fraud. We have zero tolerance with regard to fraud and we are fully committed to working for better protection of the Union's financial interests.

Maria Noichl, *Verfasserin der Stellungnahme des mitberatenden Landwirtschaftsausschusses*. – Frau Präsidentin! „Die Opfer“ ist ganz Europa. Die Opfer sind wir alle. Die Opfer sind die Steuerzahler und Steuerzahlerinnen. Ich spreche aus dem AGRI-Bereich. Die Opfer sind natürlich die ganz normalen Landwirte, die Fördergelder bekommen wollen und Fördergelder brauchen.

Wer sind die Täter? Die Täter sind eine kleine Gruppe, eine kleine gierige Gruppe, die den Hals nicht voll bekommen kann, eine kleine gierige Gruppe, die einerseits nach Macht strebt, nach Kontrolle der Medien strebt, auf der anderen Seite aber auch natürlich nach Geld strebt und sich mit Geld wirklich bereichert.

Deswegen müssen wir alles tun, um klar zwischen den Tätern und den Opfern zu trennen. Wir müssen alles tun, um die Täter dingfest zu machen. Das heißt, wir brauchen endlich mehr Mittel für die Personen, für die Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen zum Beispiel von OLAF – endlich mehr Mittel und mehr Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen für OLAF –, endlich mehr Mittel und mehr Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen für die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft und natürlich für Europol. Wir brauchen eine Kommission, die wirklich zubeißen will, eine Kommission, die wirklich zubeißt und erst nachgibt – ich würde einmal sagen –, wenn sie einen Brocken Fleisch im Mund hat. Nämlich wenn sie jemanden erlegt hat. Hier geht es wirklich darum, die Europäische Union zu schützen, jeden Tag zu schützen. Das erwarte ich von der Kommission.

Tomáš Zdechovský, za skupinu PPE. – Paní předsedající, pane komisaři, skvělá řeč. Tleskám! Opravdu skvělé! Vy jste mluvil o digitalizaci evropského auditu a kontroly. A já se ptám: Kdy bude? Stále zde o tom mluvíme. Dva roky stále říkáme, že je potřeba, abychom věděli, ke komu jdou ty peníze! A kde je výsledek? Jak dlouho ještě budeme čekat? Další dva roky? Pět let, deset? Vždyť oligarchové se nám smějí! Teď máme sankce Evropské unie proti Rusku a každý oligarcha z Ruska se směje, protože přes Kypr si tady zkrátka přijímá peníze z Evropské unie! My nevíme, komu to platíme! Tato zpráva je facka Evropské komisi, aby se probudila a řekla, kdy bude řešit problém oligarchických struktur v Evropské unii. Nechci čekat dalších pět, deset, patnáct let na to, že tento problém vyřešíme. Ten problém máme nyní, nyní v Evropské unii a musíme ho řešit. To je myslím jasný vzkaz Evropské komisi.

Sándor Rónai, az S&D képviselőcsoport nevében. – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Egy elhíresült történet szerint a második világháborúban azt javasolták Winston Churchillnek, hogy a háború finanszírozhatósága szempontjából függeszték fel a művészetek támogatását. Churchill ezt azzal vetette el, hogy de akkor miért is harcolunk valójában? Ennek a válasznak a legmélyebb igazságtartalma legyen iránytű mindannyiunk számára. Mert igaz az, hogy a szomszédunkban zajló gyilkos, pusztító háború sok tervet át kell hogy írjon, ugyanakkor fel kell tennünk magunknak azt a kérdést is, hogy miről is szól az Európai Unió valójában. Az Európai Unió a demokráciáról, a jogállamiságról, az emberi jogok tiszteletben tartásáról szól. Ebből kiindulva, az Európai Unió a háborúra tekintettel sem számolhatja fel azokat az értékeket és törekvéseket, erőfeszítéseket, amelyek érvényesítésére létrejött. Épp ellenkezőleg. Az Európai Parlament legnagyobb sikere a jogállamisági kritériumok bevezetése volt. Minden erőnkkel azon kell dolgoznunk, hogy a kormányzati korrupció, az oligarchák dőzsölése és mindenekelőtt Európa bomlasztói, Putyin kiszolgálóinak megálljt parancsoljunk. Ez a feladatunk, képviselőtársaim. Dolgozzunk ezéért!

Ramona Strugariu, on behalf of the Renew Group. – Madam President, in 2020 alone, over EUR 253 million of detected fraud were lost, and this is only in EU funds under shared management. This is the tip of the iceberg, as national data reporting is not accurate and reliable enough. But we're not only talking about stolen money. We are speaking about a connection to oligarchic networks seeking to gain control over independent judiciaries and free media to cover up conflicts of interest and fraud, and to capture the State.

The new multiannual financial framework and Next Generation EU make available EUR 1.8 trillion in EU funding. OLAF has already warned of the vulnerabilities we face in the absence of appropriate tools for monitoring this allocation. And we have these tools. We must extend the use of Arachne and EDES to all EU funds under shared management. We must improve their functionality and make the systems interoperable with national and local databases.

Article 61 of the current Financial Regulation has been a game changer in fighting conflicts of interest in the EU. The revised version must be bold enough to enforce this framework, make it stronger and lay down clear rules on preventing, identifying and managing conflicts of interest. This is how we can succeed.

Daniel Freund, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion. – Frau Präsidentin! Oligarchen besitzen einen Fußballverein, Oligarchen haben eine Superjacht, Oligarchen bauen sich Paläste. Bei Oligarchen denkt man atürlich direkt an Putin, an Abramowitsch, an die Feinde der Demokratie. Aber Oligarchen gibt es eben nicht nur mit russischem Öl, sondern Oligarchen gibt es auch mit EU-Agrarfonds. Die EU hat sich eine eigene Kaste von superreichen Oligarchen gezüchtet. Viktor Orbán baut sich ein Fußballstadion vor sein Haus. Sein Außenminister fährt mit der Superjacht durch die Adria. Orbáns Vater baut einen ehemaligen Königspalast zum Golfplatz um. Und wir finanzieren den Feinden der EU ein Luxusleben mit unseren Steuergeldern.

Herr Hahn, Sie sind der Haushaltskommissar. Sie überweisen jeden Monat 527 Millionen Euro an die Orbán-Regierung. Das Geld ist eigentlich für die Ungarinnen und Ungarn gedacht. Aber viel zu oft bekommen sie es nicht. Stattdessen finanziert das Geld vielleicht den nächsten Privatjet. Oder im schlimmsten Fall kaufen die Orbán-Oligarchen damit die letzte unabhängige Tageszeitung im Land. Den russischen Oligarchen werden gerade die Gelder eingefroren und die Superjachten weggenommen. Es wäre wirklich an der Zeit, dass wir auch im Kampf gegen die EU-Oligarchen endlich ernst machen und auch da die EU-Gelder einfrieren, wo sie eklatant in der Korruption enden. Lassen Sie uns endlich den Rechtsstaatsmechanismus auslösen.

Joachim Kuhs, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar Hahn! Vielen Dank, Frau Hohlmeier, für diesen tollen Bericht. Ich denke, wir sind uns alle einig, dass oligarchische Strukturen, Korruption und auch Betrug – egal von wem – unnachgiebig bekämpft werden müssen. Wir sind uns sicher auch einig, dass das Haupthindernis einer effektiven Betrugsbekämpfung die mangelnde bzw. oft verhinderte Zusammenarbeit unserer Betrugsbekämpfungsbehörden mit den betroffenen nationalen Stakeholdern – und oft sind es eben gerade diese Oligarchen – ist. Und da können wir leider kein einziges Mitgliedsland ausnehmen. Überall kommt das vor. Wenn der politische Wille fehlt, dann können wir hier noch so viele Regeln machen, dann können wir noch so viele Prüfungen durchführen, dann können wir OLAF und EPPO noch so stärken, finanziell oder personell – dann werden wir im Kampf gegen diese Oligarchen scheitern.

Das haben wir wieder und wieder erlebt. Vielleicht sollten wir einen komplett anderen Ansatz wählen. Ich mache einen Vorschlag, ich habe ihn schon einmal gemacht: Wenn Gelder, die nachweislich missbräuchlich eingesetzt oder verwendet werden, wenn das vorliegt und nachgewiesen ist, dann müssen sie vollständig, einschließlich einer – nennen wir es mal eine Bearbeitungsgebühr von 20 % zurückbezahlt werden. Erst nach Rückzahlung können neue Mittel bewilligt und ausgezahlt werden. Wenn sich Betrug nicht lohnt – ja, wenn es sogar mehr kostet, als es einbringt –, dann, liebe Kollegen, dann ist dieses üble Treiben schnell zu Ende.

Elżbieta Rafalska, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! W latach 2020-2021 podjęto działania na rzecz lepszej ochrony interesów finansowych Unii Europejskiej. Uruchomiono Prokuraturę Europejską, a Europejski Urząd ds. Zwalczenia Nadużyć Finansowych poddano reformie. Niewiele to pomogło. Podczas pandemii zwiększyło się ryzyko nadużyć finansowych ze względu na uproszczone procedury, które mogły skutkować mniej konkurencyjnymi zamówieniami publicznymi i bezpośrednio udzielonymi zamówieniami.

Wzrosło też ryzyko konfliktów interesów i korupcji. Rosnąca obecność struktur oligarchicznych w Unii Europejskiej w ostatnich latach stwarza ryzyko nadużyć i konfliktu interesów. W niektórych państwach członkowskich członkowie rządów krajowych i inne osoby na stanowiskach politycznych są częścią oligarchii i wykorzystują fundusze Unii Europejskiej dla własnych korzyści finansowych poprzez praktyki przestępcze, często związane z korupcją.

Nigdy takie zarzuty nie były formułowane wobec mojego kraju, wobec Polski. Należyte zarządzanie finansami Unii Europejskiej jest konieczne. Popieramy wszystkie wysiłki zmierzające w tym kierunku.

Luke Ming Flanagan, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Madam President, it's hard to wonder is there anyone listening at this time of night? Hopefully there is.

Oligarchs aren't something that many people said an awful lot about up until the last while but now all the cool kids in class hate them, despise them and they want to do something about them. Well, here's your chance. Try and do something about them. Take them on.

This report, it's not perfect but it says a lot of good things, as would an awful lot of reports in Parliament; they say an awful lot of good things but they never happen. And they probably never happen because usually the people who put these words down in the first place don't really want it to happen. They just want to make it seem like it's going to happen.

The report includes a strong focus on transparency. It considers, worryingly, the increase in oligarch structures within the Union which are actively using EU funds. It says all the right things and while it's good, and essentially we've got to chase after oligarchs that misuse EU funds, we've also got a problem with people who legally use EU funds in the most dodgy way possible, but the law allows them to. So maybe we just need to tackle them as well.

I'll be voting for the report. I won't be holding my breath whether you'll do anything about them.

José Manuel Fernandes (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Caro Comissário, Caras e Caros Colegas, os fundos europeus têm de ser geridos e aplicados com transparência. É uma obrigação legal, mas também é uma forma de se respeitar o esforço dos cidadãos europeus que contribuem com os seus impostos para o orçamento da União.

A fraude, a má utilização dos fundos, não é aceitável, não é admissível. E por isso exige-se que os Estados-Membros, os governos, façam o seu melhor e se empenhem. Eu não percebo, por exemplo, porque é que não se disponibiliza publicamente, numa plataforma *online*, todos os beneficiários, os respetivos projetos e montantes que são aprovados, a tipologia e a localização. Só isto permitia seguir o rasto e permitia também, por exemplo, evitar duplicações.

É ainda necessário evitar erros que muitas vezes resultam da má legislação, da legislação que não é simples, de uma legislação que não é clara e que é ambígua. E, nesse sentido também, há um esforço a fazer, porque há muitos beneficiários que cometem erros, estando de boa-fé, sendo de seguida penalizados, e nunca podemos confundir erros com fraude.

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, sigur, combaterea structurilor oligarhice și protejarea fondurilor europene, dar și a fondurilor naționale, trebuie să fie preocuparea, pe de o parte, a Comisiei Europene, a Parlamentului, dar și a statelor membre pentru că, până la urmă, acești bani, fie ei europeni sau naționali, trebuie să ajungă la cetățean.

Din păcate, trebuie să spun că acum, când vorbim, nu avem o situație reală a fraudelor pentru că sistemul de raportare din cele 27 de state este diferit. Așa se face că unele state raportează și suspiciunea de fraudă, și fraudarea. Alte state raportează doar fraudele, așa cum, de fapt, prezintă OLAF în raportul lui. Așa cum s-a întâmplat și cu țara mea, România, care, iată, figurează în acest raport ca fiind fruntașă, dar de fapt a raportat la un loc și suspiciunea de fraudă.

Cred, domnule comisar, că acest raport din proprie inițiativă poate ajuta Comisia să veniți cu niște măsuri, pe de o parte, de creștere a transparenței, pe de altă parte, de o raportare unitară, ca să nu comparăm mere cu pere. Și, evident că trebuie să fie cuantificabili toți indicatorii pe care îi folosim, pentru că banii aceștia trebuie să ajungă la beneficiari.

Karin Karlsbro (Renew). – Fru talman! EU är ett samarbete, inte en bankomat. Länder som bryter mot rättsstatens principer ska inte tro att de kan fortsätta kvittera ut EU-bidrag som om ingenting hade hänt. Korruption är ett gift som undergräver demokratin. Den måste stoppas, motverkas och avslöjas. Den europeiska åklagarmyndigheten spelar en viktig roll.

Det är svårt att tala om korruption i dag utan att nämna Aleksej Navalnyj, som förra året fick årets Sacharovpris, Europaparlamentets pris för yttrandefrihet. Han är en mycket värdig vinnare och fått betala ett högt personligt pris i form av både mordförsök och långa fängelsestraff för sin modiga kamp för att avslöja korruption och maktmissbruk i Putins Ryssland.

Ingen borde i dag tvivla på att EU måste hålla rent framför egen dörr. Det finns ingen, absolut ingen, plats för korruption i Europa.

Claude Gruffat (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, merci à ceux qui sont encore là à 23 heures passées. On répète sans fin que le budget européen est déjà trop faible, donc il n'est pas question de le laisser à la merci des prédateurs. Comme en Russie, l'Europe a ses oligarques, et, comme en Russie, ils prospèrent dans les failles du système. Ils menacent notre démocratie en accaparant une part de nos ressources communes. Protéger nos intérêts financiers des prédateurs est indispensable pour redonner confiance aux citoyens et pour respecter l'argent public.

Pour combattre l'opacité qui favorise les détournements, il nous faut des registres européens, et a fortiori mondiaux, des bénéficiaires d'actifs. Aujourd'hui, aucun pays européen n'exige l'enregistrement des bénéficiaires effectifs d'actifs tels que les biens immobiliers, les yachts, les jets privés et ou encore les œuvres d'art. Cela signifie que les pays sont aveugles, faute de moyens de savoir à qui appartiennent les milliards d'actifs détenus sur les territoires. Ouvrons les yeux des administrations fiscales et mettons en place de tels registres pour une Europe plus transparente, dotée de moyens de se défendre face aux prédateurs.

Siegfried Mureșan (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, oligarchs are a danger for our democracy. They exert political influence. They affect the functioning of our economy. They are a threat to public budgets and they are a threat to taxes paid by citizens and by honest enterprises.

During the next seven years, the European Union will spend more money than ever from the budget of the European Union and from the Recovery and Resilience Facility, and one thing is clear: the more we spend, the more we need to make sure that money really reaches the people that the money is intended for. Large amounts require strong controls, so we have to do two things: make sure that the money reaches the beneficiaries that it is intended for; and number two, that it is adequately spent.

Commissioner, I welcome what you said on data, on making sure that we know where money gets to. And for this reason, we are calling on the European Commission to put forward a single interoperable database so that we know where all categories of EU funds are going. Member States should use the large amounts of funds for digital investment to create such a database. It is our duty to fight fraud irregularities in the EU and everywhere where EU funds are involved.

Pyynnöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, oligarchs and corruption are a feature of *[inaudible]* capitalism. You become a billionaire by stealing, by collusion with politicians, the media and government officials and then you have influence over those who help you to the top.

A billionaire is an oligarch. Europe has more billionaires than any other continent. Germany has more billionaires than anyone else in Europe. Germany's oligarchs increased their wealth by nearly EUR 200 billion in the first year of the pandemic alone. But by their complete omission from this report, we are to believe those EU contracts that helped enrich Germany's oligarchs were the result of fair play and hard work and nothing to do with their influence over EU politics and the endlessly documented revolving door fiasco going on between the Commission, the Council, Parliament and Europe's capitalist industrial giants. Seven EU countries are openly facilitating corruption and theft of billions in government revenue and no one cares. This report is only nibbling around the edges.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Madam President, there hasn't been a better – or should I say worse – example of oligarchic structures or fraud of EU funds than that of Bulgaria and the carry-on of the GERB party, and Boyko Borisov in particular, which has gone unchallenged for years as a result of their insidious grip on state power, which has degraded the livelihoods of Bulgarian citizens for years. It's also gone on because of the support in here from the EPP Group, which we heard articulated earlier by Manfred Weber.

And it took the people of Bulgaria to get to the streets, to hold elections, to put the spotlight on and elect a new government to deal with these issues. And when they tried, they met the challenge of state capture: the Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Judicial Council, the anti-corruption committee, all captured by GERB and Borisov's henchmen. So there was euphoria last week when the EPPO arrested him and took him into custody on 120 fraud cases amounting to billions of lev from the Bulgarian people and of EU funds. His release afterwards has been met with dismay. I know there's people in here batting for him, but that is going to be a test on the EPPO whether he fails or not.

(Pyynnöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot päättyvät)

Johannes Hahn, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, thank you very much for this debate, in particular for the report and for your extremely valuable and supportive contribution. We really count on this if we will make our proposals for the modification, the revision of the Financial Regulation. Indeed I think it's important to make progress, I cannot agree more with what you have said.

I think what we need is also your support in your Member States, because there are some governments which hide behind the data protection issues, but in reality it's because there are weaknesses of their IT systems which prevent them from engaging in interoperability and so on.

By the way, Next Generation EU now offers a lot of possibilities to invest, in particular in digitalisation. Some Member States consider this again as a kind of transfer of another kind of sovereignty to Brussels or whatsoever. This is all nonsense. It's really about taking care about our Union budget and really identifying at a very early stage if there is a misuse, as Mr Fernandes said, Very often the final beneficiaries are making errors because we have to admit that our regulations are not the simplest.

So, it's always a mixture between the fraudulent issues and simply errors, and I think with an IT system in place, we can avoid a lot of problems, which is finally in the interests of all of us, and would make also our life in terms of administrative procedures much easier. Once again, thank you for this debate and I wish you all a good rest.

Monika Hohlmeier, *stellvertretende Berichterstatterin*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die ihr jetzt noch zu später Stunde verblieben seid! Vielen herzlichen Dank dafür.

Oligarchische Strukturen sind ein strukturelles Problem. Das kann man nicht durch irgendwelche öffentlichen Anklagen nur gegen Einzelpersonen klären, sondern man muss die Strukturen verändern. Oligarchische Strukturen werden verhindert, indem man mehr Transparenz schafft in bestimmten Bereichen. Die Transparenz bei der Beobachtung, wo welche Gelder der Europäischen Union hingehen, ist schlicht und einfach aufgrund nationalen Widerstands und Widerstands der Mitgliedstaaten bis heute leider nicht vollständig gegeben. Wir müssen uns vielfach auf nationale Behörden verlassen, und wenn die nationalen Behörden nicht richtig funktionieren bzw. vielleicht auch historische korruptive Zustände vorherrschen, dann sind wir derzeit nicht in der Lage, diese Strukturen frühzeitig und rasch genug zu durchblicken und zu verhindern, dass es zum Beispiel zu einer unmäßigen Zusammenballung und Bevorzugung, zu Unterbrechungen, zum Beispiel bei Ausschreibungen kommt – dass immer wieder dieselben auftauchen, die sich dann entsprechend bereichern können, dass Ausschreibungsverfahren unterlaufen werden, dass es dabei zum Beispiel systemischen Betrug gibt. Wir müssen uns tatsächlich besser aufstellen.

Ich möchte aber auch gerade an die Adresse derjenigen, die hier gerade von links gesprochen haben, sagen, es würde auch dazu beitragen, wenn man die Wahrheit sagt. Man muss nüchtern sagen: Die Verhaftung von Bojko Borisow war nicht rechtsstaatlich. Sie wurde ohne Richter, sie wurde ohne Staatsanwälte vorgenommen – und dann stelle man sich einmal vor, Bojko Borisow hätte in seiner Zeit einfach durch die Polizei den sozialistischen Oppositionsführer verhaften lassen. Da wäre aber was los gewesen, da hätten Sie sich hingestellt und hätten wüst geschimpft.

Wenn man den Rechtsstaat erhalten will und Korruption bekämpfen will, muss man sich selber an Regeln und Gesetze halten – Punkt. Und egal, wen man anklagt, da ist der Bürger und der Regierungschef gleich: Wir brauchen die Beweise, wir brauchen Ermittlungen, wir brauchen den Rückhalt für die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft, ihre Arbeit zu machen. Und diese Verhaftungen – um es auch noch einmal deutlich zu sagen – standen nicht in Zusammenhang mit den 120 Fällen. Das hat das Innenministerium inzwischen eingeräumt, das ist definitiv falsch. Aber lasst doch mal endlich die europäische Staatsanwältin ihre Arbeit machen. Wir brauchen sie, sie braucht Personal, sie braucht Unterstützung. Und danke, Herr Kommissar, dass sie das endlich bekommt.

Puhemies. – Keskustelu on päättynyt.

Äänestys toimitetaan torstaina 24.3.2022.

Kirjalliset lausumat (171 artikla)

Ádám Kósa (NI), *írásban*. – Sajnálatos, hogy az Európai Parlament az ukrajnai háború idején is olyan tagállamok ellen indít politikai támadást és fenyegeti őket a források megvonásával, melyek a legnagyobb részt vállalják a háború elől menekülőkkel való uniós szolidaritásból. Az európai parlamenti jelentés egy újabb durva politikai támadás és alaptalan vádaskodás, mely bulvár híresztelésekből és fake news értesülésekből építkezik, és egyértelmű politikai célokat szolgál. Miközben az objektív értékelések azt mutatják, Magyarország és Lengyelország egyre hatékonyabban lép fel az uniós forrásokkal való visszaélésekkel és a korrupcióval szemben. Johannes Hahn biztos felsorolta a rendelkezésre álló ellenőrzési rendszereket, különböző pénzügyi eszközöket, melyekkel biztosítható, hogy a támogatások szabályosan kerüljenek felhasználásra, illetve elmondta, hogy mind az EU, mind a tagállamok zéró toleranciát alkalmaznak a szabálytalanságokkal és visszaélésekkel szemben. Ezen eszközök és rendszerek hatékonyabb alkalmazására van szükség, nem a tagállamok elleni politikai támadásokra és az EU egységének szétverésére. Ez a gondolkodásmód vezet ahhoz, hogy Boyko Boriszov volt bolgár miniszterelnököt az európai főügyész látogatása után, a hírek szerint bírósági felhatalmazás és megfelelő gyanúsítás nélkül letartóztatásuk egy éjszakára, majd európai néppárti EP-képviselők elutazzanak Bulgáriába emiatt tényfeltáró vizsgálatot tartani. Ez a megközelítés összeegyeztethetetlen a jogállamiság elveivel.

Guido Reil (ID), *šriftlich*. – Die Ukraine ist von Russland angegriffen worden. Sie hat jetzt andere Probleme als das, was wir hier heute diskutieren. Trotzdem ist es richtig, darauf hinzuweisen, dass Putin zwar an vielem schuld ist, aber nicht daran, dass die Ukraine bettelarm ist – trotz ihrer Bodenschätze, ihrer fruchtbaren Felder und trotz 20 Jahre EU-Subventionen. Ich zitiere den Europäischen Rechnungshof vom September letzten Jahres: „Korruption auf höchster Ebene und sogenannte Staatsvereinnahmung sind in der Ukraine weit verbreitet. Dutzende Milliarden Euro gehen jedes Jahr infolge von Korruption verloren. Der EU sind diese Verbindungen zwischen Oligarchen, hochrangigen Beamten, Politikern, der Justiz und staatseigenen Unternehmen seit Langem bekannt. Doch die Kommission ist bei ihrer Bewertung oft zu großzügig.“ Es ist gut, dass Sie das Problem mit den oligarchischen Strukturen und der Staatsvereinnahmung endlich erkannt haben. Was Sie aber weiterhin unterschätzen, ist der Anteil, den Sie an dieser Situation haben. Wenn Sie das Geld der Steuerzahler – egal mit wie viel blumigen Reden – herausgeben, ohne dessen Verbleib lückenlos zu kontrollieren, befördern Sie logischerweise, dass dieses Geld abgegriffen wird, bevor es da ankommt, wo es hinsoll. Unterlassen Sie das und trocken Sie die Korruption aus!

Valdemar Tomaševski (ECR), *raštu*. – Europos Sąjungos lėšų apsauga nuo sukčiavimo yra labai svarbus dalykas, ypač finansinės krizės, su kuria kovojame jau kelerius metus, laikais. ES lėšos turi būti naudojamos griežtai laikantis patikimų finansų valdymo principų ir tam pagal įstatymą turi būti taikoma visapusiška ir neribota kontrolė ES lygiu, įskaitant EP. Tai padidins skaidrumą ir gebėjimą reaguoti į piliečių poreikius bei užtikrins, kad mokesčių mokėtojų pinigai būtų leidžiami tinkamai. Žiniasklaida visoje Europoje reguliariai praneša apie skandalus, susijusius su sukčiavimu, interesų konfliktais, korupcija ir kita neteisėta veikla, kenkiančia ES finansiniams interesams, kuriose dalyvauja aukšto lygio politikai valstybėse narėse ir ES institucijose, taip pat apie mūto, tarpvalstybinio pobūdžio bei skaitmeninį sukčiavimą ir nusikaltimus, neretai perimančius nusikalstamų organizacijų struktūras bei jų remiamus. Reikia kuo greičiau užbaigti šią tvarką. Organizuotas ES lėšų finansinis valdymas yra labai svarbus. Tai yra nepriimtina, kad ES fondų paramos gavėjų duomenų bazėse nėra informacijos apie galutinius paramos gavėjus ir apie realius jų gavėjus. Iš tokių veiksmų kyla piktnaudžiavimai, todėl Komisija turi sustiprinti savo gebėjimus užkirsti kelią sukčiavimams bei sugėbėti juos aptikti.

26. Jednominutowe wystąpienia w ważnych kwestiach politycznych

Puhemies. – Esityslistalla on seuraavana minuutin puheenvuorot poliittisesti tärkeistä asioista työjärjestyksen 172 artiklan mukaisesti.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Paní předsedající, skončeme se závislostí na Rusku! Pojdme si nejprve shrnout fakta. Agresorem v případě bezprecedentního konfliktu, který se odehrává pouhých několik stovek kilometrů od hranic Evropské unie, je Rusko. Napadenou zemí je Ukrajina, která se ale hrdinně brání a já se jí chci z tohoto místa poklonit a také odvaze tamních obyvatel. A zároveň také poděkovat všem, kteří ukrajinskou obranu jakkoliv podporují a pomáhají. A pomáhají samozřejmě také válečným uprchlíkům.

Na půdě Evropského parlamentu ale především cítím potřebu apelovat ve prospěch skončení závislosti – zejména energetické – na agresorovi, kterým je Putinova říše zla. Řekněme si to otevřeně! Pokud nepodnikneme potřebné kroky, budeme imperiální ruskou politikou nepřímou dále podněcovat a dříve či později se nepochybně dočkáme dalších výbojů. Proto opakují: Konec závislosti na agresorovi! Ve jménu obětí, které tato válka přivodila, se kterými se loučíme bolestně a které, věřím, nebudou zapomenuty. A s vědomím také toho, že výraznou a přeci postradatelnou obětí přinesla i Evropa. Tou obětí je její naivita tvář tvář ruskému imperialismu.

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Madam President, together in this House we are called ‘the European Union’. We are safe and our citizens feel that they have a future. The Union can continue to develop, despite sometimes being hesitant. However, decision makers have ignored what might happen and did not engage enough in investing in modernising the common project. They locked the doors and the windows to our house, hoping no one would ever get in. But now our neighbourhood is on fire and the flames might reach our house soon. They are in our backyard and, together with our strategic partner, the United States, we need to put out the fire by moving forward at a faster pace, meaning we need to: consolidate our defence in partnership with NATO; protect our population against energy and food crises; financially support Ukraine, EU border countries and partners like the Republic of Moldova; make European funding more flexible; reform the EU. I call on all the international leaders present in Brussels to consolidate this House, defend our values by investing in education, our democracy and culture, and listen to our citizens. Keep the door open and be courageous enough to protect our neighbourhood.

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Madam President, one year ago, together with other MEPs, I proposed a joint motion for a resolution on the 10th anniversary of the uprising in Syria. In it we called on the Commission to prepare an action plan on impunity to include a specific chapter on Syria. Unfortunately, so far nothing has been done, despite the request being the central plank of a resolution that enjoyed cross-party support.

The EU has been at the forefront of the fight against impunity, providing technical and financial assistance for accountability efforts. However, the invasion of Ukraine should now provide the motivation for the European Commission to proceed with an action plan. Russia's behaviour in Ukraine is the brutal standard of warfare, in particular siege tactics and targeting of civilian infrastructure that is such a feature of the Russian involvement in Syria.

The EU has to get tough on impunity to protect the staff involved in the humanitarian relief efforts in Ukraine, in Syria and elsewhere.

Francisco Guerreiro (Verts/ALE). – Senhora Presidente, a invasão da Ucrânia gerou, naturalmente, grande instabilidade nos mercados e um aumento brutal nos preços dos combustíveis, e este aumento afetou, naturalmente, vários setores, incluindo o setor das pescas.

Mas sabemos que existem grandes isenções fiscais aos combustíveis fósseis nas pescas e também subsídio a esta indústria, e não é por este caminho que conseguimos ajudar a pesca em pequena escala e diversificar as atividades dentro de uma economia azul.

E por isso, e concebendo que o setor das pescas não paga cerca de 1,5 mil milhões de euros anuais em impostos – portanto, que não são coletados pelos Estados-Membros –, temos de repensar o modo de ajudar este setor na transição para uma economia realmente verde.

E por isso devemos usar todos os fundos que temos ao nosso dispor, nomeadamente o Fundo para as Pescas, para diversificar a possibilidade de os pescadores, e nomeadamente a pequena pesca, modernizar a sua frota, ter motores mais limpos, motores realmente mais descarbonizados, e conseguir adaptar-se a novas profissões dentro de uma economia azul. Sem isso não conseguiremos fazer uma transição para uma economia descarbonizada no setor das pescas.

Gunnar Beck (ID). – Frau Präsidentin! Die Konferenz zur Zukunft Europas gibt vor, die Europäer wollten einen EU-Bundesstaat mit einer EU-Verfassung, vorgegeben durch Beteiligung von 800 Bürgern, ausgewählt von einer Tochter der US Bain Private Equity-Investmentgesellschaft. Zur Erinnerung: 800, das ist ein 1,8 Millionstel der knapp 450 Millionen EU-Bürger. Das 1,8 Millionstel trifft kaum Schuld. Sie kommen freudig und wissbegierig, und Pro-EU-Spinelli-Experten erklären ihnen, große Probleme lösen könne nur Brüssel, das genau wisse, was zu tun ist, aber am nationalen Veto scheitere. Jetzt sei zu wählen zwischen europäischer Tugend und nationalem Eigensinn.

Kein Wunder also, dass die Bürgerempfehlungen den Plänen gleichen, die Macron und Merkel Ursula von der Leyen 2019 mit auf den Weg gaben. Hier ist nichts Zufall und alles durchorchestriert.

Eugen Jurzyca (ECR). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, jeden z dopadov ruskej agresie súvisí aj so životným prostredím. Po tejto skúsenosti s Ruskom budú výdavky na zbrojenie vo svete vyššie než doteraz. Z odborných štúdií vieme, že vyššie výdavky na zbrojenie sú spojené s vyššími emisiami skleníkových plynov. Súčasne sme v situácii, v ktorej má vyspelý svet vysoké verejné dlhy. Východiskom z tohto mixu musí byť modifikácia Green Deal-u. Musí byť efektívnejší, verejnosti musí byť pravdivo komunikovaný. Niektoré opatrenia musia byť zmenené. Napríklad energia z jadra je nevyhnutná, musíme dovážať skvapalnený plyn, výrobu elektriny z uhlia. Bohužiaľ, nemôžeme zastaviť tak rýchlo, ako sme predpokladali.

Sandra Pereira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, apesar da chuva dos últimos dias, grande parte do território português continua em situação de seca severa ou extrema. Com as sanções a pretexto da guerra e com a criminosa especulação, o agravamento da escalada dos preços e a escassez das matérias-primas asfixiam ainda mais as pequenas e médias explorações agrícolas.

Importa, pois, apoiar os agricultores e mitigar o aumento dos custos de produção, começando, desde logo, pelo combate à escalada especulativa dos preços dos combustíveis, da eletricidade, dos fertilizantes e das rações, enfrentando os monopólios e a grande distribuição que esmagam os preços na produção nacional.

É também o momento de questionar as políticas da PAC e o seu modelo de exploração superintensiva e de monocultura, sorvedouro da água que não temos. A água que temos deveria estar a ser usada para os alimentos de que precisamos como de pão para a boca, para a promoção da nossa soberania alimentar e do nosso direito a produzir.

Saudamos daqui os agricultores que amanhã sairão à rua, em Braga, em defesa da produção nacional e do seu trabalho.

Miriam Lexmann (PPE). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, Putinova agresia voči Ukrajine už takmer mesiac spôsobuje hrôzy a utrpenie. Milióny osôb, hlavne matiek, detí a seniorov, boli nútené hľadať útočisko v členských štátoch EÚ. Evakuácie sú čím ďalej, tým zložitejšie, o to viac, ak ide o zraniteľné skupiny. Na Ukrajine žijú takmer 3 milióny osôb so zdravotným postihnutím, z toho viac ako 150 tisíc sa podarilo utiecť do susedných krajín. Mnohí z nich však práve kvôli zdravotným ťažkostiam toho nie sú schopní. Naviac, útoky sú mnohokrát cieľené práve na nemocnice či sociálne zariadenia.

Ďakujem preto všetkým organizáciám a dobrovoľníkom, ktorí poskytujú cieľenú pomoc zraniteľným skupinám, ako pri úteku, tak aj pri prijímaní v susedných krajinách. Zároveň vyzývam na podporu štátov, ktoré prijímajú osoby utekajúce pred vojnou, aby boli schopné poskytnúť aj pomoc pre osoby so zdravotným postihnutím s ohľadom na ich špecifické potreby.

Άννα-Μισέλ Ασημακοπούλου (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, έναν ολόκληρο χρόνο χρειάστηκε η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση για να αντιμετωπίσει ουσιαστικά την κρίση στην Ευρωζώνη το 2009 και τέσσερις ολόκληρους μήνες χρειάστηκε για να αντιμετωπίσει ουσιαστικά τις υγειονομικές και οικονομικές συνέπειες της πανδημίας Covid-19 του 2020. Σήμερα λοιπόν, περισσότερο από ποτέ, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση πρέπει να αντιδράσει άμεσα προκειμένου να αντιμετωπίσει ουσιαστικά τις οικονομικές επιπτώσεις του πολέμου στην Ουκρανία. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει στη διάθεσή της και τις πολιτικές και τα εργαλεία και, μετά το Ταμείο Ανάκαμψης, και την εμπειρία που χρειάζεται. Δεν μπορούμε να περιμένουμε. Δεν μπορούμε να περιμένουμε πότε θα τελειώσει ο πόλεμος, δεν μπορούμε να περιμένουμε τις διαθέσεις του Πούτιν, δεν μπορούμε να περιμένουμε τις αποφάσεις της Κίνας.

Αυτό που όλοι περιμένουμε αυτή τη στιγμή από την Ευρώπη είναι να κάνει ό,τι χρειάζεται για την αντιμετώπιση των συνεπειών της ενεργειακής κρίσης και του πολέμου· να το κάνει τώρα, γιατί δεν έχουμε χρόνο για χάσιμο. Έχουμε μπροστά μας μια νέα πρόκληση, έναν νέο αγώνα δρόμου, τον οποίο θα πρέπει να διανύσουμε όχι με βήμα σημειωτόν αλλά τροχάδην. Για την Ευρώπη και τους πολίτες.

Vlad-Marius Botoș (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, războiul din Ucraina nu are voie să devină o realitate banală, să ne intre în obișnuință. Am văzut milioane de oameni care au fost nevoiți să plece din țara lor, din casa lor, și să se bazeze pe sprijinul străinilor, pe ajutor de la ceilalți pentru cele mai elementare lucruri, iar noi, românii, îi ajutăm pe refugiații din Ucraina zi de zi. Și eu am găzduit, ca mulți alții, refugiați din Ucraina. Copii cu mamele lor, cu bunicile, cu mătușile lor. Am văzut disperarea în ochii copiilor care nu înțeleg ce se întâmplă în preajmă.

Putem și trebuie să îi ajutăm pe acești copii să aibă o viață cât de cât normală doar dacă ne mobilizăm, dacă vom găsi soluții să poată merge la școală, să poată învăța în limba lor, să poată comunica cu alți copii care trec prin aceleași suferințe și, în același timp, să nu rămână în urmă. Trebuie să facem un pas mai departe, să îi ajutăm să-și construiască viitorul așa cum ne-ar plăcea să îi ajute cineva pe copiii noștri în situații similare.

Michiel Hoogeveen (ECR). – Voorzitter, de Europese Centrale Bank zit in toenemende mate op de politieke stoel. Inflatie breekt record na record, maar de ECB lijkt geobsedeerd door een politiek gekleurde agenda van “klimaatveranderingsrisico’s”.

Vorige week sprak ECB-bestuurder Isabel Schnabel over een nieuw tijdperk van inflatie: “klimaatflatie”, “fossiele flatie” en “groene flatie”. Ondertussen betalen de burgers de prijs: de boodschappen worden duurder en een liter benzine zit in veel landen al boven de twee euro. Een onhoudbare situatie, zeker nu de economische groei stagneert.

Inflatie is uiteindelijk het gevolg van een beleid van een centrale bank, en een centrale bank kan alleen maar werken als die politiek onafhankelijk is. De ECB legt verantwoording af aan het Europees Parlement, maar in dit huis hoor ik vrijwel niemand hierover. De ECB moet terug naar haar mandaat. Dat is prijsstabiliteit. En daarvoor hebben we een sterke munt nodig in handen van een apolitieke centrale bank.

Peter Pollák (PPE). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, napriek tomu, že pred Putinovými tankami a raketami utekajú Ukrajinci či príslušníci iných krajín, sa pomoci pri úteku do bezpečia nedostáva každému rovnako. Dlhodobu hovorím, že v Európe je rasizmus na vzostupe, a informácie, ktoré sa ku mne dostávajú z Ukrajiny, Poľska, Maďarska, Slovenska, Česka či Moldavska, to, žiaľ, potvrdzujú. Znepokojujú ma informácie o nerovnom prístupe k pomoci pre utečencov rómskej národnosti. Utrpenie rómskych žien a detí, ktoré utekajú zo strachu pred Putinovými tankami, je znásobený nerovným prístupom nielen na Ukrajine, ale podľa mojich informácií aj po vstupe do Európskej únie. Po vojne na Ukrajine trpia všetci rovnako – Ukrajinci, ako aj príslušníci menších vrátane Rómov. Rómovia z Ukrajiny sú rovnako utečenci ako všetci Ukrajinci. Všetkým ľuďom z Ukrajiny zobral Putin bezpečie, domov a, bohužiaľ, aj životy ich blízkych. Vážení priatelia, život každého človeka, ktorý uteká pred vojnou, má rovnakú cenu.

João Pimenta Lopes (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, é preciso dar uma oportunidade à paz. Urge parar a guerra na Ucrânia. Uma guerra que nunca deveria ter começado, que não serve o povo ucraniano, o povo russo ou os povos da Europa. Serve o complexo industrial militar ou os que lucram com a especulação e à custa da imposição de sanções que serão os trabalhadores e os povos a pagar, atacando direitos e condições de vida. Não será com o incremento da política e das medidas que estão na origem da escalada do conflito na Europa que será possível alcançar a paz. É necessário desenvolver iniciativas de diálogo que ponham fim à guerra e permitam uma resolução negociada do conflito.

Impõe-se dar passos para responder aos problemas da segurança coletiva e do desarmamento na Europa, que afirme e coloque a paz e a cooperação entre os povos no horizonte, no respeito pelo Direito internacional e pela Carta das Nações Unidas e da Ata Final da Conferência de Helsínquia.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, u noćnim satima 10. ožujka ove godine, svega sedam minuta nakon ulaska u zračni prostor Hrvatske, bespilotna letjelica sovjetske proizvodnje srušila se u širem centru Zagreba, pedeset metara od studentskog doma u kojem borave tisuće studenata. Prije nego što je ušla u Hrvatsku letjelica se 43 minute kretala zračnim prostorima Rumunjske Mađarske, a došla je s područja Ukrajine.

Pukom srećom ovaj nemili događaj prošao je bez ljudskih žrtava, ali je zato otkrio svu ranjivost europskog sigurnosnog sustava. I dok tek treba utvrditi radi li se ovdje o pogrešci, sabotazi ili namjeri, valja jasno kazati da je neprihvatljivo da se ova letjelica mogla neometano kretati zračnim prostorima država članica NATO-a i Europske unije i pritom u opasnost dovesti živote građana, a sve to u okolnostima u kojima se vodi nemilosrdan rat na granicama EU-a.

Stoga inzistiram na boljoj suradnji država članica u području razmjene sigurnosnih informacija, ali se isto tako snažno zalažem i za jačanje obrambenog kapaciteta Europske unije i svih država članica koje primarno moraju biti sposobne zaštititi živote i imovinu svojih građana. Iluzija da će nas netko drugi štiti ako se nismo u stanju zaštititi sami.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, under the cover of UN Resolution 2216, the US and Saudi gave themselves permission to use violence in Yemen in an effort to reinstate the corrupt and incompetent President Hadi, who had been rejected by the people of Yemen.

For the last seven years, US- and British-made planes have been dropping bombs on the poorest country in the Middle East, while well-paid public relations firms justify what's called a war crime elsewhere. The Western-backed Saudi-UAE coalition targets everything from transport infrastructure, bridges, roads, ports to food processing plants, farmlands, food stores, markets and water wells. The resulting famine has almost been kept out of the media.

Isa Blumi, one of the few journalists who has reported on the famine, argues that starvation is strategic rather than collateral. According to the UN, almost 400 000 are dead, 16 million have been pushed into severe poverty. Why is the European Union silent about the worst humanitarian crisis on the planet? Are these people not worthy of our compassion?

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, cred că cu toții suntem cutremurați de crimele pe care le comite Federația Rusă în aceste zile în Ucraina. Din păcate, gloanțele trimise de Putin omoară copii, omoară femei, omoară oameni de toate vârstele și distrug comunități întregi. Însă, pentru Putin, nu doar armata este un instrument pe care îl folosește astăzi pentru a împrăștia teroare.

O altă armă dragă lui Putin este dezinformarea. Utilizează la scară largă toate instrumentele moderne pentru că își permite să aloce, cel puțin în anul trecut, un buget de peste 1,3 miliarde de dolari pentru instrumente media prin care propagă linia agresivă pe care o are Kremlinul în a deforma realitatea. Trebuie să luptăm și cu această armă pe care o are și o utilizează astăzi Putin pentru că afectează inclusiv cetățenii Uniunii Europene.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Madam President, I have to say, I was very glad earlier to see the Parliament's Afghan delegation being very quick to come out with a statement and strongly condemn the Taliban's disgraceful decision to deny girls the right to go to school.

But unfortunately, the effectiveness of that statement is undermined by the fact that it is in sharp contrast with the months of inaction and silence in relation to the gratuitous killing of thousands of Afghans as a result of the illegally imposed US sanctions on a country already coping with drought; our silence about the robbery of EUR 7 billion of Afghan financial resources by US war criminal, Joe Biden – money that is needed to feed and import food.

This economic warfare has resulted in what the UN has called a food insecurity and malnutrition crisis of unprecedented proportions. Some 13 000 newborns dead, more dying than will die in the conflict. This is man-made. It doesn't have to be so. Why aren't we demanding a lifting of the sanctions and the giving-back of Afghanistan its money?

Puhemies. – Kohdan käsittely on päättynyt.

27. Porządek dzienny następnego posiedzenia

Puhemies – Istunto on päättynyt ja sitä jatketaan huomenna torstaina 24. maaliskuuta 2022 kello 8.30 keskustelulla neuvoston ja komission julkilausumista aiheesta Virtaa EU:lle – Kohtuuhintaisempaa, varmempaa ja kestävämpää energiaa koskevat yhteiset eurooppalaiset toimet [2022/2589(RSP)].

Esityslista on julkaistu ja se on saatavilla Euroopan parlamentin verkkosivustolla.

28. Zamknięcie posiedzenia

(Istunto päättyi klo 23.45.)

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Skróty i symbole

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

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

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych

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

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych

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