

PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 8 LISTOPADA 2023 R.

(C/2024/6958)

PARLAMENT EUROPEJSKI

SESJA 2023-2024

Posiedzenia z 8 i 9 listopada 2023 r.

BRUKSELA

Spis treści	Strona
1. Przemówienie Cate Blanchett, ambasadorki dobrej woli UNHCR	3
2. Wznowienie sesji	7
3. Otwarcie posiedzenia	7
4. Oświadczenie Przewodniczącej	8
5. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia	8
6. Skład Parlamentu	8
7. Weryfikacja mandatów	8
8. Skład organów politycznych Parlamentu	9
9. Skład komisji i delegacji	9
10. Negocjacje przed pierwszym czytaniem w Parlamencie (art. 71 Regulaminu)	9

Spis treści	Strona
11. Porządek obrad	9
12. Pilna potrzeba podjęcia natychmiastowych działań przeciwko nasilaniu się antysemityzmu (oświadczenie Przewodniczącej)	14
13. Konkluzje z posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej w dniach 26–27 października 2023 r. - Kryzys humanitarny w Strefie Gazy i potrzeba wprowadzenia przerwy humanitarnej (debata łączna – Oświadczenia Rady Europejskiej oraz kryzys humanitarny w Strefie Gazy i potrzeba wprowadzenia przerwy humanitarnej) . . .	18
14. Polityka rozszerzenia UE w 2023 r. (debata)	39
15. Skład grup politycznych	50
16. Skład komisji i delegacji	50
17. Stan unii energetycznej (debata)	50
18. Homologacja typu pojazdów silnikowych i silników w odniesieniu do emisji i trwałości akumulatorów (Euro 7) (debata)	63
19. Wzmocnienie prawa do uczestnictwa – legitymacja i odporność procesów wyborczych w nieliberalnych systemach politycznych i reżimach autorytarnych (debata)	73
20. Jednominutowe wystąpienia w znaczących kwestiach politycznych	80
21. Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia	86
22. Zamknięcie posiedzenia	86

PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 8 LISTOPADA 2023 R.

PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

1. Przemówienie Cate Blanchett, ambasadorki dobrej woli UNHCR

President. – Dear colleagues, please take your seats. We have with us this afternoon Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Refugee Agency Cate Blanchett. Welcome to the European Parliament.

(Applause)

Cate Blanchett has been a dedicated activist on humanitarian issues for years. We know her for her activism as well as for her work in film. We are delighted that you are able to be here with us today at a time when events around the world threaten more lives and force more people to flee. Almost eight years ago, you stated that ‘There has never been a more crucial time to stand with refugees and show solidarity.’

Sadly, that statement could well be repeated today. Just last month at the European Parliament we marked 10 years since the Lampedusa shipwreck that claimed more than 360 lives. That tragedy of 2013 was far from being an isolated catastrophe. The cemetery of the Mediterranean has claimed the lives of thousands more women, children and men since.

I am proud that this institution has led the debate on a European level to find a way forward that tackles this challenge of our generation, and I am hopeful that we will agree on a new Asylum and Migration Pact for Europe by the end of this legislature.

This Parliament’s commitment to these challenges remains unwavering: for all those who lost their lives, for all the exploited victims of traffickers, for all those families never to be reunited. We remember them.

And, Ms Blanchett, we are grateful to you for using your voice to draw greater attention to the plight of so many people across the world.

The floor is yours.

(Applause)

Cate Blanchett, UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador. – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, thank you for the opportunity of addressing the European Parliament at such a critical moment. It is a great, though somewhat daunting, privilege.

I am not Syrian, I am not Ukrainian, I am not Yemeni, I am not Afghani. I am not from South Sudan. I am not from Israel or Palestine. I am not a politician. I am not even a pundit. But I am a witness. And having witnessed the human cost of war, violence and persecution visiting refugees across the globe, I cannot look away. What sits at the core of my dual roles as actor and Goodwill Ambassador for UNHCR is the human condition, the human story.

Over the past few weeks, we have all, in horror, been watching the continuing violence in Israel and Gaza. The conflict has claimed – and is still claiming – thousands of innocent lives. Earlier this week, UNHCR's High Commissioner called – together with several other humanitarian organisations – for an immediate humanitarian ceasefire and the immediate release of all civilians held hostage.

(Applause)

Alas, while these events are understandably dominating the news, this is far from the only violence afflicting our world, and these are not the only innocent lives being lost.

War rages on in Ukraine. It rages in Sudan, where it has already forced millions of people to flee their homes since erupting earlier this year. Indeed, in recent times, the headlines have brought us news of violence in Ethiopia, or Afghanistan, in the Sahel, and many others. And in every single case, innocent people suffer and innocent people are forced to run for their lives.

Globally, forced displacement has now passed the grim milestone of 114 million people. Many of those caught up in these maelstroms have made unbelievably dangerous journeys in search of a place of safety. On arrival, too many of them have found themselves unwanted, rejected, despised, even scapegoated.

114 million people! It's a number so huge that it is difficult to grasp – but grasp it we must, as we acknowledge the figures and the facts. Because the fact is: of those 114 million, 62.5 million are displaced internally within their own countries. Of the 36.4 million who are forced to leave their countries, 69% remain in neighbouring countries – places that I have had the great privilege of visiting, such as Bangladesh, South Sudan, Jordan, Niger and Lebanon.

Why do people stay so close to these places? Because just as I, just as we, would if we were in their shoes, they want to return home – to their people, to their land, to their families. I urge each and every one of you here today to stand firm in challenging the dangerous myth, peddled far too widely and stoking far too much fear and hostility, that each and every refugee is headed here, to Europe.

It has been tempting for some in Europe to depict the challenge of refugees as a new one. 'The 1951 Refugee Convention', they say, 'is from another time. It was not designed to meet the challenge of so many people on the move, especially in a time of mass forced displacement or when new forms of large-scale displacement linked to climate change or natural disasters appear'.

The claim is that it places too many demands on our resources – on our schools, our hospitals, our job markets – or that new arrivals, with their different languages and cultures, will somehow undermine the values of those who host them. Apart from the monumental compassion deficit in this argument, it also demonstrates a dangerous disregard for history.

Madam President, for centuries, Europe, like much of the world, has been crisscrossed by people who have fled home in search of protection from war, pogroms, persecution. Over the centuries many were refused asylum or, if they were admitted, they were admitted under sufferance and regarded with suspicion.

But many were welcomed – not just sheltered, but actively encouraged to contribute to the social, cultural and economic life of the lands they now call home. Free to practise their religion; provided with livestock, tools and seeds; granted citizenship; and gradually, beneficially, absorbed into the societies who embraced them.

This mixed picture is recognisable in Europe today. In some cases, we immediately see that fleeing home, leaving everything behind and having to run for one's life is unavoidable, and we instinctively feel the need and obligation to help. In others – perhaps because we know little of the violence or human rights abuses that take place far from here – we are suspicious.

And so, vulnerable people are caught between a place from which they were forced to flee through no fault of their own and a place that refuses to let them in. Thus marooned, they drown, or freeze, or are trapped under rubble, or starve, or are enslaved, trafficked, enlisted, exploited: devastating outcomes that we would not tolerate for ourselves.

At the end of the Second World War, as humankind confronted the devastation wreaked by one of the worst conflicts of all time, the international community made its most determined effort to enshrine some fundamental principles and ideals as a response to forced displacement and the generational suffering that it causes – principles and ideals to help hold the world, with all its difference, together.

The right to seek asylum and the provision of asylum without discrimination were central to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which marks its 75th anniversary this year. This right underpins the 1951 Refugee Convention, which makes it an obligation for states to protect persons unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group.

The 1951 Convention is a landmark human rights instrument that is not only still relevant but foundational to our common humanity. Part of the modern legal framework for human rights that evolved after the war, it sought to formalise a minimum set of rights for persons fleeing persecution, including, crucially, the right not to be returned to the country of original persecution if unsafe to do so. Although it was initially developed in a mostly European context, the standards and principles outlined and defined in the Convention are universal, and it is one of the most widely ratified treaties globally. It is what helps keep the instruments and practice of government humane.

Adherence to the Convention has saved millions of lives. It also provides a set of shared principles for states to better manage asylum and to cooperate amongst themselves. This framework also, of course, provides a legal, fair and dignified means to assess who does not qualify for asylum. No one is arguing that everyone who comes can have a right to remain.

I wonder if those who now question the Convention, or who see walls and barbed-wire fences as a solution to the world's 36.4 million refugees, have ever met or talked to a refugee, or really forced themselves to confront the human cost of harmful policies, such as externalisation.

(Applause)

As an Australian, I can tell you that we learnt the hard way. The devastating physical and mental torment that refugees experienced whilst being corralled offshore. The psychological damage to those guarding them. The billions of dollars of taxpayers' money wasted on a now discredited and largely abandoned approach. And, may I say, the resultant shame and regret that many of my fellow Australians feel now surrounding these ineffective and inhumane policies.

Madam President, in my capacity as Goodwill Ambassador for UNHCR, I have had the enormous privilege of travelling to meet refugees in countries across the world. And there are so many humbling things I have witnessed and learnt from the people who have generously shared their stories with me. But here are just three.

First, the refugees that I have met are in a state of shock. Shock at what they have seen and experienced, shock at finding themselves uprooted, shock at losing everything and having to start again from scratch. But this is not just about the most vulnerable – the women threatened not only by bombs and bullets but by unimaginable, intolerable sexual abuse, and the children who have lost their futures as well as their homes. It is also about the young men who are so often demonised in the media but who are visibly traumatised by the physical trauma and humiliation that they have endured.

I recently met a young man – let's call him Ibrahim – in Niger. He was a refugee from Darfur, forced to flee the impossible choice of conscription by the militia or certain death. He found his way to Libya. There he was enslaved, kept in a cage, he was beaten and repeatedly raped. This gentle young man – the same age as my eldest son – alone and deeply traumatised. He had tried to take a boat to Europe, not once but seven times. He told me he took his chances because drowning at sea was a better option than his catastrophic experiences in Africa.

In the words of the poet Warshan Shire: 'No one leaves home unless home is the mouth of a shark. You have to understand that no one puts their children in a boat unless the water is safer than the land'.

(Applause)

I think also of a Syrian refugee woman I met in Lebanon – let's call her Miriam. A highly educated woman – she was an architect – and when she told me she was planning to take her three children on a boat to Europe, I was taken aback. Had she not heard about the tragic drownings that had happened only weeks before? 'Yes', she replied calmly, but she said, 'I have no choice. Here, my children cannot get the education they need. Here, I cannot make a living'. Now, if I was that mother, what would I do? What would you do?

If you can imagine – just for a moment – your own sons and daughters, your own children and grandchildren, in the same situation, then perhaps you can understand that walls, barbed wire, pushbacks are no answer. Desperate and vulnerable people like Ibrahim and Miriam will keep trying to escape that mouth of the shark.

Ten years ago, we were all appalled by the loss of hundreds of lives when an overcrowded boat sank near the island of Lampedusa. And in the decade since, many more have perished in the same way. And in 10 years' time, people will still be drowning on our shores – unless something changes.

Complex situations require complex solutions. They require dialogue, they require collaboration – not soundbites or slogans. Finding sustainable solutions in countries of origin, transit and destination is the only way. In this room there are people of vastly different backgrounds, different cultures, different politics, different views, but we all share a common humanity and we need to come together to put people, to put our humanity, back at the centre and the heart of asylum.

(Applause)

The second thing I have learned is that refugees have not fled home to take anyone's job or undermine anyone's culture. Even though they have fled terrible violence, they would much prefer to stay as close to home as possible. Think back to that fact: 69% of refugees stay in a country neighbouring their own.

I have witnessed remarkable generosity on the part of some of the neighbouring countries who have kept their borders open to refugees. When in Jordan this year, I visited Alaa, a Syrian refugee I had first met in 2016. She was benefiting from a DAFI scholarship, which enabled her to access tertiary education. Eight months pregnant then, she had journeyed an hour and half each way, each day – such was her determination to complete her studies and qualify. And seven years since we met, here she was, teaching in a primary school in Zaatari refugee camp, helping to keep hope alive for the next generation of refugee children, who may, one day, return home to Syria.

In Niger, I met women from host and refugee communities working together to grow crops and re-green the environment, to breed goats, to make soap. Together they were feeding their families, together they were building livelihoods, and building community and a peaceful coexistence. Their children were going to school together.

Not one of these people was contemplating stealing someone's livelihood, subverting anyone's values, imposing on anyone's hospitality or demanding charity. Ibrahim, Miriam, Alaa and the women I met in Niger wanted only opportunity, kindness, compassion and peace.

The third lesson I'd like to share has been a particularly tough one to take. I have seen the impact of humanitarian funding cuts on the ground – the terrible choices humanitarians have to make about who gets a blanket, or access to water, or whose food ration is cut when supplies run out.

I'd like here to echo UNHCR's High Commissioner's words. He is a lifelong humanitarian, who recently implored the international community not to forget the millions of desperate, vulnerable people who may not be in the headlines right now, but who must not be abandoned. He said: 'Humanitarians are being asked to pick up the pieces and to help more people in more places'. He said: 'They are being asked to do more with less. Humanitarian work needs resources. UNHCR alone urgently needs USD 600 million before the end of the year'. And being short of resources, the High Commissioner wondered for how much longer humanitarians can continue. 'Humanitarians are tough', he said, 'but humanitarians are near breaking point. And what will you be left with when they are forced to go?'

In South Sudan this July, I saw that devastating impact of insufficient funding as refugees and returnees poured out of Sudan: a lack of shelter, a lack of food or protection or support for vulnerable women, standing in mud, barely enough water. I ask you: how can people stay?

Madam President, I am not denying that this is complex. But this is the European Union, and addressing the challenges of forced displacement and mixed movements requires unity, international cooperation, resources, and patient, compassionate work to address the multiple and overlapping reasons that people move. So my plea to Parliament is also threefold.

First, please remember the forces that cause people like Ibrahim and Miriam to move, and ensure EU policy focuses on their protection and not on fortifying borders. While the numbers of people forced to flee are increasing, globally funding is decreasing. The EU can provide the model for enlightened leadership, investing, for example, in opportunities and solutions closest to the countries of departure before people embark on dangerous journeys. A clear message out of the most recent UN General Assembly is: if we do not include refugees in the Sustainable Development Goals, the SDGs themselves will fail.

Second, as the representatives of the people of Europe, please remind your constituents that low and middle-income countries host the vast majority – nearly 90% – of all forcibly displaced people. Take this message to them. Challenge false claims that will ultimately only seed divisions in our own communities. Scapegoating so often leads to violence and unrest.

And where coordinated responses to mixed movements into Europe are required, explain the importance of safe and legal pathways, and invest in more efficient systems to quickly, humanely and fairly determine who legitimately has a right to stay and who does not. Be robust in defence of the truth.

Third, continue to build on the EU's proud tradition of humanitarian support, whilst also ensuring development funding goes to host communities and countries and refugees. Agencies like UNHCR are often the last resort for desperate people. With the number of forcibly displaced people at an all-time high, flexible humanitarian funding has never been more urgent.

Invest in education and livelihoods to ensure families have opportunities where they are so they don't need to move. No one will benefit from a generation of alienated and excluded young people. No one.

Madam President, on behalf of UNHCR, may I thank the European Parliament for its progressive role in the European debate on asylum and protection. May I thank Parliament, the EU and those governments, organisations and individual citizens who have shown such compassionate leadership in the response to those forced to flee the war in Ukraine. This solidarity should not be limited to one group, but afforded to all.

May I thank the EU for its long-standing financial support for refugees and their hosts globally, and urge continued and increased support. The world is watching. May the spirit of hospitality and compassion and the championing of human rights that European modelled after 1945, and at the birth of the Refugee Convention, continue to provide an exemplar in the years to come.

(Applause)

2. Wznowienie sesji

President. – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on Thursday, 19 October 2023.

3. Otwarcie posiedzenia

(The sitting opened at 15.35)

4. Oświadczenie Przewodniczącej

President. – Dear colleagues, every year for the past 15 years, the European Parliament and the International Charlemagne Prize Foundation in Aachen have jointly awarded the European Charlemagne Youth Prize to youth-led projects supporting democracy and promoting cooperation in Europe.

This year, the first prize went to AILEM from Belgium – a language app tailored for refugees and developed in consultation with them.

Two projects took joint second place: the European Correspondent from the Netherlands and the Mobile Climate Museum from Lithuania. The European Correspondent brings together young European journalists in support of European journalism, while the Mobile Climate Museum encourages young people to adopt a more climate-friendly lifestyle.

It is a pleasure to have the representatives of these initiatives with us in this Chamber. Congratulations and welcome to the European Parliament.

(Applause)

5. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia

President. – The minutes and texts adopted of the sitting of 19 October are available. Are there any comments?

That does not seem to be the case, therefore the minutes are approved.

6. Skład Parlamentu

President. – Following the election of Bartosz Arłukowicz, Krzysztof Hetman and Zbigniew Kuźmiuk to the Polish Sejm, Parliament takes note of the vacancy of their seats from 19 October 2023, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

Following the election of Christophe Hansen to the Chamber of Deputies in Luxembourg, Parliament takes note of the vacancy of his seat from 24 October 2023, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

And following the election of Michal Šimečka to the Slovak National Council, Parliament takes note of the vacancy of his seat from 25 October 2023.

The competent authorities of Luxembourg have notified me of the election of Martine Kemp to the European Parliament replacing Christophe Hansen with effect from 24 October 2023.

The competent authorities of Slovakia have notified me of the election of Jozef Mihál to the European Parliament replacing Michal Šimečka with effect from 26 October 2023.

I wish to welcome our new colleagues and recall that they take their seats in Parliament and on its bodies in full enjoyment of their rights pending the verification of their credentials.

Welcome.

7. Weryfikacja mandatów

President. – On the proposal of the Committee on Legal Affairs, Parliament verifies the credentials of Anja Haga with effect from 5 September 2023, of Ana Collado Jiménez and Laura Ballarín Cereza with effect from 6 September 2023, and of Laurence Sailliet and Lydie Massard with effect from 24 September 2023.

8. Skład organów politycznych Parlamentu

President. – I have received the resignation of Monika Beňová from the office of Quaestor. Parliament takes note of the vacancy of the office from 18 October 2023.

Therefore, we will proceed, tomorrow at 11.00, with the election of a new Quaestor, to replace Ms Beňová. I remind you that the deadline for submitting nominations is today at 19.00. the nominations should be handed in to the Office of the Deputy Secretary-General on the seventh floor of the Spaak Building and include the candidate's acceptance.

9. Skład komisji i delegacji

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

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

President. – Several committees have decided to enter into interinstitutional negotiations pursuant to Rule 71(1). 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 9 November at midnight that the decisions be put to the vote. If no request for a vote in Parliament is made before the deadline, the committees may start the negotiations.

11. Porządek obrad

President. – We now come to the order of business. The final draft agenda as adopted by the Conference of Presidents on 19 October pursuant to Rule 157 has been distributed.

I would like to inform the House that I have received three requests for points of order. I will first give the floor to Susanna Ceccardi.

Susanna Ceccardi (ID). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la mia Toscana, la regione da cui provengo, in queste ultime settimane è stata flagellata dal maltempo. Ci sono stati otto morti!

La Toscana, che molti di voi conoscono, con le sue bellezze artistiche, con il suo grande popolo, adesso è in ginocchio; le famiglie hanno le case allagate, molte aziende hanno perso tutto, i danni ammontano a più di 300 milioni di euro.

È per questo che chiedo alla Commissione europea di attivare il Fondo di solidarietà, come molto spesso è stato attivato in passato in casi come questo. Aiutate la nostra Toscana a rialzarsi, la Toscana che, con le sue bellezze e con la sua arte, ha illuminato tutta Europa e il mondo.

Aiutate la Toscana a riavere la propria luce.

Beatrice Covassi (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, nella notte tra giovedì 2 e venerdì 3 novembre, come è stato ricordato, la Toscana è stata colpita da queste precipitazioni eccezionali che hanno provocato catastrofiche alluvioni, otto persone hanno perso la vita e migliaia sono state costrette a lasciare le proprie case.

I danni sono molto ingenti, come la collega ha ricordato, con stime altissime; io stessa venerdì mi sono recata a Prato, una delle province più colpite, per portare solidarietà e vicinanza alle comunità. Lo scenario era drammatico ma ho anche testimoniato l'orgoglio e la forza di una popolazione già impegnata a rialzarsi, con un encomiabile sforzo da parte delle amministrazioni locali, della Protezione civile e di migliaia di volontari già all'opera per liberare le strade dal fango. Voglio oggi condividere con voi l'appello che ho ricevuto da questi cittadini, a non essere lasciati soli dall'Europa nell'impegnativo compito che li aspetta.

L'Unione prevede degli strumenti e li attiveremo ma, colleghi, questa ennesima catastrofe naturale ci invita ancora una volta a ribadire la necessità di mettere in sicurezza i territori a rischio di dissesto idrogeologico e potenziare le azioni di contrasto e adattamento ai rischi legati al cambiamento climatico.

Concludo esprimendo la nostra vicinanza alle famiglie colpite e chiedo alla Presidenza di osservare un minuto di silenzio per ricordare le vittime.

Presidente. – Vogliamo esprimere la nostra piena solidarietà, l'Europa è al vostro fianco, non sarete mai soli.

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, the Italian Government has taken an unprecedented step with its agreement with Albania, according to which asylum seekers who are rescued in the Mediterranean Sea are brought to Albania, where they are detained during an Italian asylum procedure. This outsourcing agreement violates international law, but also primary and secondary EU law and it must be denounced, therefore, by the Commission and the Member States.

Instead of allowing Member States at the external borders to revert to illegal practices, we must secure solidarity within the EU and by equally sharing the responsibility. We propose, therefore, to hold the debate in the next plenary, as this cannot go unanswered.

Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, do you know that more than 4 000 of the 10 000 persons killed by Israel in Gaza are children? I call the European Parliament for a minute of silence. What is doing the European Parliament and the European Union to avoid the death of these civilians? Palestinian children sent yesterday a message: they want to live, they want peace, they want food, water, medicines and education – not bombs.

(The speaker spoke a non-official language)

Stop the war! Ceasefire!

President. – We will debate this very soon.

Next, with the agreement of the political groups, I wish to put to the House the following proposals for changes to the final draft agenda for today: a statement by the President on the urgent need for immediate measures against the rise of antisemitism is added as the first point in the afternoon; a Commission statement on EU enlargement policy 2023 is added after the debate on the conclusions of the European Council meeting of 26-27 October 2023; and the report by Mr Fernandes and Ms Hayer on the system of own resources of the European Union is moved to tomorrow, Thursday, as the second item in the morning. As a consequence, the sitting is extended to 22.00.

On Thursday, tomorrow, the debate on the Council and Commission statements on the European economic security strategy is postponed to the next part-session.

The reports by Mr García del Blanco on the request for the defence of the privileges and immunities of Stefano Maullu, and by Mr Vázquez Lázara on the requests for the waiver of the immunity of Patryk Jaki, Beata Kempa, Beata Mazurek and Tomasz Piotr Poręba are added to the votes.

The two reports by Ms Adamowicz on road vehicles and Mr Winkler on the EU-China Agreement are taken out of the votes.

If there are no objections these changes are approved and we will move to the changes requested by the political groups.

We have a list of requests on the same subject, also as just brought up by Ms Miranda, that will be taken together. We start first with The Left Group, which has requested that a statement by the Vice President / High Representative on 'the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza and the need for an immediate ceasefire' be added in a joint debate with the European Council and Commission statements on 'the Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 26-27 October 2023'. This debate would be wound up with a resolution which would then be voted on in November II. I give the floor to Manon Aubry to move the request before moving to the other requests.

Manon Aubry, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, le monde entier nous regarde et attend que l'Union européenne prenne une position forte, à la hauteur de la catastrophe humanitaire en cours à Gaza. Déjà dix mille Palestiniens sont morts sous les bombes israéliennes, dont quatre mille enfants. Nous devons tout faire pour arrêter ce massacre. Mais parler de pause humanitaire, au singulier comme au pluriel, ne veut absolument rien dire en pratique.

La guerre, chers collègues, n'est pas un jeu d'enfant, ni même une partie de chat perché où on dirait «pouce», l'espace de quelques heures, avant que les bombes ne pleuvent de nouveau sur les civils palestiniens. Le mot clé aujourd'hui, qui peut sauver des milliers de vies innocentes à Gaza, c'est le cessez-le-feu immédiat. C'est l'appel incessant des ONG, c'est l'appel incessant du Secrétaire général des Nations unies auquel a fait de nouveau écho Cate Blanchett.

Raison pour laquelle nous demandons ce débat avec une résolution sur la catastrophe humanitaire à Gaza et la nécessité d'un cessez-le-feu immédiat. Et permettez-moi, Madame la Présidente, d'insister pour qu'il y ait un vote. Je pense que notre Parlement doit pouvoir se positionner et que nous ayons un vote sur chacune des propositions qui a été faite par nos groupes politiques.

President. – Thank you very much. I am guided on this, because of the consultations with all the political groups, by Rule 183(4), which says that where compromise amendments are put to the vote, they shall be given priority in voting. So let's take a look at whether there is a compromise that emerges, and then we vote on that.

We next move to an alternative proposal by the Green Group. I give the floor to Mr Solé.

Jordi Solé, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, one month ago, the brutal Hamas attacks against innocent civilians, most of them Israeli citizens, unleashed a brutal war that has already claimed over 10 000 Palestinian deaths, 4 000 of them children, a huge humanitarian crisis, destruction of hospitals and other civilian infrastructures, and a vast amount of suffering that adds hatred where there was already too much of it.

International humanitarian law is at stake. The UN Secretary-General has been under attack for insisting on upholding this law and calling for a humanitarian ceasefire. Meanwhile, the bulk of hostages keep being retained by Hamas rockets being fired against Israel, and a long and terrible battle in Gaza City is to be expected.

This war needs to stop. It is time for a ceasefire. We need to work for peace, no matter how difficult, under such circumstances, it might be. This is why our group proposes a debate with the following title: 'The attacks against Israel, the dramatic situation in Gaza and the urgent need for a ceasefire'.

President. – Thank you very much, Mr Solé. I have now received a request from the S&D Group, and please tell me, Ms Gualmini, who will present it, whether it has evolved into a compromise proposal supported by a majority of the political groups.

Elisabetta Gualmini, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, the various proposals that have been made by the different political groups mirror the gravity of the situation in the Middle East and this Parliament's strong engagement to contribute to putting an end to violence and to the suffering of innocent civilians in the region.

And in light of our responsibility as the European Union's Parliament, it is of crucial importance that our House stands united in this commitment. So, in this spirit, I move a joint proposal on behalf of the EPP, S&D and Renew Groups to add a debate under the title 'The humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the need for a humanitarian pause' on the plenary agenda, which could take place this afternoon jointly with our debate on the outcome of the European Council meeting without a resolution. So I hope that a large majority of this Parliament of this House will support this compromise.

President. – So I will put this compromise proposal to the vote by roll call.

(Parliament approved the request)

Therefore we will have a statement as has been proposed by Ms Gualmini.

For Wednesday, the Green Group has requested that a Commission statement on 'addressing the lack of transparency of pesticide authorisation and the risks for the environment and people's health', followed by one round of political group speakers, be added as the last point in the afternoon.

I give the floor to Marie Toussaint to move the request on behalf of the Green Group.

Marie Toussaint, au nom du groupe Verts/ALE. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, il y a quelques mois éclatait un nouveau scandale: le «Pesticide Gate». Nous apprenions alors que plusieurs firmes de pesticides, notamment Syngenta et Bayer Monsanto, avaient sciemment caché aux autorités européennes les résultats d'études démontrant la toxicité de leurs produits sur les citoyennes et les citoyens, et en particulier sur les enfants.

La Commission européenne a alors dénoncé une violation des obligations légales. Mais depuis, rien. Ni commission d'enquête, que nous avions pourtant proposé de lancer au sein du Parlement européen, ni simple prise de position de notre instance, pourtant supposée défendre l'intérêt des Européennes et des Européens en garantissant en particulier le respect de nos lois.

Chers collègues à droite de cet hémicycle: votre refus de regarder le problème en face est indigne et irresponsable. En détournant le regard, vous encouragez l'impunité même que nous combattons. Je demande donc ici à ce que soit portée à l'ordre du jour une déclaration de la Commission et du Conseil sur l'absence de transparence des autorisations pour les pesticides et leurs risques pour l'environnement et la santé humaine. Ceci sans résolution pour ce soir, ce mercredi soir, avec un tour de parole par groupe politique. Et je demande, Madame la Présidente, à ce que cela puisse être effectué par un vote par appel nominal.

President. – Does anybody want to speak against this proposal? If not we go straight to voting on the request.

(Parliament rejected the request)

Therefore the agenda is unchanged.

For Thursday, the Greens Group has requested that Council and Commission statements on 'the proposal to renew glyphosate and the urgent need to phase out', followed by one round of political group speakers, be added as the first item in the morning, and therefore the sitting would start at 8.30. The statements would then be wound up with a resolution. I give the floor once again to Marie Toussaint to move the request.

Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, espérons que cette fois, cela reçoive l'agrément de notre hémicycle. C'est simple: le 16 novembre prochain, les États membres sont amenés à valider la proposition de la Commission européenne visant à renouveler la licence du glyphosate pour dix années supplémentaires. Nous le refusons. Nous disons stop au glyphosate parce que quand de si nombreuses études indépendantes dénoncent la toxicité de ce produit pour la santé humaine, eh bien réautoriser le glyphosate est criminel. Quand tant d'autres études dénoncent les ravages provoqués par cet herbicide sur la nature et la biodiversité, réautoriser le glyphosate est une trahison.

Il faut de toute urgence garantir la protection de notre santé et du vivant en tournant immédiatement et définitivement la page du glyphosate. C'est un enjeu majeur de santé publique. Nous n'avons qu'une vie. Défendons-la ensemble.

Alors, mes collègues, je vous propose que nous inscrivions à l'ordre du jour de demain matin, à 8 h 30, un débat avec résolution intitulé «Déclaration de la Commission et du Conseil sur le renouvellement du glyphosate et l'urgence d'une sortie». Ce débat serait organisé avec une prise de parole par groupe politique et je souhaite deux votes distincts: un sur la tenue du débat et l'autre sur l'adoption d'une résolution.

President. – I have received an alternative proposal from the Renew Group, which will be presented by Nils Torvalds.

Nils Torvalds, on behalf of the Renew Group. – Madam President, Renew can support the Greens' request for a debate and a resolution on the renewal of glyphosate if we change the title to 'Council and Commission statements on the proposal for a renewal of glyphosate' with a resolution to be voted in November II.

President. – I have also received an alternative proposal from The Left Group, and I give the floor to Anja Hazekamp to present it.

Anja Hazekamp, on behalf of The Left Group. – Madam President, the Commission's proposal to allow glyphosate for another 10 years is a disgrace and it is illegal. It is clearly not in accordance with our own safety criteria of our own laws. It is not in line with science.

Already in October 2017, this Parliament asked the Commission to ban glyphosate no later than 15 December 2022. Glyphosate is ruining our health and the health of animals. It is polluting our environment, soils and water sources. We don't need another resolution. We don't need a phase-out as proposed by the Greens. We need to ban glyphosate now.

Therefore, I would like to make a counter-proposal: I ask for a debate without a resolution, and I propose as a title of the debate 'the need for an immediate ban on glyphosate'. I would like to ask the Chair on two separate votes on the request made by the other groups: one request to add a debate and one request to add a resolution.

President. – So thank you, Ms Hazekamp, now I will turn to Ms Toussaint. Do you agree with any of the alternative proposals or do you stick to your own?

Marie Toussaint, au nom du groupe Verts/ALE. – Non, je souhaite mettre au vote notre proposition.

President. – OK, so we put the initial request of the Greens Group to a vote by roll call. We vote first on the debate. We'll have two separate votes. The vote is whether we have a debate or not, as proposed by Ms Toussaint.

(Parliament rejected the request)

Now we ask whether the other groups want to maintain their proposals. Mr Torvalds, do you want to maintain your proposal?

Nils Torvalds, on behalf of the Renew Group. – I would like to maintain the proposal.

President. – So we vote on the Renew Group's proposal. Title first.

(Parliament rejected the request)

We vote next on The Left Group's proposal. We will not retake the vote. I will talk slowly! We vote now on the alternative proposal from The Left Group as presented by Anja Hazekamp.

Yes, Mr Chahim, tell me.

Mohammed Chahim (S&D). – Madam President, sorry, it was really, really confusing.

President. – The result was clear.

We will vote now on Ms Hazekamp's proposal on the debate.

(Parliament rejected the proposal)

Therefore the agenda remains unchanged.

We have two final proposals for tomorrow, Thursday. The ECR Group has requested that Council and Commission statements on 'the killing of Tamaz Ginturi, a Georgian citizen, by Russia's occupying forces in Georgia' be added in the morning. The statements would be wound up with a resolution to be voted at the next part-session. I give the floor to Anna Fotyga to move the request on behalf of the ECR.

Anna Fotyga, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, on 6 November, yesterday, two Georgian citizens, Tamaz Ginturi and Levan Dotiashvili decided to go to the Lomisi church located close to the Tskhinvali occupation line. They wanted also to visit the nearby church cemetery. In the effect of this endeavour, Russian occupying forces killed one of them, Tamaz Ginturi, on Georgian territory, while the other man was taken hostage to an occupying detention place in the Tskhinvali area.

I would like to request a debate with resolution on this.

President. – Ms Fotyga, to be clear, you want it for this plenary, right?

Anna Fotyga, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, because of the large number of points added, we can agree to postpone it to the November session.

President. – OK we will plan it for November II.

The S&D Group has requested for Thursday that a Commission statement on ‘the continuing threat to the rule of law, the independence of justice and the non-fulfilment of conditionality for EU funding in Hungary’ be added as the second item in the morning. Ms Gualmini, will you present this?

Elisabetta Gualmini (S&D). – Madam President, dear colleagues, given the statements made yesterday by Commissioner Hahn in the BUDG and CONT committees, on behalf of the S&D Group I would like to withdraw our request for a debate on ‘the continuing threat to the rule of law, the independence of justice and the non-fulfilment of conditionality for EU funding in Hungary’, but, however, given the recent media reports, we would like to stress the need to remain vigilant and keep up the pressure on the European Commission not to release any funds for Hungary, and we will therefore ask for this debate again for the November II plenary session.

President. – OK, that’s clear Ms Gualmini, thank you very much.

Therefore the agenda is adopted and the order of business is established.

12. Pilna potrzeba podjęcia natychmiastowych działań przeciwko nasilaniu się antysemityzmu (oświadczenie Przewodniczącej)

President. – We will now move to a round of speakers of all political groups, as asked by the political groups, to discuss the sharp rise of antisemitism in Europe.

Dear colleagues, it pains us to see Stars of David spray-painted onto Jewish homes, or to witness assailants throwing Molotov cocktails at a synagogue and a Jewish Community Centre. It is worrying to see that Jewish graves are being desecrated and vandalised and that parents are asking their children to hide their religious beliefs for fear of retribution.

On the eve of the terrible anniversary of Pogromnacht, we know that antisemitism is a warning sign that matters to us all, and Jewish communities in Europe must feel safe.

I want to underline here that the European Parliament remains committed to combating antisemitism. Urgent and immediate measures are needed to fight hate and discrimination.

Daniel Caspary, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Jüdische Schüler, die Angst haben, sich in ihrer Heimatstadt frei zu bewegen. Eltern, die Angst haben, ihre Kinder mit dem öffentlichen Nahverkehr fahren zu lassen. Pöbelnde Demonstranten, die Gäste einer Kaffeehauskette bespucken, weil der langjährige CEO dieser Kette gläubiger Jude ist. Propalästinensische Demonstrationen, bei denen Plakate mit der Relativierung des Holocaust gezeigt werden. Sprechchöre, die die Vernichtung Israels fordern. Seit dem 7. Oktober in Frankreich rund 600 antisemitische Taten und mehr als 300 Festnahmen, in Deutschland über 200 antisemitische Vorfälle. Antisemitismus nimmt massiv zu – in Europa und weltweit.

Der fortdauernde menschenverachtende Terrorangriff der Hamas gegen die Menschen in Israel ist durch nichts zu rechtfertigen. Die mehr als 200 Geiseln sind sofort freizulassen. Der Raketenbeschuss von unschuldigen Zivilisten muss aufhören. Krankenhäuser und Schulen dürfen nicht als Raketenabschussrampen oder Kommandozentralen verwendet werden. Israel hat das Recht, sich zu verteidigen und seine Bevölkerung zu schützen. Und Israel weiß, dass es dabei internationales Recht einhalten muss. Aber wissen das auch die Hamas und andere Akteure in der Region?

Was gilt für uns Christdemokraten? Wir verlieren nicht das Ziel einer Zweistaatenlösung und einer funktionierenden Nachbarschaft der arabischen Welt mit Israel aus den Augen. Wir wollen sicherstellen, dass nicht mit europäischem Geld Terrororganisationen gefördert werden. Wir wollen, dass die europäische Strategie zur Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und zur Förderung jüdischen Lebens in allen Mitgliedstaaten konsequent umgesetzt wird. Wir wollen einen Dialog mit den Islamverbänden über die Gefahren des muslimischen Antisemitismus führen, und wir verlangen, dass deren finanzielle Förderung an ein Bekenntnis zum Existenzrecht Israels gebunden wird. Wir verlangen von den Mitgliedstaaten, dass vorhandene Strafbarkeitslücken bei antisemitischen Hassdemonstrationen endlich geschlossen werden. Wir erwarten, dass Antisemitismus im Internet konsequent bekämpft wird.

Das sind nur ein paar Beispiele für unsere ganz konkreten Forderungen. Klar ist: Die Menschenwürde und Religions- und Glaubensfreiheit sind unverhandelbar. Sie gelten für alle. Sie zu achten und zu schützen ist Aufgabe aller staatlichen Gewalt. Sie zu achten und zu schützen ist vor allem aber Aufgabe von uns allen.

Gabriele Bischoff, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Danke, dass Sie hier das Thema Antisemitismus auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt haben, hier nach den letzten Wochen.

Ich bin ein bisschen erschüttert darüber – ich sage das jetzt mal ganz deutlich –, dass wir hier in diesem Haus der Demokratie über Antisemitismus nach dem 7. Oktober sprechen und kaum jemand hier im Saal ist. Ich finde, es gibt viele Gelegenheiten, wo man andere Sachen hat, aber ich finde das wirklich erschütternd, weil wir ganz genau wissen, dass Antisemitismus ein Gift ist. Und wenn es in den Gesellschaften wütet und dem nicht genug entgegengesetzt wird, wissen wir auch, wozu Antisemitismus führt.

Ich komme aus einem Land, in dem der Antisemitismus am stärksten in alle Lebensbereiche eingedrungen ist. Und es ist, glaube ich, kein Zufall, dass wir auch so viele Sprecherinnen und Sprecher hier haben, die aus Deutschland kommen und mit großer Sorge diesen Anstieg an Antisemitismus überall in Europa sehen, aber auch neue Formen von Antisemitismus, die wir hier sehen und wo wir ratlos sind und dringend Antworten und insbesondere Taten brauchen. Denn in meinem Land war es bislang ganz klar, dass es wirklich eine Grundgewissheit gab, dass alle demokratischen Kräfte sich hinter der Nachricht versammeln: Nie wieder! Und ich kann Ihnen sagen, ich bin nach dem 7. Oktober aufgewacht, und ich wusste auf einmal, dass etwas sich komplett geändert hat. Und was sich geändert hat, war, dass ich spürte – ich glaube, wie viele Menschen –, dass diese Sicherheit des „Nie wieder!“ nicht mehr da ist und dass wir in Europa verdammt nochmal viel mehr machen müssen, um sicherzustellen, dass niemand hier in Europa, der hier lebt, Angst davor haben muss, zu zeigen, dass er oder sie Jude oder Jüdin ist, keine Symbole tragen kann und nicht in Frieden leben kann.

Ich möchte hier noch einmal mit einem Zitat enden, das Hannah Arendt mal gesagt hat, dass man vor Antisemitismus wohl nur auf dem Mond sicher ist. Nein, auch in Europa muss man vor Antisemitismus sicher sein.

Stéphane Séjourné, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Présidente de la Commission, Monsieur le Président du Conseil, chers collègues, plus jamais ça. C'est l'une des promesses que nous nous sommes faites ensemble à la sortie de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. C'est d'ailleurs l'une des raisons d'être de l'Europe unie. Plus jamais ça: des enfants, des femmes et des hommes assassinés parce que juifs. Plus jamais ça: des insultes, les agressions, le harcèlement, les tags, les saccages. Plus jamais ça: la peur d'être pris pour cible en raison de sa religion, de son origine. Et pourtant, malgré cette promesse, nos concitoyens européens ont peur à nouveau. Peur, parce que juifs. Peur, parce que les préjugés et la haine ont trouvé une excuse pour se libérer.

Ma conviction, mes chers collègues, c'est que ceux qui voient dans la lutte contre l'antisémitisme autre chose qu'une obligation morale et humaniste font partie du problème. Quel que soit l'état du monde et de nos autres combats légitimes, aucun être humain en Europe ne peut être menacé en raison de sa foi, de son origine, de son genre, de ses choix.

Combattre la haine sous toutes les formes est le premier devoir des élus européens, la première obligation des parlementaires européens. Notre histoire et ce Parlement nous y obligent. Dans ce moment si terrible, je sais que beaucoup de nos concitoyens se sentent seuls. Et je tiens, au nom de mon groupe politique Renew Europe et également au nom de ce Parlement, leur dire: non, ils ne sont pas seuls. L'Europe fera tout pour assurer votre sécurité. L'Europe fera tout pour punir les auteurs de ces crimes et de la haine. L'Europe fera tout pour éduquer, pour transmettre ces valeurs, contre les falsificateurs de l'histoire, contre les extrêmes, contre les partis qui fricotent encore, chers collègues, avec les antisémites et les négationnistes, contre ceux qui confondent la résistance et les résistants avec le terrorisme et les terroristes.

Nous serons là et je pense que ce Parlement européen sera toujours là. Ce Parlement fut présidé par Simone Veil: une femme, juive, française, européenne et rescapée de la Shoah. Ce Parlement a toujours été à vos côtés. L'Union européenne continuera sa mission historique de vaincre l'antisémitisme et les ferments de cette division. Cet inlassable combat pour nos valeurs et pour nos valeurs européennes, pour notre mission commune, c'est également une obligation individuelle.

IN THE CHAIR: MARC ANGEL

Vice-President

Terry Reintke, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Brandanschläge auf jüdische Einrichtungen, Angriffe auf Holocaustdenkmäler und der jüdische Teil des Wiener Zentralfriedhofs ausgebrannt, und dann tausendfach antisemitischer Hass in den sozialen Medien, auf der Straße, bei Demonstrationen, in Bussen, Bahnen, in Kneipen und Wohnzimmern. Nichts von alledem ist Ausdruck einer Meinung oder ein Kommentar zum Nahostkonflikt oder gar gerechtfertigt aufgrund von derzeitigen politischen Ereignissen.

Wir stehen in Europa gerade an einem historischen Punkt. Lassen wir es zu, dass unsere offenen, vielfältigen Gesellschaften von Hass zersetzt werden? Oder, Kolleginnen und Kollegen, stellen wir uns dem entgegen? Nach dem brutalen Menschheitsverbrechen der Shoah hat sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten langsam wieder mehr sichtbares jüdisches Leben in Europa entwickelt. Genau dieses jüdische Leben wird gerade vielfach angegriffen. Egal von wem, egal wo und egal wann. Antisemitismus ist aufs Schärfste zu verurteilen. Hunderttausende jüdische Menschen in Europa leben in Angst.

Ich habe selber letzte Woche mit jüdischen Freundinnen und Freunden in Berlin den Schabbat gefeiert, und viele von ihnen fragen sich: Habe ich eine Zukunft in Europa angesichts der gewalttätigen Ausschreitungen der letzten Wochen oder auch der beängstigend hohen Wahlergebnisse von faschistischen Parteien? Ich möchte deshalb, dass alle demokratischen Kräfte in diesem Parlament, auf der Straße, in allen Debatten gemeinsam laut und klar sagen: Ja, Jüdinnen und Juden haben eine Zukunft in Europa! Wir stehen an eurer Seite, wir werden jüdisches Leben in Europa schützen. Wir werden offene, pluralistische Gesellschaften verteidigen, in denen nicht Angst und Hass herrschen, sondern demokratische Grundrechte, Freiheit und Toleranz – und das nicht nur an Feiertagen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, sondern jeden Tag.

Morgen jähren sich die Novemberpogrome von 1938. In diesem Zusammenhang wird sehr häufig von „Nie wieder“ gesprochen. Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, dieses „Nie wieder“, das ist nicht irgendwann, dieses „Nie wieder“, das ist jetzt.

Bert-Jan Ruissen, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, beste collega's, golven antisemitisme spoelen momenteel over Europa en de rest van de wereld. Een hele bevolkingsgroep wordt weggezet. Dat we dat in Europa, met onze zogenaamde hoogstaande Europese waarden, zo ver hebben laten komen. Hier past maar één ding: grote collectieve schaamte.

Sinds 7 oktober is alleen al in Nederland het aantal antisemitische incidenten met 818 % toegenomen. Zelfs veel van onze universiteiten zijn niet meer in staat Joodse studenten een veilige omgeving te bieden. In Brussel droegen betogers een vlag met een hakenkruis. De politie stond erbij en keek ernaar. Laten we niet vergeten dat Jodenhaat hand in hand gaat met haat tegen de staat Israël. We moeten daarom beide aanpakken. Anders is onze strijd tegen antisemitisme per definitie een verloren strijd.

Waar het nu op aankomt, is leiderschap en daadkracht. Een zerotolerancebeleid tegen antisemitisme, maar dan ook echt. Ik begrijp werkelijk niet dat sommige landen nog steeds demonstraties toelaten met zeer kwalijke leuzen waarmee feitelijk wordt opgeroepen Joden uit hun eigen land te verdrijven. Dit mag de politie niet tolereren.

Verder zullen opsporing en vervolging van hen die zich schuldig maken aan antisemitisme een topprioriteit moeten krijgen. En laat de EU ook eindelijk organisaties in Europa verbieden die openlijk sympathiseren met Hamas. Ik stelde schriftelijke vragen om organisatie Samidoun op de lijst van terroristische organisaties te zetten. Ook hier is meer daadkracht nodig. Ik vraag ook de aandacht voor een recente studie van UN Watch, waaruit blijkt dat diverse leraren in dienst van UNRWA de gruwelijke acties van Hamas openlijk hebben gesteund. Ik vraag u, voorzitter van de Commissie, om dat in uw review van de steun ook daadwerkelijk mee te nemen.

Als de Europese Unie een geloofwaardige gemeenschap wil zijn, moet ze nu handelen.

Anna Bonfrisco, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la storia si ripete purtroppo: ancora l'odio contro gli ebrei, ancora l'odio contro lo Stato ebraico di Israele e la volontà di eliminarlo dalla faccia della terra.

Questa è la verità messa in luce dall'uso militare e terroristico del sottosuolo di Gaza da parte di Hamas che, pur di uccidere l'ebreo, sono disposti a sacrificare la vita di tanti civili palestinesi occupando gli ospedali. Perché Hamas ha un solo culto, il culto dell'odio verso l'ebreo, e infatti continuano incessanti i bombardamenti contro Israele.

E tra i tanti attacchi che in Europa si stanno concretizzando numerosi, attacchi antisemiti registrati in tutti i paesi europei, anche l'oltraggio alle pietre d'inciampo di Roma, dove vive la più antica comunità ebrea del mondo. Quelle pietre d'inciampo ricordano gli italiani ebrei rastrellati, rapiti dalle loro case e deportati nei campi di concentramento. Rapiti dalle loro case, come abbiamo visto fare il 7 ottobre in Israele, e tutto ciò è inaccettabile.

Questo Parlamento, su nostra proposta, della Lega, ha definito l'antisemitismo una minaccia alle nostre democrazie e impegna l'Unione europea a un futuro libero dall'antisemitismo in tutto il mondo.

Oggi abbiamo ospitato il ministro degli Esteri israeliano, Élie Cohen; noi dobbiamo restare uniti per garantire anche a lui, a tutti gli ebrei, che si concretizzino le parole di Simone Veil, «a patto di non dimenticare».

Siamo qua per restare uniti al fianco della libertà e della pace, contro l'odio e la violenza, per la libertà religiosa di tutti.

Manon Aubry, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il est essentiel que nous ayons aujourd'hui ce moment collectif pour rappeler notre engagement le plus résolu contre l'antisémitisme. L'Europe a une histoire et une responsabilité particulière en la matière, car c'est sur notre continent que l'antisémitisme a mené au pire, avec la Shoah. C'est dans nos pays que les Juifs ont été ciblés, pourchassés et assassinés par millions. Et je voudrais aujourd'hui qu'on ne l'oublie pas. L'antisémitisme est le ciment aux fondations de l'extrême droite européenne qui accueille toujours, en ses rangs, des négationnistes. Je refuse qu'on laisse croire qu'elle protège aujourd'hui les Juifs. C'est une insulte au passé et un mensonge au présent.

Alors oui, nous participerons ici, au Parlement européen, et à l'extérieur à toutes les initiatives contre l'antisémitisme si elles n'incluent pas ceux qui l'ont théorisé, alimenté et diffusé: l'extrême droite. L'antisémitisme est un mal profond qui s'inscrit dans une histoire millénaire. C'est un poison qui infecte toujours nos sociétés et contre lequel nous devons lutter sans relâche et ne jamais baisser la garde. Plus de mille actes antisémites recensés en France en à peine un mois, deux mille en Allemagne, une tendance similaire partout en Europe.

La critique légitime et nécessaire de la politique du gouvernement d'extrême droite israélien ne doit jamais être confondue avec l'essentialisation des personnes de confession ou de culture juive. Comme la condamnation des atrocités commises par le Hamas ne doit jamais être confondue avec l'essentialisation des personnes de confession ou de culture musulmane. L'antisémitisme, le racisme, la haine de l'autre n'ont pas leur place dans nos démocraties. Toute intimidation, toute insulte, toute violence contre une personne en raison de sa religion est inacceptable. Rien ne peut les justifier. Jamais.

Je voudrais adresser ici, au nom de mon groupe de la gauche au Parlement européen, ma solidarité et mon soutien à toutes les victimes d'actes antisémites. Je souhaite aussi exprimer un engagement clair envers l'ensemble des personnes de confession et de culture juive qui, je le sais pour beaucoup, sont inquiètes aujourd'hui. Je veux leur dire, je veux vous dire que vous serez toujours sous la protection de l'Union européenne et je veux vous dire que je serai, que nous serons toujours à vos côtés.

Le Président. – Le débat est clos.

13. Konkluzje z posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej w dniach 26–27 października 2023 r. - Kryzys humanitarny w Strefie Gazy i potrzeba wprowadzenia przerwy humanitarnej (debata łączna – Oświadczenia Rady Europejskiej oraz kryzys humanitarny w Strefie Gazy i potrzeba wprowadzenia przerwy humanitarnej)

President. – The next item is the joint debate on the European Council and Commission statements on:

— Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 26-27 October 2023 (2023/2888(RSP)), and

— Humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the need for a humanitarian pause (2023/2958(RSP)).

Charles Michel, *President of the European Council*. – Mr President, Madam President of the Commission, dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, nothing. Nothing can justify the terror and cruelty that Hamas unleashed against the people of Israel on 7 October. Over 1 400 innocent men, women and children slaughtered and over 240 people taken hostage.

Hamas's brutality does not stop there. In Gaza, they are using innocent civilians, their own people, as human shields. One thing is absolutely certain: we can never let such a terrorist attack happen again.

Countering Hamas will take more than military might. It will require a strong coalition of regional and global actors banding together with one common cause: to fight terrorism. Hamas must not have any future in governing Gaza.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, we support Israel's right to defend itself, and it must be done in line with international humanitarian law. The EU stands unequivocally for the protection of civilian life. Each civilian life matters – always and everywhere.

A total siege is not in line with international law. We call for humanitarian pauses in corridors in Gaza because humanitarian aid must get to those in need urgently. The more the situation deteriorates, the harder it will be to work towards a lasting peace in the future. With each passing hour, more lives are broken, more families torn apart. We must work and we are working to help alleviate the suffering. And I especially commend France, Greece, Cyprus and some others for their concrete actions like a maritime hospital and a maritime corridor. At the meeting in Paris tomorrow, we will discuss and decide more support.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, we must not lose sight of the bigger geopolitical picture. The EU can help the Middle East while also continuing its strong support for Ukraine for as long as it takes. Both regions need our continuous involvement, and that's why I propose that the EU purchase grains from Ukraine and ship them to those in need in the Middle East. This is a strong gesture of solidarity and efficiency.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, Israelis and Palestinians both have the right to a peaceful and stable tomorrow. So we must have a vision for what comes next; a vision for what tomorrow could look like. I am absolutely convinced with all of you that we must win back the prospect of lasting peace in the region. Let's be honest, for years, huge amounts and efforts have been pumped into security, but not nearly enough has been invested in peace and even less into justice and reconciliation. This approach did not work.

Peace. Peace means security. But security does not always mean peace. One without the other only feeds more instability for both Israelis and Palestinians alike. The EU, we have a responsibility to help these nations move forward and to put into action a plan: a plan for security, a plan for prosperity in the region. And this plan must be based on the two-state solution: a safe and secure Israel and an independent Palestinian state. The Palestinians have the right to a stable political future with a government that has the interests of its people at heart and a vision for a sustainable economic future.

The Palestinian Authority will be key to any future political settlement. And we, the EU, are the main donor to the Palestinian Authority, and we must continue our Western support, because supporting a credible and legitimate Palestinian Authority is an investment in peace and security in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a role to play in building peace in the region through our diplomacy, through our convening power, our common foreign policy instruments, and our role as a trusted global partner. The EU was born from the ashes of war, a peace project based on reconciliation. And in these dark days of violence and conflicts, it's never too early to talk about peace, to be obsessed by peace.

High Representative Borrell launched the 'peace day effort' initiative in September in the margins of the UN General Assembly, together with Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the League of Arab States, and with some 50 countries from around the world. This initiative must be expanded getting our Member States and other partners like the US involved.

We will work with all those who believe in peace and want to work together to fight the poison of extremism, and our efforts will be linked with the normalisation efforts already underway. Because the EU is by nature a global actor, we will take the lead with others in organising, as soon as possible, a peace and normalisation conference inspired by previous peace initiatives and the Abraham Accords. Lasting peace in the region will require peace between Israelis and Palestinians and between Israel and all its neighbours.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, at this European Council meeting we also discussed the consequences of this conflict for our societies within the European Union. We are seeing a spike in antisemitism. We condemn this in the strongest possible terms because they go against everything we stand for in Europe. Discrimination and intolerance have no place in our family of nations, and we will always stand against racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia and all forms of discrimination. This is why we have tasked our ministers to coordinate and take all appropriate action and measures in this respect.

Mesdames et Messieurs, chers collègues, ce Conseil européen a aussi été l'occasion de se concentrer sur notre soutien résolu à l'Ukraine. Et d'un mot, le message principal, c'est: soutien, soutien résolu, soutien sans faille et soutien aussi longtemps que nécessaire. L'Ukraine est au cœur de nos priorités, c'est d'ailleurs le message clair que nous avons adressé au président Zelensky, qui nous a rejoints de manière virtuelle lors de notre réunion. L'Ukraine réalise des progrès significatifs sur la voie de l'adhésion à l'Union européenne. Le peuple ukrainien doit être certain qu'il dispose d'un avenir sûr et qui doit être prospère, garanti, au sein de l'Union européenne.

La Commission européenne vient de soumettre un rapport sur l'élargissement et il appartiendra au Conseil européen en décembre de décider quelles seront les prochaines étapes, aussi bien pour l'Ukraine que pour les autres candidats à l'adhésion. Une chose est claire: nous souhaitons continuer à soutenir l'Ukraine. Nous avons déjà fourni près de 83 milliards d'euros d'aide à l'Ukraine. Nous continuerons à soutenir l'Ukraine sur le plan financier, sur le plan militaire, aussi bien sur le plan européen que sur le plan bilatéral.

Mesdames et Messieurs, cette réunion a aussi été l'occasion de discuter la révision de notre budget européen. Il est certain, nous le mesurons tous, que lorsque nous avons adopté ce budget, en 2020, le monde était très différent. Ces débats étaient nécessaires, ces débats sont utiles. L'Ukraine, vous l'avez compris, est une priorité absolue pour ce budget et nous aurons encore dans les prochains jours de plus amples discussions sur les autres éléments de priorités: la migration, la sécurité et la défense ou encore, par exemple, les questions de solidarité en cas de catastrophes naturelles.

Nous voulons toutes et tous que notre Union soit forte, prospère et capable d'atteindre nos objectifs communs dans des temps tellement troublés, dans des temps tellement complexes. La présidence espagnole sera chargée de faire avancer les travaux sur la base des orientations du Conseil européen, et le moment venu, le Conseil européen aura à délibérer sur ce sujet.

Mesdames et Messieurs, l'économie, la compétitivité, renforcer nos bases technologiques a aussi été l'objet de nos travaux avec Paschal Donohoe et Christine Lagarde qui nous ont rejoints pour le sommet de la zone euro. Nous sommes tous déterminés à travailler sérieusement pour renforcer la base économique à court terme, à moyen terme, à long terme de l'Union européenne. Nous savons, par exemple, qu'il s'agit de remédier aux défis liés aux pénuries de main-d'œuvre. Il s'agit de mettre en place des réglementations qui permettent à nos économies de se développer et d'être davantage compétitives sur la scène globale. Nous devons aussi garantir notre sécurité énergétique. Nous avons progressé, c'est vrai, depuis cette invasion de la Russie contre l'Ukraine, mais nous devons être modestes et nous devons reconnaître

que nous sommes toujours confrontés aujourd'hui à des prix de l'énergie qui sont jusqu'à quatre fois plus élevés que ceux de nos concurrents. Cela pose évidemment un défi très grand pour nos entreprises.

Troisième point: les travailleurs, l'emploi, le marché du travail. Le taux de chômage n'a jamais été aussi bas, mais trop de jeunes encore n'ont pas accès au marché du travail. On doit remédier et garantir qu'il y ait davantage de possibilités d'accès à des emplois de qualité. De la même manière, on doit créer les conditions pour une plus grande participation des femmes au marché du travail.

Enfin, il y a un quatrième point que nous avons mentionné, c'est l'investissement. Si nous voulons suivre le rythme, nous devons augmenter nos investissements dans les technologies stratégiques, dans les technologies d'avenir, mobiliser davantage le secteur privé pour atteindre nos objectifs. Vous le voyez, nous sommes confrontés à des défis pressants. Nous devons les relever avec sang-froid et avec détermination. Nous sommes prêts à travailler avec vous pour atteindre ces objectifs.

Ursula von der Leyen, *President of the Commission*. – Madam President, Vice-President Marc Angel, President Charles Michel, honourable Members, the pain of innocent civilians in the Middle East shakes the conscience of the world. The situation on the ground is evolving fast. So let me focus on the work we have done since the October European Council to fulfil this mandate. The essential starting point continues to be what happened on 7 October. There is no justification for the horror that Hamas unleashed against innocent men, women, children, babies. Israel has the right to defend itself, in line with international law and international humanitarian law. Supporting Israel is essential, but so is aiding and protecting civilians in Gaza. The death toll and the suffering of Palestinian civilians is tragic. There are images we cannot unsee. This shakes us to the core – all of us. So, while Israel has the right to fight Hamas, it is also essential that it strives to avoid civilian casualties and to be as targeted as possible. Because every human life matters, be it Israeli or Palestinian.

Let me update you on our humanitarian work. Two weeks ago, we had already tripled our aid to Gaza. This week, I have announced that we are further increasing humanitarian aid by another EUR 25 million, bringing thus the total support to EUR 100 million. And we are working hard for this aid to reach Palestinians. Convoys are now entering Gaza through the Rafah border crossing, but the volume remains too small to match the massive humanitarian needs. This is why we are working on a maritime corridor from Cyprus. It would guarantee a sustained, regulated and robust flow of aid. I very much welcome the excellent cooperation with President Nikos Christodoulides and his government. This can make the difference between life and death for thousands of Palestinians. And we will continue to help evacuate EU citizens and injured Palestinians.

Honourable Members, as we deal with the urgency of today, we must also make the effort to think about tomorrow. How to break the current spiral of violence. And how hope can be restored for Israelis and Palestinians. They need a political perspective. And the perspective is the two-state solution. Of course, in the end, Israelis and Palestinians will have to agree on a way forward. But we, as part of the international effort, we must contribute, and of course in close cooperation with our friends and our partners. I believe five principles for 'the day after' could help build some common ground. First, Gaza can be no safe haven for terrorists, and different ideas are being discussed on how this can be ensured. Second, the terrorist organisation Hamas cannot control or govern Gaza. There should be only one Palestinian Authority and one Palestinian State. Third, no long-term Israeli security presence in Gaza, because Gaza is an essential part of any future Palestinian State, and the territory of Gaza cannot be reduced or amputated in any way. Fourth, no forced displacement of Palestinians from Gaza. This would be a humanitarian tragedy and also a recipe for more regional instability. And finally, no sustained blockade of Gaza. Any future Palestinian State must be viable, also from an economic point of view. And Europe stands ready to work with all people and countries in this region to make this happen. I know that all of this may look overly ambitious as the war rages on, but I think we must spare no effort to keep the hope alive, to find a lasting solution based on two states living side by side in peace and security. It is again time for an international effort towards peace in the Middle East, and we Europeans must play our role.

Honourable Members, the European Council also focused on Ukraine. I was in Kyiv a few days ago. In recent weeks, I had also the chance to visit all the Western Balkan countries as well as Moldova. And however different these countries are, they all share one feeling. They feel they belong to the European Union. There is a new level of vision and ambition in aspiring EU members. They are ready to work even harder to join our Union. And here in the Union too, there is a new sense of urgency to unite our European family. Today, it is clear that the stability of every country in our continent affects, of course, also our own stability. Their security is our security. And if our Union isn't fast enough in bringing candidate countries closer, others will fill the vacuum. But it is in our geopolitical interest to complete our Union, to make it stronger than ever. And it is not only about geopolitics, it is, of course, also about economics. The completion

of our Union will make the new Member States' economies grow. It will make EU companies grow. It will also make our single market grow, making Europe an even more attractive and stronger partner on the global stage. Prosperity is not only shared by enlargement, it is multiplied. Enlargement is in our common interest. So we must seize this moment of opportunity to advance as much as possible towards the completion of our Union. Today we presented the enlargement report and let me briefly summarise some results.

First, on Ukraine, we are recommending to the Council to open accession negotiations. The progress that Ukraine has made, as it fights an existential war, is remarkable and impressive – with very clear achievements on all seven steps we have identified. Well over 90% of those steps have been completed. The remaining reforms are on their way. So, by March 2024, we will report back to the Council on these ongoing reforms in order to have everything ready to finalise the negotiating framework. Very clear: the future of Ukraine is in our European Union and this future has just begun.

We also see Moldova with its bold efforts to come closer to us. And this has to be seen against the backdrop of a war in neighbouring Ukraine and of massive Russian interference. Therefore, the report highlights the significant reforms Moldova has undertaken. We also recommend to open accession negotiations with Moldova, and here too some remaining measures are to be finished and the Commission will report to Council on this by March. And on this basis the Council could then finalise the negotiating framework.

For Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Commission recognises a number of positive political and legal steps. For example, the swift entry into office of a new Council of Ministers in January of 2023. You can see that this has brought positive results. There is progress in the fight against organised crime, in the fight against money laundering and terrorism, for example. But we also note with concern the various unconstitutional laws adopted by the representatives of the Republika Srpska entity. Against this backdrop, the Commission recommends to the Council the opening of accession negotiations once the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria is achieved. And hereto, the Commission will report to the Council on Progress by March 2024.

Finally, Georgia. We see the European aspiration of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. While these aspirations need to be better mirrored by the authorities, and while further progress is needed on the 12 priorities identified last year, the Commission also acknowledges a number of positive steps and we should encourage Georgia to move on. So, the Commission recommends here to grant candidate status to Georgia on the understanding that the government takes important reforms.

Honourable Members, today's package is not only a snapshot of the situation on the ground. It can and it must be a driver of change. Since the very beginning of the mandate, I have deeply believed that we needed to reboot the enlargement process, in particular with the Western Balkans. So, roadblocks and vetoes were hampering the progress towards the European Union. Instead, we should look at every country, how it is able to advance on the association path based on its own merits. Every new achievement should lead them closer to us. And with our new Growth Plan, that we also presented today, we are setting out, very clearly, 'more for more'. You open your borders in your common regional market, we open our single market in seven very important sectors. You do the reforms for a level playing field for your companies to access the single market, we come with investment to help you to implement these reforms.

So, honourable Members, it is every country's responsibility to turn the page and make the strategic choice for Europe. And, of course, in parallel, we, the European Union, also need to lay the necessary internal groundwork on reforms. In other words, let's get to work. Long live Europe.

Siegfried Mureşan, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, President von der Leyen, President Michel, welcome back to the European Parliament.

Firstly, let me say very clearly, we welcome the European Council's unequivocal condemnation of terrorism. The brutal and indiscriminate terrorist attacks by Hamas against the innocent people of Israel deserve our full attention and our strongest condemnation. More than this, our focus also lies with the innocent people – innocent victims that are enduring immense suffering. For example, the hostages held by Hamas. And let me say very clearly, these have to be released immediately. And under no circumstances should innocent civilians be used as human shields or as trading materials by a terrorist organisation.

More than this, we as the European Union have a role to contribute to stabilising the situation in the region in our neighbourhood and we of course have also a role to support civilians, to protect civilians. This is why we, as a European Parliament, have expressed support for the continuation of humanitarian aid, for the assessment of the needs, for increasing the humanitarian aid where it is needed, because it is also in our European interest that six million Palestinian people in the wider region, in Jordan, in Lebanon are being helped and can be taken care of as close as possible to their homes in the region.

But, President von der Leyen, let us work together to make sure that these amounts of money really reach the people in need and in no way are used for acts of extremism or acts of violence.

We will have to do more for protecting people, for protecting citizens also here in Europe, for security. We will have to do more. We will have to do it quicker, faster, and we will have to do it for a longer period of time. And this is why we also need the means – the financial tools, the resources – to keep people in Europe safe and to support our immediate neighbourhood. The European Commission has rightly identified priorities to revise our multiannual budget of the European Union.

In 2020 – President Michel, you were absolutely right when you said it – we decided the Multiannual Financial Framework, many things happened since. We financed many things which we did not anticipate. Now we need to revise our financial framework. We as a Parliament have a position. We know it's not easy, but if 705 Members could agree, I believe that 27 Member States can agree as well to continue providing support for Ukraine, for migration, strengthening our borders and making our economy stronger and competitive. We, the European Parliament, stay ready to work with you on this.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, minutos antes de comenzar esta sesión plenaria hemos tenido conocimiento de la muerte de Iván Illaramendi, un compatriota español asesinado por Hamás el pasado 7 de octubre. Quiero trasladar aquí todo nuestro afecto y reconocimiento a su familia y decirles que pueden estar seguros de que trabajaremos sin descanso hasta que se haga justicia.

Asistimos en Oriente Medio a una catástrofe humana sin paliativos. Nuestro apoyo a Israel por los salvajes ataques terroristas de Hamás que acabaron con la vida de más de 1 400 israelíes y nuestra solidaridad con todas sus familias no obligan a cerrar los ojos ante el injustificable castigo colectivo impuesto por el Gobierno de Israel a los más de dos millones de palestinos que viven en Gaza.

¿Cómo ser impasibles ante los palestinos que no reciben agua, electricidad, alimentos o medicinas? ¿Cómo ser indiferentes ante los escasos camiones de ayuda humanitaria que han entrado en Gaza desde Egipto? ¿Cómo ignorar que los hospitales no pueden utilizar los aparatos indispensables para mantener con vida a enfermos y a bebés recién nacidos?

Señorías, bombardear hospitales, atacar campos de refugiados, destruir escuelas y obligar a la población a beber de pozos de agua salada no es legítima defensa. Las Naciones Unidas lo han dicho: son crímenes de guerra. Y la guerra tiene sus reglas. Pero el Gobierno de Netanyahu actúa como si Hamás fuera todo el pueblo palestino y mantiene un asedio que no distingue entre culpables e inocentes.

Israel por supuesto que tiene derecho a defenderse contra Hamás. Pero el señor Netanyahu no tiene derecho a deshumanizar a un pueblo. Los gazatíes tienen los mismos derechos y libertades que el resto de ciudadanos del mundo y sus vidas deben de ser protegidas, porque toda democracia debe respetar los valores que la fundan, los mismos valores que trazan la frontera entre la barbarie y la civilización.

Y ante el desastre humano en Gaza, la Unión Europea no puede limitarse a mostrar preocupación por lo que está ocurriendo mientras el Gobierno de Israel desafía incluso a las Naciones Unidas y a su secretario general, António Guterres.

La Unión Europea tiene la obligación moral de actuar sin retraso para poner fin a las muertes de inocentes en Gaza, liberar a los rehenes israelíes secuestrados por Hamás, permitir el paso de la ayuda humanitaria e impedir una escalada incontrolada en la región y liderar una conferencia internacional de paz que dé una solución justa a un conflicto que ya no puede durar más.

La paz y la convivencia siempre se construyen con negociación y diálogo, nunca con violencia y venganza. El Gobierno de Israel debe volver a la solución de los dos Estados y negociar con los palestinos que sí han renunciado a la violencia. Porque Hamás no es Palestina ni representa a todos los palestinos.

La Unión Europea se juega en Oriente Medio su credibilidad como potencia exportadora de paz. La historia se escribe con valentía, liderazgo y solidaridad. La oportunidad para la paz es ahora y nuestra Unión tiene que dar un paso al frente.

Señorías, si la Unión Europea no es capaz de pedir con una sola voz el fin de la violencia y la reanudación del proceso de paz ¿significa que se resigna a la espiral de fanatismo que conduce a la catástrofe?

No nos resignemos ante el fanatismo, demos nuestro compromiso con los mejores valores, hagamos que prevalezca nuestro ideal de justicia internacional y pidamos con una sola voz el fin de la violencia y el derecho de Israel y Palestina a existir en la misma tierra.

Hilde Vautmans, *namens de Renew-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, mevrouw Von der Leyen, meneer Michel, collega's, de beelden van het conflict in Israël en Palestina zijn ondraaglijk. Jonge Joodse kindjes vermoord door Hamas. Palestijnse kindjes die verweesd rondlopen na het zoveelste bombardement. Er dreigt een ware humanitaire catastrofe met honderdduizenden die geen toegang hebben tot water, tot voedsel, tot zorg en tot veiligheid. Deze gruwel moet nu stoppen. Genoeg is genoeg.

Drie weken geleden hebben we hier een sterke resolutie aangenomen, bijna unaniem. En vandaag? Vandaag moeten we die boodschap kracht bijzetten, die boodschap versterken. De humanitaire pauze moet er nu en onmiddellijk komen. De gijzelaars moeten nu en onmiddellijk vrijgelaten worden. We moeten blijven geloven in en blijven werken aan een duurzame oplossing van het conflict, dat al veel te lang duurt. En daarom moeten we teruggaan naar het akkoord tussen Rabin en Arafat en werken – zoals u zei, mevrouw Von der Leyen – aan de tweestatenoplossing, hoe onmogelijk het vandaag misschien ook lijkt. En dat betekent natuurlijk de terroristische organisatie Hamas stoppen en tegelijkertijd ook de nederzettingen terugdringen. De vicieuze cirkel van haat en geweld moet doorbroken worden.

Collega's, het is ons hier in Europa gelukt. Onze Europese Unie is gebouwd op de ruïnes van verdeeldheid, haat en geweld. Het moet ons nu, samen met de internationale gemeenschap, lukken om datzelfde te doen in het Midden-Oosten. Dat kan alleen als we sterk en verenigd zijn, als we eendrachtig zijn, als we ons als één geopolitiek Europa opstellen.

This is our “now or never moment”. Europe has to play its role. It is our moral duty. Never again.

Terry Reintke, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, dear colleagues, yesterday, one month ago, atrocious acts of terror were committed in Israel. With a brutal killing of civilians, young people, children – many of them raped, tortured, mutilated – Hamas has shown its true face: a human-hating terror organisation that only wants death and darkness, that has nothing to offer but the hatred for Israel and ultimately wants only that – the destruction of Israel.

Make no mistake, Hamas are brutal oppressors – most of all to the Palestinians themselves. They do not represent a struggle for freedom or the legitimate claim of Palestinians to their own state. Yes, Israel has the right to protect its citizens and to defend itself. And yes, Israel must do so in compliance with international law and international humanitarian law.

Now, four weeks later, a brutal war is ongoing, and we see the humanitarian situation in Gaza badly deteriorating: civilians are dying, children are dying, people are in need of everything – food, water, medical supplies. The EU must do everything in its power to provide help to these civilians. The Israeli Government has a responsibility to avoid civilian deaths whenever possible.

We must see restraint and precision in the Israeli Government's response to terror, both to reach the hostages and to avoid the high numbers of civilian casualties we are seeing right now. Palestinian civilians must not be collectively punished for the crimes of Hamas. We must fight for humanitarian corridors, the immediate and unconditional release of hostages and the investigation of war crimes, and for the escalation of violence to be stopped. And for that, yes, we have to work for a ceasefire, for humanitarian aid to be increased and then to reach the people in Gaza.

This conflict, colleagues, calls on all of us to rise to the occasion as Europe, as actors of peace. Let us continue to fight for peace, for humanity, for a lasting two-state solution, where Israelis and Palestinians both can live in peace and freedom and in security. Colleagues, let us not give in to hopelessness.

Nicola Procaccini, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'ultimo Consiglio europeo si è svolto all'indomani dell'attacco di Hamas contro la popolazione di Israele. Una violenza feroce, vigliacca, disumana. Da quel giorno il mondo è entrato in una nuova spirale di paura e disordine. E per alcuni è una buona notizia.

Per la Cina, per i regimi islamici, per Putin che confida nella distrazione delle nazioni democratiche, per la sua guerra insensata contro il popolo ucraino.

Per essere politicamente forte, l'Unione europea deve essere economicamente forte, oltre che indipendente sul piano energetico. Per questo è un errore gravare la sua produzione economica di troppi pesi ideologici. Piuttosto bisognerebbe alleggerirla di tutte quelle imposizioni dirigiste tipiche di quel socialismo dipinto di verde.

A tal proposito, ho apprezzato il passaggio sulla mitigazione delle conseguenze del riscaldamento climatico. È sulla messa in sicurezza dei territori di fronte agli eventi meteorologici estremi che dobbiamo concentrare i nostri sforzi, invece di occuparci unicamente delle nostre emissioni di CO₂, ormai residuali rispetto al resto del pianeta.

Infine, non credo che sia un caso che soltanto oggi, che nel Consiglio europeo c'è una maggioranza di governi di centrodestra, si stia affrontando con buon senso il tema dell'immigrazione. Un anno fa sarebbe stato impensabile leggere tra le conclusioni del Consiglio la necessità di proteggere le frontiere esterne, di combattere i trafficanti, di stipulare accordi di cooperazione con gli Stati terzi, come nel caso della Tunisia.

Purtroppo, c'è una parte della politica che continua a boicottare ogni possibilità di contrastare l'immigrazione illegale. Sono quelli che qui dentro si spellano le mani per un'attrice di Hollywood che viene a darci lezioni di umanità prima di tornare ad Highwell House, la sua villa vittoriana da 5 milioni di euro nell'East Sussex, sono quelli troppo snob per sporcarsi le mani con la realtà. Per fortuna la democrazia non è un film e sta venendo a fare giustizia della vostra ipocrisia.

Jaak Madison, *fraktsiooni ID nimel*. – Austatud president, härra Michel, head kolleegid, head külalised rõdu peal! Esiteks, me ei saa üle ega ümber loomulikult sellest, et Iisrael kaitseb õigust oma suveräänsusele, oma inimeste elule, ja selge agressor on siin Hamas, keda toetab kahjuks väga palju Palestiina araablasi. Seega neil on igasugune õigus oma riiki kaitsta ja võidelda vaenlase vastu.

Kuid loomulikult, Hamasi tegevusest ja Palestiina tegevusest võidab ka Venemaa. Ja kui teil olid ülemkogu istungid, siis mind täitsa huvitaks, kas te arutasite ka seda, et kuidas edenevad Euroopa Liidu ja Venemaa kultuurilised suhted. Nimelt, möödunud aastal, möödunud sügisel Euroopa Liit tühistas plaani korraldada Euroopa filmifestival Venemaal, kuna samal ajal Venemaa ründas Ukrainat. Kuid käesoleval aastal, ka praegusel ajahetkel, 1.–15. novembrini toimub taas Euroopa filmifestival, küll veebi vahendusel, aga ikkagi Venemaal, kus needsamad Venemaa kodanikud, kellest suurem enamus toetab Vladimir Putinit ja Venemaa agressioonisõda Ukraina vastu, saavad nautida toredaid Euroopa filme venekeelsete subtiitritega, mis on väga armas. Ja Euroopa Liidu suursaadik Moskvas väitis, et kultuur ühendab vene ja Euroopa inimesi. Kuid see kultuur ühendab kohe niivõrd palju, et samal ajal Venemaa raketid saavad hävitada Ukraina muuseume ja kinosid ja teatreid, ja samal ajal vene kodanikud saavad rõõmsalt kodus istuda ja vaadata Euroopa paremaid filme.

Seega küsimus ka proua von der Leyenile: kas Euroopa Liit vajab sellist suursaadikut Venemaal, kes taastab suhteid, nagu mitte midagi poleks toimunudki, kuigi käib sõda, inimesed surevad, osa territooriume on okupeeritud ja venelased jätkuvalt ähvardavad oma naaberriike. Kas see on see Euroopa Liidu solidaarsus Ukrainaga, millest me oleme rääkinud siin juba ligi kaks aastat?

Manon Aubry, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il faut nommer les choses. Ce qui se passe à Gaza est un massacre délibéré et organisé. Dix mille Palestiniens ont déjà été assassinés par les bombardements indiscriminés d'Israël et, je ne sais pas si on s'en rend bien compte, des enfants sont amputés à vif, sans anesthésie. Cent soixante enfants meurent chaque jour, un toutes les dix minutes. Gaza est devenu un cimetière sans sépulture où les femmes marquent le nom de leurs enfants sur la peau de leurs enfants pour qu'on puisse les identifier s'ils se faisaient tuer par les bombardements d'Israël.

Benjamin Netanyahu ne compte pas mettre un terme à ce carnage. Il compte l'amplifier. Un de ses ministres a même proposé d'utiliser une bombe nucléaire pour rayer Gaza de la carte. Ce n'est pas de l'autodéfense, chers collègues, c'est de la vengeance.

Pendant ce temps, la colonisation illégale s'intensifie encore et toujours plus en Cisjordanie, poussant, chassant les Palestiniens de leurs terres. Tout cela ne fait qu'ajouter à la spirale de violence et ne garantira en rien le droit à la sécurité des Israéliens. Il faut arrêter cette folie.

Et quand je vois la réponse de l'Union européenne, Madame von der Leyen, je dois dire que j'ai honte. Honte que vous ayez ignoré l'alerte de l'Organisation des Nations unies sur les crimes de guerre israéliens et le risque de nettoyage ethnique et de crimes de génocide. Honte que vous ayez refusé d'appeler à l'arrêt immédiat des combats. Honte que vous vous aligniez honteusement sur les États-Unis et passiez à côté de votre responsabilité historique en faveur de la paix. Honte, simplement honte, avec gravité, que vous vous rendiez complice de ces atrocités.

On ne peut répondre aux horreurs commises par le Hamas par le massacre d'un peuple. Il faut appeler à un cessez-le-feu immédiat. Tout doit être fait pour obtenir la libération des otages, la levée du blocus, la fin de la colonisation et la relance de la solution à deux États. Le moment que nous vivons est crucial. Personne ne pourra dire qu'il ne savait pas. Les jours de 2,5 millions de personnes prises au piège sont comptés. L'histoire nous regarde et elle ne nous pardonnera pas de les abandonner.

Balázs Hidvéghi (NI). – Elnök Úr! Európa bajban van, de Brüsszel képtelen épkezláb megoldásokkal szolgálni. Nézzék meg, mi zajlik itt körülöttünk, a nyugat-európai utcákon. Iszlamista terroristák ártatlan embereket gyilkolnak meg. Tömegtüntetések szerveződnek, ahol egy terrorszervezetet éltetnek, és a második világháború óta nem látott nyílt antiszemita uszítás folyik.

Az illegális migráció és a terrorizmus közötti összefüggés a napnál is világosabb. Ehhez képest még mindig sokan azt az abszurd állítást ismételtetik itt, hogy a bevándorlás jó dolog, és szükségünk van rá.

Azt is ki kell mondani, bár itt sokan kritika nélkül támogatják a háború folytatását, hogy Brüsszel Ukrajna-stratégiája megbukott. Ma, több mint másfél évvel a háború kezdete után egy tapodtat sem vagyunk közelebb a harcok befejezéséhez, miközben százezrek lelik halálukat a harctéren.

De vehetjük az uniós költségvetés körüli káoszt, vagy a konzervatív kormányok elleni hazug ideológiai támadásokat és a pénzek jogtalan visszatartását is.

Az Európát gyengítő politika helyett olyan új vezetésre van szükség, ami az európaiak érdekét helyezi az első helyre, az előtérbe. Brüsszelben eljött az idő a változásra.

Dolors Montserrat (PPE). – Señor presidente, ya que hoy estamos en el debate general de las conclusiones del Consejo y ya que Europa siempre ha defendido el Estado de Derecho, la separación de poderes y la igualdad de los ciudadanos, déjenme que les pregunte si son conscientes de lo que está ocurriendo en España.

¿Saben ustedes que el actual presidente del Gobierno español prepara una amnistía masiva pactada con condenados por la justicia y prófugos a cambio de sus votos para seguir gobernando? ¿Saben ustedes que esta amnistía borraría los delitos de corrupción cometidos durante diez años e incluso pretende incluir a procesados por terrorismo? ¿Son conscientes de que este lunes pasado hasta el propio Consejo General del Poder Judicial ha aprobado una resolución institucional en la que se indica que esta amnistía es la abolición del Estado de Derecho?

Miren, no se crean el falso relato de Sánchez de que esta amnistía es por la convivencia y la concordia; es por conveniencia y por poder. Europa debe reaccionar ante la vulneración de estos principios. Europa no puede ni debe permitir este atropello. Europa no puede mirar hacia otro lado ante la demolición del Estado de Derecho. Y que sepan que, como demócrata y como europeísta, no me voy a callar y lo voy a seguir denunciando las veces que haga falta.

(La oradora se niega a que Diana Riba i Giner le formule una pregunta con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»).

Tonino Picula (S&D). – Mr President, President Michel, Commissioner, colleagues, I reiterate our strong condemnation of the Hamas terrorist attacks on 7 October and repeat the call we made as the European Parliament for the immediate, unconditional and safe release of Israeli hostages held in Gaza.

Nothing can justify the deliberate torture, killing, injuring, kidnapping of civilians. Terrorists and their supporters must be stopped.

However, the European Union must act now against the massive attacks that destroy civilian housing and infrastructure in Gaza, which come at tremendous cost to human life. International humanitarian law is based on the distinction between civilian and military objects. Understandable right of self-defence and international law cannot cover such indiscriminate attacks.

UN sources tell us that attacks on targets within Gaza have destroyed or damaged 45% of all housing units, internally displaced about 1.5 million and killed over 10 000 people, including over 90 UN staff. 67% of all fatalities are reportedly children or women.

The call for a humanitarian pause adopted in the recent European Parliament resolution must be followed by concrete measures. We also support the pressing call of UN Secretary-General António Guterres for a humanitarian ceasefire, which is more urgent than ever.

The EU's credibility is at stake here. We also need, as Europeans, to help pave the way of lasting peace and a two-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians.

President. – Please, dear colleagues, if I may, President Michel has to leave urgently for Paris, but he would like to give us some concluding remarks.

D'abord on prend M^{me} Valérie Hayer, et après on prendra M. le Président.

Valérie Hayer (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, l'Europe se doit de définir sa voie sur le conflit entre Israël et le Hamas. Mais porter une Europe géopolitique nécessite aussi une Europe qui se donne les moyens, qui accompagne les nécessaires prises de position. Et ce sommet, c'était aussi une discussion sur ses moyens.

Or, tous ici, nous dressons les mêmes constats. Nous faisons face à des flux migratoires que nous peinons à gérer, faute de moyens. Nous sommes ultra-dépendants d'autres puissances pour nos produits stratégiques. L'Ukraine, sans notre soutien, s'écroulerait. Et si elle s'écroulait, demain la Russie serait aux frontières de la Pologne, de la Hongrie, de la Slovaquie, de la Roumanie. C'est cela la réalité des défis de l'Europe d'aujourd'hui.

Je remercie la Commission européenne d'avoir proposé un nouveau budget qui s'adresse en grande partie à ces défis, quand bien même le Fonds de souveraineté promis n'a toujours pas vu le jour, Monsieur le Commissaire, avec grand regret évidemment, de notre côté. Alors, quelle déception d'entendre certains chefs d'État remettre en question l'idée même que nous devons nous refinancer pour faire face à ces enjeux, et d'autres allant même jusqu'à faire du chantage.

Pourtant, les Européens se demandent où est l'Europe, et quand elle répond «présente», comme en trouvant enfin une voie de passage sur la gestion de l'immigration, voilà que certains chefs d'État et de gouvernement, les mêmes qui nous demandent une meilleure gestion des flux migratoires, refusent de mettre les moyens nécessaires pour assurer les retours de ceux qui n'ont pas vocation à rester, les moyens pour s'assurer de l'intégration de ceux qui ont droit de séjour.

C'est à se demander si l'on ne marche pas sur la tête. Qu'est-ce qui justifie un tel décalage entre les ambitions et les actes? Tout cela ne se fera pas sans argent. Le pacte asile et migration doit être financé. Qu'advient-il si la situation au Proche-Orient se transforme en une nouvelle crise migratoire? Chers collègues, quel État dans le monde déciderait de couper dans ses soins de santé ou dans la mobilité de ses étudiants pour assurer sa sécurité dans son voisinage? Aucun. Aucun. Alors pourquoi cela devrait être le cas pour l'Union européenne?

J'en appelle donc à la responsabilité des chefs d'État et de gouvernement. Discutons des chiffres, des montants, mais sortons, Monsieur le Président, de cette éternelle tentation de déshabiller Pierre pour habiller Paul. Ayons une vision pour l'Europe, une vision qui ne soit pas juste comptable, une vision qui soit à la hauteur des enjeux d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

Charles Michel, *président du Conseil européen*. – Monsieur le Président, merci de me donner l'occasion de réagir à ce stade du débat ce soir. Je vais, en effet, rejoindre une réunion qui est une conférence humanitaire sur la situation à Gaza, et cette réunion se déroulera demain à Paris.

Quelques éléments d'abord pour vous remercier des messages qui ont été donnés, pour vous indiquer la détermination du Conseil européen à assumer sa responsabilité en lien avec les traités. Nous sommes confrontés effectivement à une escalade dramatique. Beaucoup l'ont dit avec des mots très justes. Nous voyons, depuis le 7 octobre, des images poignantes, des images douloureuses. D'abord, avec cette attaque terroriste menée par le Hamas contre le peuple d'Israël, avec ces personnes dont les vies sont brisées, ces familles qui sont démantelées, ces otages qui sont capturés, puis, depuis cette attaque également, à Gaza, des civils, des femmes, des enfants qui sont meurtris. Parce que cette guerre qui a été déclenchée par cette action terroriste entraîne une fois encore sur cette terre, dans cette région, du malheur et de la désespérance.

Et beaucoup l'ont dit, et je rejoins ce qui a été dit par beaucoup de parlementaires, l'Union européenne, je le crois, a une responsabilité particulière parce que notre histoire, notre fondation est ancrée dans le désastre d'un siècle passé marqué par le sang qui a coulé sur le continent européen, la brutalité, l'indignité. Et de cette indignité, de cette brutalité de ces deux guerres qui ont souillé le continent européen a germé cette capacité visionnaire à se réconcilier d'abord pour bâtir ensemble un espace de paix, de sécurité et de prospérité. Paix, sécurité et prospérité. Et je veux le répéter ici à cette tribune de façon très solennelle, on mesure bien qu'être mobilisé pour la sécurité, c'est important, mais cela ne suffit pas. On doit vouloir plus que cela, on doit vouloir la paix. Et la paix, ça requiert effectivement des efforts politiques majeurs.

Et donc, c'est la raison pour laquelle le Conseil européen, à trois reprises, dans des déclarations très solennelles, a affirmé le droit pour Israël de se défendre, a condamné fermement le Hamas et son attaque ignoble. Mais dans le même temps, le Conseil européen n'accepte pas les doubles standards. Il ne peut pas y avoir de doubles standards, il y a des valeurs universelles. Et effectivement, protéger la vie des civils doit être une exigence partout et en tout temps, et non pas en fonction des circonstances ou des intérêts à court terme.

Si nous voulons effectivement maintenir cette autorité morale, cette responsabilité, cette confiance des autres pays dans le monde envers l'Union européenne, nous devons être constants. Et soyons lucides, gardons les yeux ouverts. Nous voyons bien que d'autres utilisent massivement l'attaque et la suspicion, nous accusant de mettre en place des doubles standards.

C'est la raison pour laquelle vous avez raison de nous exhorter, nous les États membres, nous le Conseil qui avons des responsabilités en vertu des traités sur ces sujets-là, vous avez raison de nous exhorter à être très engagés, notamment pour l'assistance humanitaire. Nous serons nombreux pour mobiliser des actions concrètes demain à Paris lors de cette conférence.

Il y a quelques jours, j'étais en conversation avec Benjamin Netanyahu pour plaider, pour argumenter, pour encourager la mise en place de pauses humanitaires et de corridors humanitaires. J'étais en contact avec l'ensemble des leaders du monde arabe, comme l'ensemble des pays européens sont engagés également sur ce sujet-là. On doit effectivement produire des résultats le plus vite possible, car ce sont tellement de vies civiles qui sont en grave danger si on n'a pas la capacité de changer le cours des choses.

Puis, vous l'avez compris, il y a l'action politique, la paix. Ce n'est pas parce qu'on sent bien qu'il y a aujourd'hui des résistances très grandes de la part des principaux concernés que l'on doit renoncer. Nous devons être obsédés par la paix, obsédés par la solution à deux États. Travailler pour garantir ce droit légitime à la sécurité pour Israël, ainsi que ce droit pour les Palestiniens à disposer d'un avenir plus optimiste, fondé sur cette solution à deux États.

Vous le voyez, nous sommes extrêmement déterminés, extrêmement engagés. Nous allons continuer à travailler avec toutes les forces de bonne volonté pour tenter de faire en sorte que l'Union européenne soit à la hauteur de sa responsabilité. Nous sommes effectivement, cela a été dit, un bâtisseur de paix. Cela doit être dans l'ADN de l'Union européenne. On ne doit jamais renoncer. On doit être extrêmement engagé.

Un mot rapidement, puisque des questions ont été posées, sur le budget européen. J'ai bien entendu les messages. On connaît chaque fois la difficulté d'un exercice budgétaire sur le plan européen – comme sur le plan national, du reste –, mais soyez certains, en tout cas, du sens des responsabilités des 27 chefs d'État ou de gouvernement, qui ont sérieusement discuté et débattu de ce sujet il y a quelques jours pendant le Conseil européen. Nous allons continuer très méticuleusement, très sérieusement, à identifier à la fois les priorités à définir pour cette deuxième partie de ce cycle institutionnel et la façon dont nous allons les financer. Et puis nous poursuivrons évidemment le travail institutionnel avec le Parlement. Je me réjouis d'ores et déjà, comme ce fut le cas pour le budget initial, de cette coopération institutionnelle pour nous assurer des moyens en lien avec nos ambitions, en lien avec nos objectifs.

Merci de m'avoir permis de réagir à vos quelques propos et soyez convaincus de notre ambition de continuer à coopérer avec vous.

PŘEDSEDNICTVÍ: DITA CHARANZOVÁ

místopředsedkyně

Jordi Solé (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, one month and one day ago, Hamas committed the most terrible of atrocities. Slaughtering innocent people isn't fighting for freedom; it's simply being criminal. Israel had the right to respond, but this response had to be proportionate, targeted and within the limits of international law. We do care about international humanitarian law, and everyone must uphold it.

But one month into the war, we see thousands of Palestinian civilians killed, many of them children; a catastrophic humanitarian situation unfolding. We see forced displacement, unprecedented destruction, horror and suffering everywhere. More hatred is building up, and so the vicious circle goes on. We need a ceasefire, the unconditional release of hostages, and much more humanitarian aid flowing into Gaza.

This conflict did not begin on 7 October, and this conflict does not have a military solution. When this bloodshed is over, it's time to seriously think again about how to build a lasting peace. We have all allowed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to linger on for too long.

Beata Szydło (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani przewodnicząca von der Leyen, kończąc swoje wystąpienie, powiedziała, że musimy zmierzyć się z koniecznymi reformami UE. Warto zastanowić się nad tym, w którym kierunku te reformy mają zmierzać.

Ponieważ mówienie o tym, że rozszerzenie Unii Europejskiej – które jest konieczne i wszyscy wspieramy Ukrainę i pozostałe państwa, żeby wreszcie mogły dołączyć do naszej europejskiej rodziny – nie może być pretekstem do tego, żeby ograniczać suwerenność państw członkowskich, żeby odbierać państwu członkowski kompetencje, żeby codzienne sprawy Europejczyków, które dzisiaj rozstrzygane są w państwach członkowskich, przechodziły w ręce europejskich biurokratów. Na to na pewno nigdy się nie zgodzimy. Warto by było, żeby również może podczas listopadowej sesji plenarnej, kiedy będziemy głosować nad proponowanymi zmianami, taka debata się odbyła, bo Europejczycy mają prawo wiedzieć, jakie to mają być zmiany i jak głęboko ich dotkną.

I druga kwestia, o której warto mówić otwarcie: pan przewodniczący Charles Michel wspomniał tutaj krótko, że w konkluzjach Rady jest zaledwie krótki akapit na temat dyskusji – jak napisano „pogłębionej” – na temat sytuacji finansowej i rewizji wieloletnich ram finansowych. Wiemy, że nie było zgody i nie ma zgody. A więc o co chodzi? Powiedźcie państwo wreszcie, jaka jest sytuacja budżetu, jaka jest sytuacja finansów UE. Europejczycy mają prawo to wiedzieć.

Anders Vistisen (ID). – Fru formand! Fucking dø, din fucking jødetamp! Vi rammer jer i aften. Det var ordene, der mødte en dansk ung jødinge, da hun returnerede til sit hjem. Hagekors var ridset i vinduerne. Hendes hoveddør var forsøgt brudt op. Konflikten mellem Israel og terrororganisationen Hamas har også ramt Europa. Vi ser i Danmark alene en stigning på antisemitiske overfald på 2300 procent siden terrorangrebet den 7. oktober. Det er en direkte konsekvens af den muslimske masseindvandring og det verdenssyn, der er blevet bragt med til Europa. Vi ser overalt på kontinentet demonstrationer, hvor man råber Hamas' slogan; »Palestine, from river to the sea«. Man kalder på jihad i Københavns gader. Man råber død over jøderne. Mange vil jo ikke se den virkelighed i øjnene. Derfor har mange også travlt med at bortforklare det som et lille segment af de muslimer, der bor i Europa. Men vi må bare sige, at når fremtrædende personligheder som fodboldspilleren Nadia Nadim, popsangeren Islam B, og rådmanden i Århus, Rabih Azad-Ahmad, alle sammen bortforklarer og spreder fake news om konflikten og i øvrigt benægter, at Hamas er en terrororganisation, så er det ikke et isoleret problem. Antisemitismen har desværre ikke stået stærkere i Europa siden Anden Verdenskrig, og masseindvandringen har skylden.

(Taleren accepterede at besvare et blåt kort-spørgsmål)

Nikolaj Villumsen (The Left), Blåt-kort-spørgsmål. – Det er fuldstændig afgørende, at vi bekæmper alle former for antisemitisme, hvor end vi ser den. Derfor vil jeg bare spørge ordføreren: »Hvad gør I i din politiske gruppe for at reagere på de sager, vi har set for få dage siden?« Eksempelvis i Tyskland, hvor AFD gør sig ansvarlig for antisemitiske handlinger og hyldede af Nazi-Tyskland.

Anders Vistisen (ID), Blåt-kort-svar. – Spørgeren kender jo udmærket Dansk Folkepartis holdning til antisemitisme. Vi har altid stået 100% med Israel, og vi bekæmper den, hvor end vi ser den. Også når Enhedslisten igennem offentlige støttekroner har givet direkte støtte til en af de organisationer, der stod bag terrorangrebet. Det har man jo selv indrømmet i den danske debat. Man sagde, at det var en fejl, at man havde brugt danske skattekrone på en islamisk terrororganisation. Men en simpel googlesøgning foretaget af Jyllands-Posten viste jo de her mennesker trænende til terrorangreb. Det, synes jeg, er beskæmmende. Det syntes jeg, Enhedslisten skulle tage ansvar for både her i Europa-Parlamentet og i Danmark.

Manu Pineda (The Left). – Señora presidenta, la pesadilla de Gaza es más que una crisis humanitaria. Es una crisis de la humanidad. Gaza se ha convertido en un cementerio de niños. Los ataques del 7 de octubre no vienen de la nada. Vienen tras décadas de ocupación asfixiante. Estas no son palabras mías. Son palabras del secretario general de las Naciones Unidas, el señor António Guterres. Y la respuesta del régimen de Israel ha sido pedir la dimisión del señor Guterres.

La señora Von der Leyen, que no ha tenido ni siquiera la decencia de quedarse aquí a esperar nuestra respuesta después de su propaganda a favor del régimen de Israel, no tiene que temer la petición de dimisión por parte de Israel. No tiene la dignidad del señor Guterres. Yo sí vengo a pedir formalmente la dimisión de la señora Von der Leyen porque está hablando en nombre de la Unión Europea, sin el aval de nadie y dándole un apoyo incondicional a un régimen terrorista que está bombardeando hospitales, iglesias, mezquitas, ambulancias, que está asesinando a niños y a mujeres, que bombardeó ayer un convoy de la Cruz Roja que llevaba medicinas al hospital Al-Shifa, que bombardeó hace cuatro días un convoy que se llevaba a niños para que fueran tratados en Egipto. Le pido formalmente la dimisión a la señora Von der Leyen... *(la presidenta retira la palabra al orador).*

(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»).

Charlie Weimers (ECR), *blue-card question*. – Mr Pineda, you have fraternised with the leader of Hamas, Ismail Haniyeh, in the past. My question to you today is whether you condemn the terror attack by Hamas on 7 October – yes or no?

Manu Pineda (The Left), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»*. – Vamos a ver, yo me he reunido con mucha gente. Yo me reuní con el primer ministro Haniya cuando era primer ministro de Gaza, donde yo vivía, en una reunión protocolaria.

Me he reunido con mucha gente, y no me da vergüenza esa reunión. Me podrían dar vergüenza otras reuniones que también he tenido aquí mismo, en el Parlamento Europeo.

Yo condeno los crímenes de todos los civiles. Cuando se mata a un civil es un crimen. ¿Usted condena los asesinatos de niños palestinos por parte de Israel? Yo condeno a quien haya matado a un civil israelí, sea niño, mujer o anciano. ¿Usted condena los asesinatos por parte de Israel de niños palestinos?

Mario Furore (NI). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa che vedete è l'agenda dell'ultimo Consiglio europeo, ma su nessuno di questi punti i leader europei hanno trovato un accordo e hanno rinviato le decisioni al prossimo consiglio di dicembre.

Questo che cosa vuol dire? Che sul patto asilo e migrazione c'è il veto dell'Ungheria di Orbán e dei sovranisti; sulla riforma del patto di stabilità c'è un muro da parte dei falchi dell'austerità; e sulla politica estera c'è troppa timidezza, perché non si dice con coraggio «no alla guerra, sì a soluzioni diplomatiche», in Ucraina e in Medio Oriente. Su tutti questi fronti l'Europa balbetta, perché invece ringhiano le sovranità nazionali.

I cittadini invece si aspettano da noi molto di più, si aspettano un'Europa più forte, più unita e più coraggiosa; un'Europa che promuova gli investimenti e che sostenga i cittadini più bisognosi.

I cittadini vogliono un'Europa della pace, perché senza pace non c'è benessere, senza pace non c'è futuro e in questo, come Europa, siamo in colpevole ritardo.

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtaráin*, Commissioner Šefčovič, I condemn the reprehensible acts committed by Hamas against innocent civilians. Their actions are without justification and their bloodlust has only brought devastation to their own community, whom they say they represent.

Israel does have the right to defend itself, but this is not a blank cheque. The mass bombing of civilians is not the answer. The welfare of our citizen, 8-year-old Emily Hand, is still unknown after she was taken hostage by Hamas. I call for her immediate release.

In addition, there are around 40 Irish citizens still trapped in Gaza. Humanitarian corridors need to be opened immediately to allow people to flee the constant threat of bombing and allow the wounded and sick to receive treatment. I do not really care about the linguistic semantics – what I want is for the killing and violence to stop.

The two-state solution is not just a matter for justice for Palestinians, but also an imperative for Israel's own security and future. Every responsible politician must work to bring this about. This is how we got peace in Northern Ireland. This is the model for peace in the Middle East.

Gabriele Bischoff (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kollegen! Auch wir als S&D-Fraktion haben uns die Schlussfolgerungen genau angesehen und analysiert, welche Hinweise wir darin dafür finden, wie der Rat weiter zu den wichtigen Verhandlungen zum Migrationspaket steht. Und wenn man sich die zwei knappen Sätze – nicht sehr aussagekräftig – anguckt, dann weiß man, wie wichtig es ist, dass wir uns stärker austauschen.

Ich hätte gerne mit Herrn Michel darüber gesprochen. Wie bereit ist der Rat für gute Kompromisse? Es ist eines der wichtigsten Dossiers, gerade wenn es darum geht, dass wir der Unsicherheit etwas entgegensetzen, die in unseren Gesellschaften herrscht. Ich fand es gut, Frau Blanchett hat uns noch einmal auf unser Erbe hingewiesen, was Menschenrechte und Humanität angeht. Und es ist tatsächlich ganz wichtig, dass wir eine doppelte Solidarität herstellen mit den Menschen, die flüchten, aber auch Solidarität mit den Mitgliedstaaten, wo die meisten Geflüchteten ankommen.

Ich finde es umso beschämender, dass ich mir in diesem Haus dann von Abgeordneten anhören muss, dass sie Migranten mit Terroristen gleichsetzen und versuchen, hier dieses Geschäft der Populisten zu betreiben. In diesem Haus wird es wichtig sein, dass alle demokratischen politischen Kräfte an einem guten Kompromiss arbeiten und eben nicht dem Populismus nachgeben, der ja keine Lösungen will, sondern einfach das nutzen, um weiter zu spalten. Das sollte bei uns nicht passieren. Und erlauben Sie mir noch ein Wort aktuell zum Abkommen mit Tunesien. Das ist einfach nur eine Bankrotterklärung, dass man nicht...

(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, Commissioner, over 4 000 children killed, massive numbers of civilians bombed to death or bleeding under the rubble. The hospital system has collapsed, yet humanitarian aid is refused. Human suffering in Gaza is immense, unprecedented and is manmade.

We can only be a credible value-based actor in the world if we, as the EU, fiercely condemn these brutal violations of international law, for the sake of the lives and rights of Palestinians, but also for so much needed security of Israel, as legitimising lawlessness is a dead-end street.

Calling for a humanitarian pause makes no sense. For what? Feeding the people before they are killed? No, the bombardments must stop! We need a ceasefire from both sides now. We need full access for humanitarian aid in Gaza and an immediate release of the hostages. That is the necessary starting point for working towards a sustainable two-state solution.

Charlie Weimers (ECR). – Madam President, the civilised world watched in horror as Hamas death squads slaughtered civilians. Europe's leaders united in condemnation and support of Israel's right to defend itself.

Colleagues, Hamas's raison d'être is to annihilate Israel. But what's our response to Israel's defensive military action? Well, President Macron proposed a humanitarian truce and MEP after MEP, like the last speaker from the Greens, is calling for a ceasefire. And I wonder, would we support a ceasefire if more than then 10 000 French citizens were butchered and taken hostage? Ceasefire is doublespeak for Israel losing the war. Europe must not stand in the way of Israel crushing Hamas. Terrorists started this war. Israel will finish it.

(The speaker spoke a non-official language)

Bernhard Zimniok (ID). – Frau Präsidentin! Die Situation in Gaza ist nach dem barbarischen Terrorakt der Hamas dramatisch, die Reaktion Israels aber nicht nur verständlich, sondern notwendig. Die Hamas zu vernichten, ist eine der Grundvoraussetzungen für den Frieden.

Genau wie in der Migrationspolitik zementieren EU oder auch meine Bundesregierung diesen Konflikt aber seit Jahrzehnten, indem sie das UNRWA, ein U-Boot des Terrors, mit Abermilliarden finanzieren. Seit Jahren ist bekannt, dass das UNRWA in den Schulen Hass gegen Israel und Juden verbreitet und islamischen Terror glorifiziert – also die ideologische Basis für die Hamas gelegt wird.

Wir von der AfD fordern seit Jahren vergeblich, alle Zahlungen an die Palästinenser endlich einzustellen. Die antisemitischen Demos der muslimischen Mobs in Europa sollten meinen Kollegen eigentlich beweisen, dass man auch in der Migrationspolitik besser auf uns gehört hätte. Kommen Sie endlich zur Vernunft! Stoppen wir gemeinsam diese Terrorfinanzierung und verhängen den längst überfälligen Aufnahmestopp für Asylbewerber – auch für Palästinenser.

Idoia Villanueva Ruiz (The Left). – Señora presidenta, ¿a qué van a esperar? ¿A qué van a esperar para exigir el cumplimiento de la legalidad internacional a Israel? Un mes de asedio en Gaza, más de 10 000 personas asesinadas — 4 000 niños y niñas, personal del UNRWA, periodistas—, cortes de suministros de agua, de luz y de alimentos, ambulancias, hospitales y escuelas bombardeados, más de un millón y medio de personas desplazadas.

¿Cuántos crímenes de guerra he nombrado ya? ¿Cuántos? Un genocidio planificado ante sus narices. Y ustedes no son capaces de exigir un alto el fuego y reaccionar. Sanciones a los responsables, embargo de armas, suspensión del Acuerdo de Asociación. Acaben con la impunidad de Israel.

El silencio y la inacción también les hace hoy responsables. Es una vergüenza. Y desde luego, no en nuestro nombre. Si les queda un mínimo de dignidad, actúen ya.

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, τριάντα μέρες σφυροκοπείται η Λωρίδα της Γάζας. Το κατοχικό Ισραήλ εξολοθρεύει τον παλαιστινιακό λαό. Στη Δυτική Όχθη σκοτώνει, εκτοπίζει, βιαιοπραγεί σε ένα πραγματικό καθεστώς apartheid. Και όπως αποφάσισε το Συμβούλιο, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση στηρίζει πολιτικά, οικονομικά, στρατιωτικά το Ισραήλ και αναγνωρίζει προκλητικά δικαίωμα αυτοάμυνας στον κατακτητή. Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, ΗΠΑ, ΝΑΤΟ έχουν τεράστιες ευθύνες για την υποστήριξη της σφαγής του παλαιστινιακού λαού και των παιδιών του. Εκατομμύρια άνθρωποι που διαδηλώνουν ενάντια στη σφαγή, ενάντια στην κατοχή, απαράδεκτα και συκοφαντικά, χαρακτηρίζονται φιλοτρομοκράτες, αντισημίτες, ξυλοκοπούνται και συλλαμβάνονται. Ενώ το ισραηλινό κράτος μεθοδεύει εκτοπισμό Παλαιστίνιων από τη Γάζα, προωθείται νέο αντιδραστικό σύμφωνο μετανάστευσης. Κράτη μέλη παγώνουν το άσυλο στους παλαιστίνιους πρόσφυγες, χτίζουν φυλακές σε τρίτες χώρες, παραβιάζουν δικαιώματα προσφύγων κλιμακώνοντας την καταστολή. Η ιστορία έχει μια σωστή πλευρά. Της αντίστασης και πάλης του παλαιστινιακού λαού για σταμάτημα της σφαγής στη Γάζα, τέλος της παράνομης κατοχής, ανεξάρτητο, βιώσιμο παλαιστινιακό κράτος στα σύνορα του '67, με πρωτεύουσα την Ανατολική Ιερουσαλήμ, στο πλάι του Ισραήλ.

Benoit Lutgen (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, on va dire que ce n'est pas évident d'apporter des mesures ou une réponse modérée et mesurée dans un débat où les extrêmes, finalement, s'agitent et se renvoient dos à dos. Je pense qu'on doit tous pouvoir dire que le massacre terroriste du 7 octobre réclame une réponse forte: celle d'éradiquer le Hamas, qui est un groupe terroriste. Certains ont du mal à prononcer «Hamas, groupe terroriste» dans cette assemblée et je le regrette profondément.

La libération des otages est une priorité absolue mais, Mesdames et Messieurs, et je le dis à d'autres dans cette assemblée, ne confondons pas le Hamas et le peuple palestinien. Oui, le gouvernement israélien a le droit de se défendre, mais il doit aussi respecter le droit international. Il doit respecter le droit humanitaire. Il doit faire en sorte que demain on puisse apporter l'aide nécessaire aux civils. Et ce n'est pas en tuant des enfants, des civils et des femmes qu'on arrivera à la paix à Gaza ou en Israël. C'est, et je pense le plus important aujourd'hui, de faire en sorte que ce droit soit respecté par tous et par chacun, au risque, sinon, de créer des conflits encore plus importants demain.

Matjaž Nemec (S&D). – Gospa predsednica. Vojna v Gazi poteka že več kot mesec dni. Največje žrtve so nedolžni civilisti, predvsem ženske in otroci. Ta vojna je najbolj smrtonosna tudi za humanitarne delavce. V manj kot mesecu dni je zaradi konflikta v Gazi umrlo že več Palestincev, kot je bilo vseh žrtev v Srebrenici. Napad Hamasa 7. oktobra je bil vojni zločin in zavržno dejanje, ki ga obsojam. Izraelske talce je potrebno izpustiti, a povračilni izraelski napadi na Gazo so vsak dan bolj siloviti. Mednarodno kazensko sodišče se bo moralo opredeliti do očitno ne selektivnega targetiranja civilnih objektov in kolektivnega kaznovanja, kar bi lahko predstavljalo že etnično čiščenje ali celo zločin proti človeštvu. Še več, številni opozarjajo, da potek operacije in javne izjave izraelskih predstavnikov nakazujejo na genocidno naravo. Mednarodna skupnost se mora vprašati, ali izraelska vlada še vedno spoštuje mednarodno pravo. Zato, spoštovani, mednarodna skupnost mora zahtevati prekinitvev spopadov, dostavo nujne pomoči in začetek mirovnih pogajanj.

Mounir Satouri (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, il n'y a que trois mots qui vailent la peine d'être dits aujourd'hui: cessez le feu. Vous voyez, c'est simple, c'est facile. Il faut des convictions fortes et un minimum de courage.

Alors oui, l'attaque terroriste du Hamas est immonde. On l'a dit, on l'a répété, on le répétera autant de fois qu'il le faut, mais ça ne donne pas le droit à Israël de faire ce qu'elle fait. Le droit d'Israël de se défendre existe: il est d'ailleurs encadré par le droit international, par le droit humanitaire. Encore faut-il que la communauté internationale ait le courage d'exiger qu'il soit respecté.

Ce n'est pas un droit de tuer de manière indiscriminée des civils, ce n'est pas un droit de cibler des hôpitaux, des journalistes, ce n'est pas un droit de cibler des écoles de l'UNRWA, ce n'est pas un droit d'assiéger une population civile, de l'affamer, de la priver d'eau et d'électricité. Ce n'est pas un droit de faire une Nakba avec des réfugiés. Comme on peut l'anticiper, ce n'est pas un droit de se venger.

L'Europe assiste à la destruction de toutes les bases du droit international sans rien dire. Elle n'est pas à la hauteur. Ayons le courage d'exiger ce cessez-le-feu tout de suite, maintenant, avec force et ... (*fin de l'intervention inaudible*)

Hermann Tertsch (ECR). – Señora presidenta, ¿saben que hay un Gobierno en Europa en el cual se apoya abiertamente a Hamás? Ese Gobierno existe. Ese Gobierno es el Gobierno español de socialistas y comunistas, donde han estado desfilando ministros a favor de Hamás por las calles de Madrid y de España.

En toda Europa han estado manifestándose muchas fuerzas, no solo extranjeras, no solo esos millones que hemos traído —muchos de ellos enemigos jurados de nuestra sociedad occidental— y que hemos importado, ese antisemitismo que hemos importado a toda Europa y que tenemos en este momento tan activo, tan cruelmente activo.

Eso está sucediendo aquí. Esto es una guerra contra Occidente. Israel es el bastión de Occidente. Si cae Israel, que se sabe defender, ¿dónde acabaremos nosotros, que no nos sabemos defender y estamos abriendo las puertas permanentemente al enemigo y tratando al enemigo —a los enemigos dentro de las dictaduras y fuera de ellas— como los estamos tratando?

João Pimenta Lopes (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, faço notar que, mais uma vez, von der Leyen e Charles Michel não ficam até ao final do debate.

Senhora Presidente, nada pode apagar a gravidade da agressão que Israel está a impor ao povo palestiano na Faixa de Gaza e noutros territórios palestianos ocupados.

Segundo a Save the Children, entre as mais de 10 000 vítimas mortais, as mais de 4 000 crianças mortas num mês pelas forças israelitas superam o número de crianças mortas em todos os conflitos no mundo desde 2019.

O Secretário-Geral da ONU refere que o número de funcionários da ONU mortos é o maior de sempre na História da Organização e que o número de jornalistas mortos é o maior nos últimos 30 anos em qualquer conflito.

Perante esta inegável realidade, como podem as Instituições da União Europeia continuar em silêncio na condenação de Israel? Onde estão agora a aplicação de sanções ou o apelo ao Tribunal Penal Internacional? Como podem continuar em silêncio na exigência de um cessar-fogo imediato?

A História julgar-vos-á: a hipocrisia e a cumplicidade com a política de ocupação por parte de Israel, que, deliberadamente, impede a concretização do Estado da Palestina.

Antonio López-Istúriz White (PPE). – Señora presidenta, que si alto el fuego, que si pausa humanitaria... Aquí nos tienen discutiendo y dividiendo.

Yo creo que este debate era absolutamente innecesario. Me siento orgulloso del debate del 19 de octubre y de la Resolución del 19 de octubre, en la que todos condenamos los ataques de Hamás a Israel y también nos hicimos eco del sufrimiento del pueblo palestino, víctima, escudo humano de Hamás. Y estamos haciéndole el juego —y a ver si nos enteramos ya, aquí, en este Parlamento Europeo— a Irán, que es la mano negra que ha estado siempre detrás de esos ataques. Y están consiguiendo su objetivo con esta división que muchos de ustedes quieren hacer en este Parlamento.

Mantengámonos con aquella Resolución. Unidos y claros: es la mejor manera de ayudar a los que están prisioneros para que salgan, para que puedan volver a Israel, para que dejen de sufrir los civiles. A ver si ya empezamos a tener en cuenta estas cosas aquí en este Parlamento. Volvamos al espíritu del 19 de octubre.

Brando Benifei (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, «corriamo il pericolo gravissimo che Benjamin Netanyahu e i suoi alleati fanatici approfittino della crisi di Gaza per scacciare i palestinesi da tutti i territori occupati. Rischiamo una guerra regionale per questi messianici criminali». Queste sono le parole non di un attivista filopalestinese, ma di Ehud Olmert, ex premier della destra nazionalista del Likud, in un'intervista a un giornale italiano.

La legittima difesa di Israele contro l'odioso attacco terroristico di Hamas non può prescindere dalla protezione dei civili a Gaza e dal rispetto del diritto internazionale. Nessuna punizione collettiva di un popolo è accettabile.

È necessaria adesso una cessazione delle ostilità per consentire l'arrivo degli aiuti umanitari. Serve il rilascio degli ostaggi, una de-escalation e lo stop ai flussi di denaro verso le organizzazioni terroristiche, unitamente a un vero processo che porti alla creazione, finalmente, di due Stati, fermando l'avanzamento delle colonie in Cisgiordania e con una presenza internazionale a Gaza. Solo così si potranno garantire giustizia e sicurezza a israeliani e palestinesi.

L'Europa parli finalmente con una voce sola per ridare un senso all'ordine internazionale e salvare vite umane.

Jakop G. Dalunde (Verts/ALE). – Fru talman! Inget barn växer upp till att hata någon. Det lär man sig av vuxna. Inga barn är heller ansvariga för militära konflikter – det är vuxna som ansvarar för det. För några år sedan befann jag mig i Israel/Palestina och besökte Sderot, ett israeliskt samhälle som ligger nära Gaza och som ofta är utsatt för raketattacker. Jag besökte en skola och pratade med de israeliska barn som behöver vara rädda när de går till skolan för raketanfall.

Dessa barn har inget ansvar för den här konflikten, men det har inte heller de barn som just nu lever i terror i Gaza – som utsätts för Israels attacker. Barnen måste få leva i fred och frihet. Vi behöver ett eldupphör nu, så att vi kan få förhandlingar, så att vi kan få fred mellan Israel och Palestina.

Assita Kanko (ECR). – Madam President, first of all, it's unacceptable that European politicians demonstrate alongside organisations who clearly support Hamas and carry flags of ISIS. Left-wing politicians like Mélenchon in France, Pineda in Spain or Ahidar in Belgium turn this into a political strategy that can only further divide Western societies. And colleague Pineda dares ask for the resignation of President von der Leyen. Seriously? From my part, people like Pineda should move to Gaza and officially work for the Hamas propaganda instead of staying in a Europe they despise and do not protect.

Second, let me be clear on the conflict between Israel and Hamas: the European Council should maintain its balanced position, a position between condemnation of Hamas terrorist attacks across Israel, Israel's right to defend itself and providing humanitarian access to Gaza for aid supplies, while ensuring that this assistance is not misused by terrorist organisations. The EU must not leave this balancing act under the next EU presidency that takes office on January 2024. There are two reasons why I worry. One member of the Belgian Government that will ensure the EU presidency stated recently that Hamas cannot be considered terrorist, while two other Belgian ministers demand sanctions against Israel.

Nikolaj Villumsen (The Left). – Madam President, Gaza is bleeding. The Palestinian civil population is paying the price for Hamas's horrific terrorist attack and years of illegal occupation. Children make up almost half of Gaza's population. Already thousands and thousands of children have died. While we speak, more and more are dying. No child should experience the war crimes that the children of Gaza are living through and dying from right now.

Dear colleagues, the children of Gaza need a ceasefire. The civilian population of Israel and Palestine and the hostages need a ceasefire. The Middle East needs a ceasefire to avoid a major regional war.

Dear colleagues, all children have the right to live, also the children in Gaza. Therefore, the message of the EU must be clear for all to hear: ceasefire now!

Željana Zovko (PPE). – Madam President, as someone who was in the war in the 90s, in 1992, I'm going to remind you of the episode, when the Croatian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, when they were encircled by the Serbian forces, they took from Jajce 30 000 civilians and then they returned and stayed and fought for seven months until Jajce fell.

The difference between soldiers and terrorists is that soldiers protect first the lives of civilians. The Croats knew how to do it. Hamas is a terrorist organisation. They are putting the rockets next to the kindergartens, next to the mosques, next to the UN buildings and trying for sympathy. They should be brave guys, let the hostages from Israel that they took, they should set them free. They should take care of their civilians and not hold hostages from Palestine and from Israel in Gaza. This is not about brave men. These cowards should stop, get out and fight as a real men.

Evin Incir (S&D). – Madam President, 'Boom! Boom! Boom! Bomb!' at the mornings, afternoons, evenings and night. That is what the people of Gaza are hearing. That is what the children in Gaza are born into. That is what thousands have died to and more are dying as we speak. Tears have become floods and there are no words left.

Hypocrisy is embodied through the silence of many of our Member States. Have we forgotten the reason of why international law exists? Because also wars have laws. Israel has, indeed, the right to defend itself against the terrorist organisation Hamas, and all the hostages must be released. But they also have an obligation to protect civilians. One crime against international law cannot be justified with another crime of international law.

It is time for the EU and our Member States to wake up and defend what we claim we cherish: human rights. It is time to defend civilians. It's time to end the bombs that are raining over Gaza and violence against Palestinians in the West Bank. No hatred against the Palestinians or Jews can ever be accepted, nor Islamophobia and anti-Semitism that are both on rise in our Union. We need to end this violence, polarisation, and we need to ensure a two-state solution through ending the occupation.

Veronika Vrecionová (ECR). – Paní předsedající, vážené kolegyně, vážení kolegové, je to měsíc a den od největšího masakru Židů od druhé světové války. Teroristé z hnutí Hamás za podpory ajatolláhů z Iránu zabíjeli, mučili a unesli civilisty, ženy, děti, staré lidi. To není žádný romantický boj za svobodu. To jsou odporné, barbarské, teroristické činy. Izrael má právo se bránit. Nejen právo, má povinnost bránit své obyvatele. Hamás, Islámský džihád a podobné teroristické skupiny musí být zničeny. Bez toho nebude žádný mír ani dlouhodobé řešení blízkovýchodní situace. A podívejme se pravdě do očí. Musíme skončit s politikou *appeasementu* vůči Iránu. Je nejvyšší čas nasadit proti největšímu sponzorovi teroristů na Blízkém východě ty nejtvrďší sankce. Neméně závažná situace je ale i v ulicích evropských metropolí. Antisemitismus, ať už jde zprava, zleva nebo od islamistů, nesmí dostat v Evropě žádný prostor. Nesmíme dovolit Hamásu a Iránu rozvracet i naši společnost.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Madam President, a month has elapsed since the commencement of the unrelenting mass murder of Palestinians in Gaza. It's not a spiral of violence, Frau von der Leyen. It's genocide! Openly declared and carried out by the apartheid State of Israel. Starvation, bombing hospitals, ambulances, journalists, humanitarian routes: 10 000 dead, 1 in 200 Gazans killed. A Palestinian child slaughtered every 10 minutes for a month!

And Frau von der Leyen's answer to this graveyard for children is to tell Israel: 'avoid civilians', 'be as targeted as you can'. Well, that displays some neck! You can't even call for it to stop. You can't even call for a ceasefire. Well, of course you can't, because these crimes against humanity are being carried out with your weapons, in your name, when you stood with Israel a month ago and you said you'd stand with them now and in the days to come. So don't come in here trying to wipe the blood off with belated concern. It's not just Israel's genocide; it's yours. And The Hague isn't good enough for you.

Elena Yoncheva (S&D). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the scale of the humanitarian tragedy in Gaza is unprecedented, and the European Union seems helpless and unable to change the situation on the ground. Calling for humanitarian corridors, sending humanitarian aid: this is not enough if this help can't reach the citizens of Gaza.

I was in Israel 10 days ago near the border with Gaza, and nothing can justify the cruelty, the barbaric actions of Hamas toward the people living there. Nothing can justify the kidnapping of women and children. The war against the terrorists of Hamas, however, should be according to international law. Today I call for immediate release of all the hostages in Gaza: the immediate release of the Israeli and European hostages that are in the hands of Hamas and all the Palestinians in Gaza that are hostages of the terrorist organisation. We need to bring them back and to save lives of all the innocent people. Does Europe have the power to do this? Yes, but we need to do it now.

Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora Montserrat, en España se está desarrollando un procedimiento constitucional habitual en el que el rey ha encargado una segunda investidura al señor Sánchez porque la de su líder ha fracasado. Y mientras los negociadores de las fuerzas parlamentarias desarrollan esa negociación —repito, las fuerzas parlamentarias están negociando— ustedes se han unido a los nazis, a los franquistas y a los fascistas para organizar algaradas callejeras en las que se pide incluso que la policía desobedezca a sus autoridades en contra de un procedimiento constitucional. Ese es el verdadero riesgo para el Estado de Derecho en España.

Señor Tertsch, la posición del Gobierno español es nítida, clara y repetida: condena a la acción terrorista de Hamás, petición de contención y de legalidad en la respuesta de Israel y un alto el fuego humanitario.

Creo que todos haríamos bien si escucháramos una segunda vez lo que nos acaba de decir nuestro colega López Istúriz.

Carlos Zorrinho (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, de acordo com dados das Nações Unidas, mais de 10 000 pessoas foram mortas em Gaza desde 7 de outubro: 2 550 mulheres, 4 104 crianças, 596 idosos; mais de 25 400 ficaram feridas.

No total, cerca de 1 400 israelitas e estrangeiros foram mortos em Israel. De acordo com as autoridades israelitas, a grande maioria dos quais nos primeiros dias dos ataques do Hamas.

Desde o início, as Nações Unidas, através do seu Secretário-Geral, têm apelado à criação de corredores humanitários permanentes na Faixa de Gaza.

A União Europeia, na cimeira de líderes de final de outubro, apelou à criação de corredores e pausas humanitárias também.

Como relator permanente do Parlamento Europeu para a ajuda humanitária, apelo a que sejam criadas as condições para a concretização imediata de pausas humanitárias, as quais devem conduzir à viabilização de corredores humanitários permanentes.

Apelo também a que sejam garantidas as condições de segurança para a atuação dos atores humanitários no terreno, onde já foram mortos quase 90 agentes, o maior número de baixas em contexto de conflito na História das Nações Unidas.

Israel foi vítima de um bárbaro ataque terrorista por parte do Hamas, tem o direito de se defender, mas ninguém tem o direito de estar acima do Direito Internacional e do Direito Humanitário.

Puhetta johti HEIDI HAUTALA

varapuhemies

Pyynnöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot

Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D). – Señora presidenta, hemos escuchado las presentaciones de la presidenta de la Comisión Europea y del presidente del Consejo Europeo con relación al relanzamiento de la ampliación más al este de la Unión Europea y de los Balcanes Occidentales: la apertura de los capítulos con Ucrania y con Moldavia y el estatuto de candidato de Georgia. Es algo que yo, desde luego, apoyo.

Al mismo tiempo, no hemos escuchado la necesaria vinculación de este proceso de ampliación con la profundización política del proyecto de integración. La ampliación y la profundización tienen que ir de la mano. No cabe plantear estas ampliaciones sin abrir el proceso de reforma de los Tratados.

Por eso, recuerdo al Consejo Europeo que, en su reunión del 15 de diciembre, tiene la oportunidad de aprobar la propuesta del Parlamento Europeo en el sentido de convocar una convención para la reforma de los Tratados.

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Madam President, I want to repeat my abhorrence at the atrocities committed by Hamas on 7 October, and what has been done since then by the Israeli Defence Forces is not proportionate.

I grew up in Ireland; over 30 years of the conflict on the island of Ireland, 3 500 people were killed, each one a tragedy. In one month, 4 000 children have been killed in Palestine. How is that proportionate? Thousands more have suffered life-changing injuries and trauma. Those who have not been killed or injured are denied the basic necessities of life: fuel, food, water and electricity. How can that be proportionate?

I call on other MEPs to co-sign my request for a review of the EU–Israel Association Agreement, Article 2 of which makes respect for human rights and democratic principles an essential element of that agreement. It was the government of Israel that suspended part of that agreement in 2013. Why is it so radical for the EU to review that agreement, given everything that has happened? It is never too late to do the right thing.

Diana Riba i Giner (Verts/ALE). – Señora presidenta, más de 4 000 niños muertos. Más de 4 000. Esto es insoporrible. Los actos perpetrados por Hamás son abominables, y reiteramos nuestra condena sin paliativos. Pero seré muy clara: nada, repito, nada puede justificar la masacre deliberada de civiles que está cometiendo Israel en Gaza.

Israel tiene derecho a defenderse. Sí, dentro del Derecho internacional. Pero no lo está haciendo. Está atacando hospitales, instalaciones de la ONU, refugios y escuelas. La misma relatora de la ONU ha dicho que hay un claro riesgo de genocidio en Gaza. ¿Cómo podemos permitir que se estén perpetrando crímenes de guerra de tal magnitud frente a nuestros ojos sin hacer nada?

Debemos parar esto ya y tomar urgentemente medidas diplomáticas, económicas y políticas. El alto el fuego inmediato, liberación incondicional de todos los rehenes, respeto escrupuloso al Derecho internacional humanitario, más ayuda humanitaria y suspensión de la venta de armas.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, me sumo a los que claman contra el dolor causado por esa tragedia humanitaria en Gaza. Condenan la violencia infligida sobre personas inocentes, sean israelíes víctimas de Hamás, sean palestinos víctimas de la respuesta militar israelí.

Pero hablando de tragedias humanitarias que escapan a nuestra jurisdicción, no quisiera tampoco ignorar que hay algunas tragedias humanitarias que sí entran en nuestra jurisdicción y requieren una respuesta de escala europea.

La tragedia humanitaria de las vidas que se pierden en el mar y claman por un mecanismo europeo de salvamento y rescate por el que hemos urgido tanto desde este Parlamento Europeo a la Comisión. Del mismo modo que piden una respuesta más humana las personas que tocan a la puerta de la Unión Europea y se encuentran con unas respuestas fragmentarias que llevan a pasos absolutamente equivocados, como el que hemos visto en el acuerdo del Gobierno de Meloni con Albania para crear campos de internamiento fuera del territorio de la Unión Europea.

Seamos coherentes, ofrezcamos de una vez una respuesta humanitaria dentro del Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo y completemos dicho Pacto en esta legislatura.

Irena Joveva (Renew). – Gospa predsednica. V naslednji minuti bom večinsko kritizirala državo Izrael in ne bom dovolila, da povedano kdorkoli enači z antisemitizmom. Še manj bom dovolila izenačevanje s podporo Hamasu. Obsojam vse, kar ti teroristi počnejo. Obsojam vsa pobijanja nedolžnih. Obsojam kršenje mednarodnega prava. Obsojam našo večno zaskrbljenost in večna dvojna merila. Kje je odločen pritisk? Kje so konkretni ukrepi? Seveda ima Izrael pravico do obrambe, a ta pravica ni bianco menica za pobijanje Palestink in Palestincev, otrok, ni pravica do bombardiranja vsepovprek. Veste, kaj bi štelo? Štela bi brezpogojna podpora samo nedolžnim žrtvam. Samo zavzemanju za takojšnje premirje ter v primeru neuresničitve slednjega za sankcije, na primer za začetek prepoved trgovanja in sodelovanja z nezakonitimi izraelskimi naselbinami, ki se mimogrede dogajajo že precej dlje od aktualne vojne. Kdaj torej, če ne zdaj? Čez še deset tisoč mrtvih, sto, milijon? To bi štelo. Zdaj.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, over 4 000 children have been killed by the colonial Israeli regime in one month. Eight times more children have been killed in Gaza in one month than in all of the Ukraine war. Eight times more! And EU leaders are still talking about Israel's right to defend itself. Defend itself? Is bombing hospitals and churches defending itself? Is bombing refugee camps defending itself? Is slaughtering 4 000 children defending itself?

I mean, where are we going? Over 10 000 civilians have been killed in Gaza with EU and US weapons. European white supremacy knows no bounds! A genocide is being carried out by a far-right apartheid Israeli regime, and they are doing so with our unconditional support. It is the EU leaders: not only can you not call for a ceasefire; you can't mention the words 'condemn' and 'Israel' in the same sentence. How in God's name is the EU ever going to talk about human rights anywhere again?

Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE). – Senhora Presidente, mais de 10 000 pessoas assassinadas por Israel em Gaza, mais de 4 000 crianças, muitas ainda nos escombros.

Que está a fazer a UE para impedir os assassinatos de civis? Para impedir ataques a ambulâncias, hospitais, escolas, campos de refugiados, infraestruturas de água, eletricidade, apartamentos?

Isto é genocídio desproporcional, viola o Direito Humanitário Internacional.

Ouviram ontem a mensagem das crianças de Gaza: «Queremos viver, queremos paz, queremos alimentos, água, medicamentos, não foguetes de guerra».

Um sofrimento humano sem precedentes. Um pouco de empatia, Europa. Essa Europa que estava aqui e que agora se foi embora.

Devem pressionar Israel para o cessar-fogo, não chega a pausa humanitária.

Que vergonha a Europa que se cala diante do genocídio! Parem a guerra com diplomacia, já é suficiente, como disse o Secretário-Geral das Nações Unidas.

Os povos europeus, como o meu na Galiza, estão a denunciar os crimes internacionais, clamando pelo cessar-fogo e pela paz.

Ceasefire and stop the war!

(Pyynnöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot päättyvät)

Maroš Šefčovič, Executive Vice-President of the Commission. – Madam President, honourable Members, I really would like to thank you for your open, frank and even emotional interventions. I would like to highlight that it is only natural and human in the face of indescribable pain of innocent civilians in the Middle East.

An overwhelming majority of the honourable Members underscored that there is no justification for the horror that Hamas unleashed against innocent men, women, children and even babies, as well as you underscored the imperative of respect for international humanitarian law by Israel. I would like to tell you that I clearly heard you loud and clear when you have been highlighting the importance of our European duty to increase and deliver humanitarian aid now, and offer a peaceful political perspective for tomorrow. I would like to reassure you that we are doing our utmost not only to increase our humanitarian aid, but also that we are working 24/7 to make sure that this aid is properly and promptly delivered to those who need it most.

If it comes to the political perspective for tomorrow, I think it is also quite clear from our debates today and from the intervention of our political leaders, that it is clear that this perspective is the two-state solution. The European Union, as you know, is a peace project overall and in itself and I'm convinced that our debate today confirmed that Europe stands ready to work with all the people and all the countries in the Middle Eastern region to achieve this very important goal.

Puhemies. – Keskustelu on päättynyt. Voimme siirtyä esityslistalla eteenpäin. Seuraavan kohdan aiheena on: Komission julkilausuma EU:n laajentumispolitiikasta 2023, eli hyvin tuoreesta asiasta on kysymys.

Kirjalliset lausumat (171 artikla)

Marc Botenga (The Left), par écrit. – Chers collègues, vous voyez le massacre israélien en cours à Gaza. Vous voyez les bombardements des hôpitaux, des écoles des Nations unies, de boulangeries. Vous entendez les ONG, les médecins, et les Nations unies qui demandent un cessez-le-feu immédiat. Vous entendez les responsables israéliens appeler de fait au nettoyage ethnique. Mais vous, ici, vous refusez de ne fut-ce que de parler d'un cessez-le-feu.

Je m'adresse particulièrement à cette coalition de socialistes, libéraux et conservateurs qui vient de saboter notre demande de débattre et adopter une résolution sur un cessez-le-feu. Je m'adresse à la Commission européenne qui n'a toujours pas levé le petit doigt pour obliger Israël à respecter le droit international. Plus de 4 000 enfants palestiniens tués, et vous refusez même de parler d'un cessez-le-feu.

Quand la Russie frappait un hôpital ukrainien, vous vous révoltiez. Quand Israël frappe un hôpital palestinien, vous soutenez. Quand la Russie frappe une infrastructure civile en Ukraine, vous imposez des sanctions. Quand Israël fait pareil, limitez-vous à applaudir. Ces «deux poids, deux mesures» enlèvent à l'Union européenne toute crédibilité en matière de droits humains. Il est temps de suspendre l'Accord d'association avec Israël. Temps d'imposer un embargo militaire et de retirer la délégation européenne d'Israël.

14. Polityka rozszerzenia UE w 2023 r. (debata)

Puhemies. – Haluaisin kutsua komission jäsenen Olivér Várhelyin käyttämään puheenvuoron tämän keskustelun aluksi (2023/2956(RSP)).

Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, honourable Members, today we adopted a big enlargement package, ten country reports and a growth plan for the Western Balkans. The Commission recommends that the Council opens accession negotiations with Ukraine and Moldova. The Commission recommends opening accession negotiations with Bosnia and Herzegovina once the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria is achieved.

Further, we recommend to grant candidate status to Georgia on the understanding that certain steps are taken. For Ukraine and Moldova, we also recommend that the Council adopts the negotiating framework once Ukraine and Moldova have advanced on pending laws and on anti-corruption, verification of assets and undertaken further steps on de-oligarchisation. Both will have to continue to fight against corruption by building a further track record or corruption investigations and convictions.

On national minorities, Ukraine needs to address the remaining Venice Commission recommendation from 2023, June- and October, linked to the law on national minorities. Ukraine also needs to address the Venice Commission recommendations linked to the laws on state language, media and education.

In the case of Ukraine and Moldova, the Commission will continuously monitor the progress and compliance in all areas related to the opening of negotiations and report back to the Council by March 2024. The Commission stands ready to start preparatory work, in particular the analytical examination of the acquis, the so-called screening process, and the preparation of the negotiating framework.

In Georgia, we have seen positive new dynamics of engagement with the EU in the recent months, specifically on the 12 priorities set out by the European Council last year. Therefore, the Commission recommends that the Council grants Georgia the status of candidate country on the understanding that further steps are taken on fighting disinformation, on alignment with CFSP, improving the implementation of parliamentary oversight, addressing the issue of political polarisation, de-oligarchisation and anti-corruption.

Turning now to Bosnia and Herzegovina, last year's candidate status brought much needed dynamism. New governments have been set up swiftly after the elections at all levels and have started to deliver on reforms. The public commitment of political parties to the strategic goal of European integration brought positive results. The Council of Ministers endorsed a set of draft laws, notably on integrity in the judiciary, torture prevention by designating the Ombudsman as a national preventive mechanism, the law on foreigners and freedom of access to information. These were adopted already by the parliament. The Europol contact point has started to function, which was a much-awaited progress. Some progress was made on the alignment with the CFSP, and Bosnia and Herzegovina significantly improved its alignment with EU foreign policy.

Further, I could continue with a long list of positive developments over the past year, like important strategies that have been adopted on anti-money laundering, action plans on migration and terrorism, or the implementation of the national war crimes processing strategy. The state budget for 2023 was adopted in March. The legal basis for conducting negotiations on the southern and eastern gas interconnections and the cooperation agreement with Eurojust were adopted as well, and two regional mobility agreements were ratified.

The Commission encourages the political leaders and all authorities to continue the positive track record, to redouble efforts to address all remaining key priorities. The Commission recommends the opening of accession negotiations with Bosnia and Herzegovina once the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria is achieved. We will report to the Council on progress by March 2024.

Before turning to Albania, let me say a few words on the screening process with both countries, Albania and North Macedonia. The process is running smoothly and the authorities have shown a high level of commitment.

In Albania, the implementation of the comprehensive justice reform continued and the vetting process is advancing at a satisfactory level. The special structure against corruption and organised crime – the so-called SPAK – achieved further concrete results. Full alignment with common foreign and security policy was a strong signal of the country's strategic choice of EU accession. Further efforts are needed in key areas of rule of law, as well as on the freedom of expression, minority issues and property rights. Our objective is to open the first cluster on the fundamentals still before the end of the year.

In North Macedonia, the authorities have continued to demonstrate and to declare publicly their commitment to advancing on their EU path. Now that the accession negotiation process has begun, the pace of EU-related reforms needs to pick up. Some changes to the criminal code, affecting a large number of high-level corruption cases, have raised concerns. Strengthening trust in the justice system and addressing corruption, including through a solid track record in the investigation, prosecution and final conviction of high-level corruption cases, is of key importance. Parliament and the government committed to launch and achieve, as a matter of priority, the relevant constitutional changes. We hope all parties will support it to move forward. This is a sovereign decision of North Macedonia and a sovereign commitment which will further strengthen fundamental rights.

On Montenegro, while progress on EU accession reforms has largely stalled, the newly appointed government must now focus on EU-related reforms and ensure that the country's democratic institutions and judiciary become once more fully functional. Meeting the interim benchmarks set in the rule of law chapters 23-24 will be key to achieve further progress in the negotiations overall. No further chapters will be provisionally closed before this milestone is reached.

Both Kosovo and Serbia are urged to engage more constructively in the EU-facilitated dialogue for the implementation of the agreement on the path to normalisation and the implementation annex, as well as other agreements reached in the EU-facilitated dialogue without any delay or precondition. This includes the establishment of the association or community of Serb-majority municipalities. Normalisation of relations is an essential condition on the European path for both parties.

Kosovo has progressed in legislative work and adopted an important electoral reform. Kosovo continued to align with the EU on the condemnation of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine and to adopt restrictive measures. The situation in the north of Kosovo has been affected by several crises, with the latest one being the attack against Kosovo police on 24 September.

Due to the lack of steps to de-escalate, since June, the EU has been implementing measures vis-à-vis Kosovo which also impact financial support. These measures are temporary and are dependent on the steps taken to de-escalate the tensions in the north of Kosovo. Finally, we will look forward for 1 January next year when visa liberalisation for Kosovo will enter into effect.

Serbia started implementing the 2022 constitutional amendments to strengthen the independence of the judiciary. It also adopted important media laws in October 2023 before the dissolution of the parliament. Our assessment in the last two reports that Serbia has fulfilled the opening benchmarks for cluster 3 – competitiveness and inclusive growth – remains valid. The Commission supports Serbia's ambition to open new accession clusters on the basis of continuing reform progress. We also acknowledge good cooperation on prevention of sanction circumvention, while the key issue of alignment with CFSP, including sanctions against Russia, remain of a concern.

Let us turn now to the Western Balkans growth plan and the new facility. The aim of the plan is to boost the economy of the Western Balkans in the next years, in order to close the socio-economic gap between the Union and our partners by the end of this decade. We want to gradually integrate the Western Balkans into the EU single market even prior to the full EU membership.

Secondly, we also aim to boost economic integration within the Western Balkan region through the common regional market based on EU rules and standards. The growth plan will help our Western Balkan partners to accelerate fundamental reforms, including the rule of law and democracy. They are needed for the swift rollout of the growth plan itself and attract private investments, promote sustainable economic growth, or to reduce pollution.

Lastly, we want to increase the financial assistance to help our partners to speed up the reforms through a reform and growth facility for the Western Balkans. This is a EUR 6 billion package in EUR 2 billion in non-repayable support grants and EUR 4 billion in favourable loans. Adding the growth facility to the assistance under the IPA III will provide the Western Balkans with roughly the same aid intensity per inhabitant as cohesion policy does on average in the EU.

The longer-term objective is to help the region to achieve its full potential in terms of economic and social development capacity compared to EU Member States by 2030. The funds will be released upon delivery of reform agendas that our Western Balkan partners will have to draw up and which need to be agreed with us and be implemented during the period between 2024 and 2027. They will be related to socio-economic reforms and fundamentals: a stronger conditionality that this House has been advocating for. In short, the growth plan will create the right conditions for our regional partners to become members of the Union.

We need your support, in particular ensuring that the proposed regulation establishing the growth facility is adopted during this parliamentary term. I am ready to work with you on that in the next months. Our partners need our support and I'm sure, together, we can deliver it to them.

Let me finish with Türkiye. Türkiye is a candidate country and a key partner for the EU. Its accession negotiations remain at a standstill since June 2018, in line with the decisions of the European Council as Türkiye continued to move away from the EU. We conclude that the country has not reversed the negative trend of moving further away from the EU, and our concerns persist over backsliding in the areas of democracy, rule of law, fundamental rights and the independence of the judiciary. Bilateral relations between Greece and Türkiye improved after the February-earthquakes, and Türkiye did not engage in unauthorised drilling activities in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is of paramount importance that Türkiye actively supports the negotiations for a fair, comprehensive and viable settlement of the Cyprus issue within the UN framework in accordance with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

Cooperation with Türkiye in areas of joint interest continued in essential areas such as counter-terrorism, economy, energy, food security, migration and transport. The EU has a strategic interest in a stable and secure environment in the Eastern Mediterranean, and in the development of a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship with Türkiye. As you know, the Commission and the High Representative will submit a report to the European Council in November this year, in which we will set out further options to develop this relationship.

Rasa Juknevičienė, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, yes, it is a historic day, even if this decision comes late. The stagnation of both EU and NATO enlargements has left many countries in a grey zone, tempting authoritarians. But we can determine the future with our decisions today.

The EU is finally returning to geopolitical leadership. My special congratulations go to Ukraine, Moldova and Bosnia and Herzegovina. But don't forget, this decision comes through the blood of the Ukrainian people.

Enlargement is first and foremost in our interest. Enlargement is our only option to avoid future disasters. Either there will be more of the European Union on the European continent, or there will be more Russia or China next to us. Enlargement is our responsibility to future generations. It is the only way to achieve sustainable and lasting peace on the European continent.

I would like to mention Georgia. The European path of this country was saved by the Georgian people. It is a message to Russia as well: you will lose. Today's recommendation is a credit, not to the Georgian Government or Georgian dream, because it is true that Georgia is not on the same step as Ukraine and Moldova. And this is the biggest wrongdoing of the Georgian Government against the Georgian people.

Dear colleagues, I would like to thank the Commission and especially Ursula von der Leyen for her leadership and deep understanding of the existential momentum in this history of Europe. Let us do this job together.

Tonino Picula, *u ime kluba S&D*. – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, gospodine povjereniče, prije svega pozdravljam preporuke Komisije o otvaranju pregovora s Ukrajinom i Moldavijom, kao i da Gruzija dobije status kandidata. Podržavam i plan za rast Zapadnog Balkana. Pozdravljam obnovu politike proširenja i nove prijedloge o sektorskom uključivanju zemalja kandidatkinja prije formalnog pristupanja. Oni odražavaju preporuke za novu strategiju proširenja Europske unije usvojene u Parlamentu.

Međutim, danas predstavljeni paket sadrži kontroverze, posebno spram Srbije čiji predsjednik aktivno izvozi nestabilnost u ostatak regije, planira izbornu kampanju s osuđenim ratnim zločincima i potpisuje trgovinski sporazum s Kinom. Jednake restriktivne mjere, nakon Banjske, Srbiji nisu uvedene. Teroristički napad se relativizira, sankcije Rusiji i dalje nisu uvedene, ali se zato pohvaljuje napredak Beograda u usklađivanju s vanjskom politikom Europske unije. Da bi politika proširenja bila uspješna, mora biti kredibilna i koherentna. Zato i Bosna i Hercegovina zaslužuje početak pregovora što prije. Dodatni financijski instrumenti su dobrodošli, ali ono što zaista trebamo je stvarna politička odlučnost koja će prestati sponzorirati stabilokraciju i otvoriti put istinskim reformama u skladu s europskim vrijednostima.

Petras Auštrevičius, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Mr Commissioner, dear colleagues, today is another important historical moment for Ukraine and its brave people who, despite the absolute atrocities committed by the Russian terrorist regime, continue to pursue their dream of European Union membership and to implement a comprehensive programme of political, legal and economic reforms.

We are united by our common dream and goal to bring Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia and the Western Balkan countries into the European Union as equal among equals. As we continue our strong support to these countries, let us not forget that the European Union itself must prepare for future enlargement. We need to adapt the European Union's institutional financing and decision-making arrangements and this must be undertaken without any delay. Let us take inspiration from candidate countries, like Ukraine, and prepare our Union to become not only geographically larger, but also economically, geopolitically stronger and more secure for our citizens.

Finally, let me commend the European Commission for a very solid enlargement report with a clear geopolitical footprint.

Tineke Strik, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, as President von der Leyen rightly said, today's proposal to grant candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova is historic. It shows that Russia's attacks on European peace and stability only has led to closer cooperation, and that we stand by Ukraine in their fight for freedom. But the work starts now. We must support both countries to fully meet all criteria for accession, and we need to prepare our own Union for enlargement by initiating internal reforms now. At the same time, we cannot permit to forget the Western Balkans, because we need to restore the trust in that region by sticking to our promises to countries that deliver. That means that we open negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania and ensure visa liberalisation for Kosovo. The citizens there deserve the EU future that we promised to them. Any further delay in the Western Balkans will further empower Russia in this region, with all consequences that we should know by now.

Ангел Джамбазки, *от името на групата ECR*. – Г-н Председател, да не ви се карам днес, направо ви чувствам вече близък. Като приятели сме с Вас, но няма как да не Ви обърна внимание на следния факт. Вие сега говорите за това колко демократична, колко проевропейска, прозападна е Сърбия, а сега в момента, буквално преди един час, четирима български граждани – двама народни представители и един председател на партия, са спрени на българо-сръбската граница и не могат да влязат да видят българите, българското малцинство в окупираните западни български покрайнини. Това става сега в момента. И аз ви питам дали това е демокрация и дали това са европейски ценности?

По същия начин стои въпросът със сръбското отношение и по отношение на темата за Северна Македония. Ако се абстрахираме от платените пробелградски, прокремълски балалайки, които чуваме тук в залата, се запитваме къде отиде вписването на българите, на хърватите и на останалите общности в Конституцията на Република Северна Македония. Те трябваше до преди една година да са вписани, нали така? Такива бяха обещанията, но това, разбира се, не се случи, защото там има, пак казвам, просръбски, проруски сили, които ви лъжат. Не знам защо се връзвате на тези неща. За част от колегите знам, защото то е обяснимо. Петолъчката значи и говори много, но това е друга тема. Така че приказките са хубаво нещо, много хубаво, демокрацията също е хубаво нещо, но фактите са си факти.

Моля ви, проверете случая, има спрени български граждани, които не са допуснати в Западните български покрайнини. И без това ви задавах въпрос, може направо да ми отговорите.

Jean-Paul Garraud, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, «l'Occident, voulez-vous reprendre le combat entre la Croix et le Croissant?», c'est en ces termes extrêmement graves et provocateurs que s'est exprimé récemment le président turc Erdogan, menaçant ainsi toute l'Europe. Fidèle soutien par ailleurs de l'organisation terroriste du Hamas, il en reçoit certains cadres en ce moment même. Le message du sultan ottoman est donc clair. Mais l'Union européenne en a-t-elle vraiment pris conscience?

Aujourd'hui encore, le processus d'adhésion de la Turquie à nos institutions est certes à l'arrêt, mais toujours maintenu. Monsieur Erdogan n'a jamais caché son mépris pour ce que nous représentons, alors que son pays a accepté sans réserve les vingt milliards d'euros de fonds de préadhésion que Bruxelles lui a versés depuis 1996. Monsieur Erdogan vient de déclarer que soutenir le Hamas est la chose la plus naturelle du monde. De telles déclarations sont inacceptables. Il faut mettre un terme immédiat et définitif à l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne. On ne peut financer un pays qui cautionne ceux qui veulent nous détruire, ceux qui commettent des horreurs innommables, ceux qui soutiennent l'islamisme.

Il est donc absolument inenvisageable, Monsieur le Commissaire, d'intégrer la Turquie dans l'Union européenne. C'est une évidence absolue. La volonté d'expansion toujours plus folle de l'Union se heurte aux réalités. L'utopie de l'idéologie mondialiste est confrontée à la terreur de ceux qui nous sont hostiles. Tout élargissement est à proscrire. Il doit en être de même avec la Bosnie, l'Albanie, pays gangrenés par les mafias, les trafics et l'islamisme. C'est une question de sécurité et de protection de nos peuples.

Kinga Gál (NI). – Elnök asszony! Az Európai Unió bővítése stratégiai és geopolitikai érdekünk. A bővítés ugyanakkor nem csak politikai kérdés. A csatlakozási tárgyalások előtt álló országok helyzetét felkészültségük alapján, egységes követelményrendszer szerint kell megítélni. Új csatlakozási tárgyalások megkezdése előtt az EU-nak először a Nyugat-Balkán, így Szerbia felé tett ígéreteit kell teljesítenie, hiszen Szerbiával már több mint tíz éve zajlanak a tárgyalások, jelentős előrelépés nélkül. Ez hiteltelenné teszi az Uniót.

A hitelességünk megőrzése miatt Georgiának is meg kell kapnia a tagjelölti státuszt. Új csatlakozási tárgyalások csak azokkal az országokkal nyílhatnak meg, akik teljesítik a Bizottság által szabott alapvető feltételeket.

A ma bemutatott bővítési javaslat – és ezért gratulálok a Biztos úrnak – látható, hogy Ukrajna a 7 feltételből 4-et, köztük a kisebbségvédelmi feltételeket is, még nem teljesítette. Területén háború zajlik, választásokat sem tud tartani. Ezek mind azt igazolják, hogy az ország még nem áll készen a csatlakozási tárgyalások megkezdésére.

Michael Gahler (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Als der Ukraine-Berichterstatter hier, denke ich schon, dass ich sagen kann, dass wir heute einen historischen Beschluss der Kommission haben, in dem sie eben die Aufnahme von Beitrittsverhandlungen für die Ukraine vorschlägt, und ich konzentriere mich auf dieses Land.

Ich denke, es ist bemerkenswert, wie sich dieses Land trotz des russischen Angriffskrieges weiter auf dem Reformkurs befindet und damit zum Ausdruck bringt, wo es hingehört. Und diese Botschaft, die heute von der Kommission ausgeht und die auch dieses Parlament seit vielen Jahren deutlich zum Ausdruck bringt, ist, dass diese Ukraine unwiderruflich auf dem europäischen Weg ist und dass es auch keinen Weg zurück gibt – auch solange und egal in welcher Form, dieses Russland das Land völkerrechtswidrig mit einem Angriffskrieg überzieht.

Ich denke – wenn ich mir anschaue, was die Kommission hierzu im Detail aufgeschrieben hat, was die Ukraine auch noch bis März erreichen muss, damit auch der Verhandlungsrahmen verabschiedet werden kann –, das ist alles machbar, trotz des Krieges. Und wir sollten dem Land hierbei jegliche Unterstützung zuteilwerden lassen.

Ich bin zuversichtlich, dass dieser Ansatz, die Erweiterung auch mit den vielen anderen Ländern konkret voranzutreiben, innerhalb der Europäischen Union auch die Debatte auslöst, nämlich die Reform und die Entscheidungsfähigkeit so zu verbessern, dass wir uns dann gemeinsam mit den neuen Ländern für eine größere und entscheidungsfähigere EU einsetzen können.

Alessandra Moretti (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la politica di allargamento è uno strumento cruciale per la stabilità, la prosperità e la pace del nostro continente. Pace che purtroppo è spesso compromessa, con tutte le tragiche conseguenze cui assistiamo ormai ogni giorno.

Nello scorso anno e mezzo l'Unione europea ha teso la mano all'Ucraina, che merita tutto il nostro sostegno e impegno, ma non possiamo dimenticare i Balcani occidentali, a cui vent'anni fa è stato promesso un posto nella famiglia europea.

Serve accelerare il passo per dimostrare ai cittadini di questi paesi i vantaggi di far parte dell'Unione, che mette al centro le libertà e i diritti, in modo da rianimare il desiderio di adesione, desiderio che in Serbia, ad esempio, sembra essersi congelato.

Allo stesso tempo, però, dobbiamo essere fermi nel chiedere che siano fatti passi in avanti sulle riforme essenziali, che la normalizzazione dei rapporti di vicinato sia messa al primo posto attraverso una de-escalation immediata delle tensioni tra Serbia e Kosovo.

Dobbiamo chiedere che la stampa non sia annacquata dalla propaganda russa o cinese e che si abbracci l'unica linea di politica estera possibile, quella sostenuta dall'Unione europea che lavora per la pace.

Илхан Кючюк (Renew). – Г-жо председател, г-н Комисар, разбира се, че трябва да започнем с благодарности към Вас, защото политиката по разширяване не е най-популярната през последните години в Европейския съюз. И въпреки това вие успяхте да я извадите на едно много сериозно ниво. Днес, освен традиционните клишета в тази зала да се говори за план, икономически план, който трябва да бъде насочен към социалното възстановяване на страните от Западните Балкани основно, но и на другите.

Ако трябва да търсим новина, новините всъщност са две. Едната новина е за Украйна и Молдова със започването на преговорния процес, а другата новина е за Грузия и за Босна и Херцеговина. Но аз не бих прибръзал толкова много да кажа, че това е някакво историческо решение. Ако трябва да се приеме, че е историческо от гледна точка на това, че се включва за първи път, да, то е историческо, но много други исторически решения сме приемали тук и са оставали просто на хартия. Нека да помислим как сериозно тези държави постепенно могат да бъдат интегрирани в Европейския съюз и да бъдем реалисти, разширяването няма да стане днес и утре, но трябва да им дадем достатъчно ясни послания и конкретни стъпки, действия, за да им покажем най-вече на гражданите на тези държави, че те ще принадлежат към Европейския съюз.

И приветствам предложението на Роберта Мецола, давайки статут на тези държави, на техните политици, да бъдат тук заедно с Вас, с нас, без да имат право да гласуват.

Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues. It is indeed a historic date. And there are four clear winners on this historic date. There's Ukraine and Moldova, where the leadership and the people together are moving in our direction. And there are two nations, the people of Georgia and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have upheld the flame of going into the direction of a European orientation. We can congratulate them.

But there's also a new tone. And I want to highlight that. I share the criticism that my colleagues Picula and Moretti have said about the Serbian case. I think this is also an hour where the whitewashing of Serbia, where the appeasement against Serbia, will begin to end. And I read this in the sentence from the President of the Commission when she said that all countries have to take a choice between going the European direction or going the authoritarian direction. And you, Commissioner, will not hold us back with your appeasement policies.

Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, keskustelu EU:n laajentumisesta on kiihtynyt Venäjän Ukrainaa vastaan käymän hyökkäyssodan seurauksena.

Kannatan sitä, että ehdokasmaat suuntautuvat länteen. EU-maiden ja kansainvälisen yhteisön tulee seistä Ukrainan tukena niin kauan, kunnes Venäjän joukot on häädetty Ukrainan alueelta. Samoin Venäjän tulee vetäytyä miehittämiltään Georgian ja Moldovan alueilta. Suhtaudun itse EU:n liian nopeaan laajentumiseen varauksellisesti. Laajentuminen merkitsee lisäpainetta Suomen kaltaisten nettomaksajien jäsenmaksuihin.

Uusien jäsenmaiden liittyminen voi hankaloittaa entisestään EU:n päätöksentekoa. Mielestäni ehdokasmaiden tulee täyttää kaikki kriteerit ennen kuin voidaan puhua EU-jäsenyydestä. Tämä edellyttää monia taloudellisia ja poliittisia uudistuksia.

Željana Zovko (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, još jednom čestitam narodu Ukrajine, narodu Moldavije, narodu Gruzije, a narodima Bosne i Hercegovine još jednom poručujem: Hrvatska stoji čvrsto iza vas. Čestitam gospođi Borjani Krišto na svom predanom i hrabrom radu, što je učinila u ovo malo vremena, čestitam premijeru Andreju Plenkoviću što se do zadnjeg borio da Bosna i Hercegovina dobije ovakav zaključak kakav je dobila, čestitam doktoru Draganu Čoviću na svem što čini – ali ne mogu sami.

Poručujem Dodiku, poručujem Bošnjacima: sjedite i dogovorite se. Ako se Daytonski mirovni sporazum mogao sastaviti za nekoliko dana, sve se ovo može ispuniti, Bosna i Hercegovina može početi pregovore. Imate tu obavezu prema narodima koje predstavljate. Imate obavezu da napravite konačno dogovor. Sjedite, dogovorite se i dajte Andreju Plenkoviću šansu da može za vas konačno i preći ovaj zadnji most i Bosnu i Hercegovinu staviti na čelo gdje i pripada.

Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, felicidades por el trabajo. Sabe que yo suelo ser muy crítico con su gestión, pero creo que hacer diez informes de esta entidad es un gran trabajo de usted y de su equipo.

Creo que, en Georgia, estamos corrigiendo el error que se cometió hace unos meses. Yo creo que poner a Georgia en una situación más proactiva seguramente quitará razones a los que tienen menos entusiasmo dentro del país para acercarse a Europa.

Y, siguiendo la idea del colega Bütikofer, hay un país, quizá dos, muy particular en este paquete: Turquía no camina hacia adelante. Turquía no avanza perezosamente o con dificultades. Turquía retrocede en materia de estándares democráticos y, por tanto, hay que ponerla en una situación diferente. Cuidado con las ofertas generales a todos los países candidatos cuando no todas las voluntades políticas van en la misma dirección.

Reitero una idea que yo le dije esta mañana: no hay atajos geopolíticos. Una cosa es que el proceso de ampliación se desencadene por una situación geopolítica y otra cosa es que el proceso de adhesión es un proceso basado en méritos, en cualquier caso. Estoy hablando de Turquía y estoy hablando también de algunos vecinos del Este. Por tanto, sea cuidadoso con no entrar en esta lógica de que en algunos países candidatos, como nos necesitan por otros motivos, no miren los estándares democráticos.

Klemen Grošelj (Renew). – Gospa predsednica. Paket pred nami ne sporoča veliko novega. Sam sem razočaran, da Komisija ni našla poti, da z Bosno in Hercegovino odpre pogajanja že konec tega leta. To bi bila politično in še bolj glede na pomen Bosne in Hercegovine za Zahodni Balkan modra geopolitična poteza. Drugo, kar skrbi, pa je dejstvo, da Komisija in to geopolitična, še vedno ob vse večjih izzivih, s katerimi se sooča EU, ni našla pravega ravnovesja med geopolitičnimi potrebami, širitve in temeljnimi svoboščinami, vladavino prava in demokratičnimi načeli, ki so v temeljih širitvenega procesa. Temelji, na katerih temelji Evropska unija in njeno blagostanje. Samo načrti za rast ne bodo rešili ključnih družbenih in socialnih dilem držav kandidatk. To torej ostaja izziv, na katerega bo morala odgovoriti Evropska unija v prihodnje kot celota. Verjetno bo to naloga novega Parlamenta in Komisije, seveda, če želimo, da bo širitev in proces širitve spet zgodba o uspehu in ne neko skropucalo, v katerem smo sedaj.

Gwendoline Delbos-Corfield (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, the EU urgently needs to rethink the way it approaches enlargement. The accession process must increase direct work with civil society, rather than focusing only on bilateral discussions with national governments.

The 2023 enlargement package stresses a new momentum for the Western Balkans. Good! But reforms have largely stalled in the region; citizens there are deeply disappointed by their own governments and by the EU. When I meet them in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Montenegro, I am energised by a strong civil society fighting for democratic changes and a more peaceful political debate in difficult, sometimes autocratic, circumstances.

We are opening up the accession process to Ukraine and Moldova, but we are not making progress with our neighbours in the Western Balkans. What message does this send to those fighting for European values there?

The future of the Western Balkans is in Europe. We have common history and shared challenges: security in the face of Russian aggression, safeguarding democracy, upholding rule of law and protecting the environment. But this means real dialogue and sincere cooperation, not loose commercial relationships with corrupted administrations and despotic leaders.

Siegfried Mureșan (PPE). – Doamna președintă, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, decizia de astăzi a Comisiei Europene de a începe negocierile pentru aderarea la Uniunea Europeană a Moldovei și a Ucrainei este corectă, este justificată și este o zi istorică.

Această decizie este corectă deoarece negocierile pentru aderare la Uniunea Europeană sunt unul dintre cele mai puternice instrumente pe care Uniunea Europeană le are de a sprijini transformările, reformările, modernizarea și stabilizarea, întărirea statelor din vecinătatea noastră imediată, care doresc să devină membri ai Uniunii Europene.

Prin decizia de astăzi, Uniunea Europeană spune clar Republicii Moldova și Ucrainei: ne vom implica financiar, tehnic, cu toată expertiza noastră, pentru ca oamenii din Ucraina și din Republica Moldova să se apropie de standardele europene cât de repede. Ne vom implica în reformarea justiției, în modernizarea acestor țări, în modernizarea tuturor domeniilor.

Domnule comisar, va fi foarte important să și transpunem această recomandare într-o decizie finală a Consiliului și să începem negocierile de aderare cât de curând, la începutul anului următor.

Decizia de astăzi este o victorie a Uniunii Europene, o victorie a oamenilor din aceste state și este confirmarea faptului că influența Federației Ruse în regiune este în scădere.

Andreas Schieder (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Entscheidungen von heute sind wahrlich weitreichende und sehr gute. Gerade beim Westbalkan, muss man sagen, ist es eigentlich höchste Zeit, dass Albanien und Nordmazedonien jetzt auch in die Lage kommen, den Beitritt ernsthafter zu verhandeln – viel zu viele Jahre haben sie warten müssen. Und auch bei Bosnien heiße ich die Fortschritte willkommen.

Und was die Ukraine, Georgien, Moldawien betrifft, so ist es ein ganz, ganz wichtiges – auch weltpolitisches – Zeichen. Aber, wir müssen auch dazu sagen: Es gibt keine Abkürzung auf dem Weg in die Europäische Union. Es sind Kriterien zu erfüllen, und es sind harte Reformen durchzuführen gegen Korruption, Oligarchenherrschaft und, und, und. Generell ein langer, schwieriger Weg.

Und meiner Meinung nach muss man die Schwierigkeiten auch am Anfang ansprechen, damit die Euphorie am Ende nicht in einer großen Enttäuschung endet, sondern am Anfang die Probleme ansprechen, um sie auch zu lösen. Das ist das Wichtige beim Erweiterungsprozess.

Dacian Cioloș (Renew). – Doamna președintă, recomandarea Comisiei Europene de a începe negocierile de aderare cu Moldova și Ucraina e o decizie de mare impact în regiune, atât politic, cât și economic.

Sper ca statele membre să-și asume la rândul lor o decizie rapidă și să valideze această recomandare a Comisiei în așa fel încât negocierile propriu-zise cu Moldova și Ucraina să poată să înceapă înainte de primăvara anului viitor.

Startul negocierilor va fi un semnal politic puternic pentru populația din țările candidate, dar și pentru antreprenorii europeni, care trebuie susținuți și stimulați să investească în aceste țări.

În același timp, trebuie să discutăm despre integrarea Moldovei și Ucrainei în unele politici europene tratat, înainte de semnarea oficială a Tratatului de aderare, dar și despre adaptarea politicii comerciale a Uniunii Europene față de aceste țări și alocări bugetare de care va fi nevoie.

Cu cât mai repede se vor vedea rezultatele acestor negocieri, rezultate palpabile pentru cetățeni, cu atât acest proces de negocieri de aderare va fi mai credibil și își va atinge scopul mai bine.

Matjaž Nemec (S&D). – Gospa predsednica. Pri širitvenem procesu ne smemo pozabiti na desetletna prizadevanja držav Zahodnega Balkana. Taktika čakalnice na Zahodnem Balkanu očitno ne deluje. Pogojevanje začetku pogajanj z Bosno in Hercegovino pošilja državi in regiji napačen signal, da je za Unijo vojna generator širitvene politike. Odločitev Komisije glede Bosne je licemerska, saj bi ta lahko vse do pomladi čakala na začetek pogajanj. Ta bi prinesla zagon reform in preprečila nadaljnjo stagnacijo. Normalizacija odnosov med Srbijo in Kosovom je ključna za proces približevanja ter stabilnost v regiji. V primeru Severne Makedonije pozivam predvsem opozicijo h konstruktivni drži pri sprejemanju ustreznih ustavnih sprememb. Spoštovani visoki izbor, dragi komisar! Širitvena politika je dvosmerna ulica, zato mora Unija sprejeti notranje reforme, ki bodo Unijo pripravile na povečano evropsko družino. Ne smemo dovoliti, da nacionalizmi ugašajo evropski zagon tako v Uniji kot v njeni soseščini.

Sandro Gozi (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, l'unification continentale devra être un processus nouveau, graduel, flexible, réversible et fondé sur les mérites. Elle requiert un engagement politique fort de l'Union et des candidats, l'adhésion aux principes fondateurs de l'Union, le plein respect de l'État de droit et l'élimination du veto dans l'Union européenne. Pour réussir, nous devons donc, chers collègues, avoir le courage de regarder la réalité en face. Une révision des traités ambitieuse et novatrice est incontournable pour mettre l'Union élargie en état de marche.

La décision de transformer notre Union en l'élargissant nous contraint à entreprendre une triple révolution. Le politique doit prévaloir sur l'économique, l'intégration progressive des pays candidats dans le marché intérieur est essentielle, et l'Union doit devenir une puissance géopolitique. Il est l'heure d'assumer nos responsabilités sans épuiser la patience et la détermination de nos partenaires orientaux tout en réformant nos institutions. En conséquence, je le répète, réformons l'Union pour unifier le continent.

Pedro Silva Pereira (S&D). – Madam President, speaking as co-rapporteur of the European Parliament on enlargement, let me welcome today's European Commission recommendation to grant candidate status to Georgia and to open accession negotiations with Ukraine and Moldova.

I also welcome efforts made by other candidate countries and as progress in the Western Balkans has stalled, I urge them to pursue their reforms agenda to meet the requirements for accession. In fact, accession to the EU is a merit-based procedure with no shortcuts, no fast tracks and no counterproductive fixed deadlines.

But as we are moving forward towards enlargement, it is time to recall that also European institutional and financial reforms are needed to ensure the EU's capacity to absorb new members. Simplify decision-making, re-composition of EU institutions, flexible solutions for differentiated integration and additional fiscal capacity – all those are prerequisites for enlargement. So let's make our own homework. Candidate countries must make reforms, but so do we at European level.

Ramona Strugariu (Renew). – Doamna președintă, Republica Moldova și Ucraina merită din plin drumul european pe care am decis să li-l susținem și aș vrea să mulțumesc Comisiei pentru mesajul foarte puternic de astăzi.

Republica Moldova și-a reformat administrația, își consolidează justiția, continuă lupta anticorupție, investește în oameni, oameni care au arătat curaj, determinare, putere, responsabilitate.

Cel mai important lucru care trebuie să se întâmple acum este ca și noi să arătăm aceeași determinare și aceeași responsabilitate în a-i ajuta mai departe, până în momentul în care devin parte integrantă a familiei europene.

Republica Moldova e o țară mică, cu o inimă mare. E o țară care poate să fie susținută foarte ușor din punct de vedere tehnic, din punct de vedere financiar, cu resurse, în așa fel încât să facă pasul către această integrare cât mai repede, iar Ucraina trebuie reconstruită pas cu pas.

Pyynnöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot

Sunčana Glavak (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, poštovani povjereniče, kolegice i kolege, danas predstavljeni paket proširenja šalje snažnu poruku, rekla bih, ovdje iz Europskog parlamenta i, naravno, iz Komisije. Čestitam Ukrajini, Moldovi, Gruziji, ali i Bosni i Hercegovini, svjesna činjenice kako je Bosna i Hercegovina u prosincu prošle godine tek dobila status kandidata.

Ono što je dobro što se tiče Bosne i Hercegovine: pozdravljeni su reformski naponi koji su od tada postignuti i tu posebno čestitam Borjani Krišto. Naravno, uz punu potporu Hrvatske i hrvatske Vlade i nas zastupnika koji stalno stojimo uz Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Ja bih rekla da je današnja situacija *win-win* – sagledajmo je tako. U potpunosti podržavam individualni pristup u pogledu politike proširenja, a s novim preporukama svjesni smo da Bosna i Hercegovina ne treba čekati užujak iduće godine. Te stvari mogu se riješiti i ranije.

Proširenje je ključna politika Europske unije i znamo koliko je Zapadni Balkan bitan za Europsku uniju. Ovo gledam kao na širom otvorena vrata Bosni i Hercegovini, a dinamika proširenja i onih reformi koje su potrebne u njihovim je rukama – imaju sve alate.

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Doamna președintă, domnule comisar, dragi colegi, prin decizia Comisiei Europene de a recomanda începerea negocierilor de aderare la Uniunea Europeană pentru Republica Moldova și Ucraina, se realizează un pas important, istoric, spre reîntregirea Europei.

Cetățenii din cele două state primesc astfel un mesaj de sprijin și de solidaritate absolut necesar pentru a putea lupta în continuare pentru valorile europene și împotriva agresiunii permanente realizate de Federația Rusă.

Ca român, sunt foarte bucuros să văd că frații noștri din Republica Moldova sunt tot mai aproape să fie din nou împreună cu noi, de această dată în Uniunea Europeană.

Mă bucur că mesajul transmis în urmă cu câteva săptămâni chiar de Parlamentul European, prin rezoluția aprobată de legislativul nostru, pe care am consemnat-o și susținut-o, a fost luat în calcul de executivul european.

Acum este timpul ca liderii europeni să aprobe aceste solicitări fără niciun fel de întârziere sau condiționalități suplimentare.

Totodată, prin conferirea statutului de țară candidată Georgiei, ne asigurăm că în jurul Mării Negre construim un bazin al democrației europene.

Împreună reușim să facem din Uniunea Europeană casa tuturor statelor din centrul și estul Europei.

Andrius Kubilius (PPE). – Madam President, well, dear colleagues, everybody today repeats that this is a historical day. But I will add, this is a historical day which will change Europe. At the end of the road, there will be different not only Ukraine and other applicant countries, but also different European Union, and a difference in the whole European continent since Ukraine's membership in the EU will also change Russia and Belarus.

Ukraine, with its fight and its international status as icebreaker broke through EU enlargement stagnation. That is beneficial for all the accession countries, including Western Balkans, Moldova and Georgia. Hopefully, Ukraine also will bring back to the European Union ambition to negotiate like it was done with Central Europe – three years – which means that the whole enlargement process can be finished before 2030. Ukraine's icebreaker is really needed for Europe.

Juozas Olekas (S&D). – Gerbiamas Komisijos nary, gerbiami kolegos. Pirmiausia dėkoju Komisijai už išsamų ir geopolitinį įvertinimą. Noriu pasveikinti Ukrainos ir Moldovos žmones su teigiamu Komisijos įvertinimu ir siūlymu Europos Sąjungos Tarybai oficialiai pradėti stojimo derybas. Tai istorinis žingsnis, kurio reikšmė geriausia bus matyti po keleto metų. Tai svarbus įvertinimas Ukrainos ir Moldovos pastangų tęsti pradėtas reformas, net ir tęsiantis kruvinai Rusijos agresijai. Taip pat sveikinu Bosnijos ir Hercegovinos ir Sakartvelo žmones. Žinau, kad šis reformų kelias nėra lengvas. Mano šalis Lietuva šią transformaciją patyrė išsivadavusi iš Sovietų Sąjungos okupacijos. Tuo metu Lietuva irgi turėjo įvykti teisines, ekonomines, valstybės administravimo reformas, turėjo kovoti su korupcija ir organizuotu nusikalstamumu. Tikiu, kad tokios motyvacijos vykdyti reformas netrūks Ukrainos ir Moldovos žmonėms, ir jau po kelių metų mes matysime šias valstybes kaip pilnateises Europos Sąjungos nares, bet tam turime vykdyti ir Europos Sąjungos vidaus reformas.

Michiel Hoogeveen (ECR). – Madam President, the European Union does not need to be enlarged; it is big enough as it is. As happened too many times. President von der Leyen created a PR moment for herself while overstepping her mandate and bypassing the Member States.

Madam President, in my country, the Netherlands, there is no appetite for further EU expansion. We already pay the highest amount of EU contributions per capita and an enlargement will only increase this burden.

The Commission tells us that if we don't expand, these countries would turn to Russia and China. But the only reason this would happen is because we keep making empty promises. We do not need to fully integrate these countries into the EU in order to improve economic or diplomatic relations. The only European integration this enlargement will cause is disintegration.

(Pyyntöstä myönnettävät puheenvuorot päättyvät)

Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, honourable Members, since the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, we have seen in the East, but also in the Western Balkans, a powerful reform dynamic.

Enlargement is a geostrategic investment in peace, security, stability and prosperity. Our partners – and we – take this exercise very seriously. The enlargement process will continue to be driven by the country's progress in the rule of law, fundamental rights, the functioning of democratic institutions, public administration reform and the economic criteria – the core of the fundamentals of the EU accession process.

We are ahead of significant decisions by the European Council later this year. The Commission's role is to present a solid, fact-based analysis on which our recommendations are grounded. This is where our credibility is at stake and this is what we are doing today. We have a solid package in front of us and we hope that it will be endorsed by the European Council very, very soon.

Puhemies. – Paljon kiitoksia komissaari. Tämä keskustelu on päättynyt.

Kirjalliset lausumat (171 artikla)

Andrus Ansip (Renew), kirjalikult. – Euroopa Komisjon tegi ettepaneku alustada liitumisläbirääkimisi Ukraina ja Moldovaga. Liikmesriigid peavad selle ettepaneku detsembril ülemkogul heaks kiitma ja siis saavad alata läbirääkimised eesmärgiga, et Ukraina ja Moldova saaksid ELi liikmeks. Ma loodan väga, et mõni liikmesriik ei hakka läbirääkimiste alustamist takistama. Läbirääkimiste alustamisest liikmesuseni on pikk tee. Euroopa Liidu laienemine on eelkõige küsimus kriteeriumide täitmisest. Kui kandidaatriik täidab kriteeriumid, siis ta peab olema Euroopa Liitu teretulnud ja kui ta tingimusi ei täida, peab ta pingutama rohkem. Tingimuste täitmine on raske ja aeganõudev ülesanne, aga ma usun, et Euroopa Parlamendi ja liikmesriikide abiga suudavad Ukraina ja Moldova kõik liitumistingimused täita.

Dominique Bilde (ID), *par écrit*. – Hier, les Balkans occidentaux et demain, l'Ukraine, la Moldavie ou encore la Géorgie: le projet d'élargissement ne semble plus connaître de limites. S'agissant des Balkans occidentaux, le processus intervient alors que les tensions sont à nouveau à vif. C'est le cas s'agissant de la Serbie et du Kosovo, Pristina n'ayant pas concrétisé l'association des municipalités à majorité serbe. De même, les négociations d'adhésion pourraient s'ouvrir avec la Bosnie-Herzégovine, alors que le traitement de la République serbe de Bosnie devrait nous interpeller.

Du reste, une certaine lassitude pourrait gagner la région: en Serbie, le soutien populaire à une adhésion à l'Union européenne ne serait plus que de 33 %. Une issue qui ne surprend guère, au regard de la pression exercée sur le pays tant pour s'aligner sur la politique de Bruxelles vis-à-vis de la Russie que pour reconnaître son ancienne province du Kosovo – pourtant non reconnue par cinq États membres. Bref, cette politique d'élargissement est une aberration. Son seul aspect tangible est son coût financier – au travers, en particulier, de l'instrument d'aide de préadhésion.

Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR), *na piśmie*. – Na początku tej debaty pani Ursula von der Leyen podkreśliła, jak ważne jest dla Unii Europejskiej, by „położyć niezbędne wewnętrzne podwaliny pod jej reformy”. Dlaczego nie mówimy tu wprost, na czym te podwaliny miałyby polegać? Co tu się forsuje?

Przecież zmiany, które mają nastąpić w Unii Europejskiej, oznaczają zniesienie prawa weta. Dotąd państwa członkowskie, mimo iż oddały część uprawnień UE, wciąż pozostawały państwami suwerennymi. Obecnie chce się nas tego pozbawić, a to jest zmiana o charakterze fundamentalnym dla statusu państw członkowskich. Widzimy tu, że Unia będzie chciała ingerować w sprawy zagraniczne, kwestie obronne oraz sprawy bezpieczeństwa granic UE.

Z perspektywy Polski istnieje uzasadniona obawa, że w te kwestie będą chciały ingerować Niemcy, a to oznaczałoby rządy zewnętrzne w Polsce. Na to nigdy nie możemy się zgodzić!

Kwestia rozszerzenia UE, między innymi przez Ukrainę – które wspieramy, rozumiejąc jego potrzebę – nie może być pretekstem do forsowania zmian w traktatach, które wprost lub pośrednio uderzają w suwerenność państw członkowskich. A siłowe forsowanie federalizacji Europy to nic innego niż prosta droga ku jej upadkowi.

15. Skład grup politycznych

Puhemies. – Minulla on kaksi ilmoitusta ennen kuin siirrymme seuraavaan asiaan. Ensinnäkin ilmoitan, että Elisabetta De Blasis on ECR-ryhmän jäsen 9.11.2023 alkaen.

Ja toinen ilmoitus, S&D-ryhmä ja sitoumattomat jäsenet ovat ilmoitaneet puhemiehelle päätöksistä, jotka koskevat nimistysten muutoksia valiokunnissa.

16. Skład komisji i delegacji

Puhemies. – Nämä päätökset esitetään tämän päivän istunnon pöytäkirjassa ja ne tulevat voimaan tämän ilmoituksen antamispäivänä.

17. Stan unii energetycznej (debata)

Puhemies. – Esityslistalla on seuraavana komission julkilausuma energiaunionin tilasta (2023/2890(RSP)).

Kadri Simson, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I am glad to discuss with you the state of our energy union and the challenges ahead.

2022 was a watershed year. Europe's energy system was shaken by an unprecedented energy crisis triggered by the Russian war against Ukraine. Changes happened at a fast pace. The state of the energy union report provides a rich set of data to look back at last year's events and assess their impact.

As usual, the main document is accompanied by specific reports on key topics, such as the progress in implementing the national energy and climate plans, climate action progress, progress on competitiveness of clean energy technologies and energy subsidies.

This year, we have placed a particular focus on clean technologies and we presented at the same time of the report, the wind power package – a plan with concrete actions to support the resilience of the wind power sector in Europe.

Looking back, the state of the energy union report shows that the EU responded effectively to the energy crisis. The REPowerEU agenda has worked well and helped avoid the worst effects of the crisis. By acting together in solidarity and unity, we managed to drastically reduce our dependence on Russian fossil fuel imports by completely phasing out imports of Russian coal, reducing our dependence on Russian oil by around 90%, and reducing imports of Russian gas by 75% between March 2021 and March 2023.

Between August 2022 and August 2023, gas demand went down by more than 18% compared to the previous five-year average. Gas storage facilities were filled up to 95% ahead of last winter, playing a key role in preventing market disruptions. We have diversified our energy supplies towards more reliable, non-Russian suppliers – also through the EU energy platform created in April 2022.

The crisis forced us to give priority to energy security, but this did not derail progress on the clean transition. EU greenhouse gas emissions decreased by around 3% in 2022, continuing the downward trend of the last 30 years. If all Fit for 55 measures are implemented, we will be on track towards the EU's 2030 target of cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 55% – and possibly even surpass it.

The installation of renewable energy capacities increased by 47%. In 2022, for the first time, more electricity was produced from wind and solar than from gas-fired power plants. In 2022, sales of heat pumps rose to unprecedented levels, with an increase of 39%. The sales of electric vehicles went up by 28% compared to 2021. In 2021, the EU's primary and final energy consumption were 3.2% and 1.8% respectively lower than in 2019 – despite the COVID crisis recovery.

Even with some headwinds, investments in the clean tech industry have shown a stronger resilience than many expected. And on the legislative side, key Fit for 55 initiatives were adopted, sometimes with an even higher ambition than their original proposals, in line with REPowerEU. For instance, the EU agreed higher 2030 targets for renewable energy and energy efficiency.

In short, the state of the energy union report shows that despite the energy crisis, the EU delivered on its commitment to climate action and fast tracked its clean transition.

But this 2023 report is not only important for what it says about our past actions – it is valuable because it points us to where we need action ahead of next year's European elections.

Let me mention five lessons we can draw from this report. First, Europe is today better prepared and has stronger crisis management tools than one year ago. Yet we remain exposed to energy shocks. A crisis in the Middle East, with markets still fragile due to the effects of the Russian war, could have wide-ranging impacts. Likewise, any incidents on key energy infrastructure may rapidly affect the sentiment of very nervous energy markets. This means that we must continue our diversification efforts and we must keep a vigilant posture, pursuing prudent policies.

While we are integrating some crisis response tools into our long-term legislative framework, we should consider continuing the temporary emergency regimes introduced in 2022. These have been essential last year to go safely through the crisis – and I am referring here to the regulations on gas solidarity, on the market correction mechanism and on the permitting for renewables.

Second, we must not lose momentum on renewables. For that, we need to focus on implementation. One of the key bottlenecks to make grids fit for a decarbonised energy system lies in the time needed to reinforce and expand them. That's why, after the wind power package, I will propose an action plan for grids at the end of this month. It will include measures to address barriers – including regulatory, financial and permitting issues – and ensure better, smarter use of existing grids.

Third, investors and industry need now clarity on how Member States will translate the new energy and climate targets and objectives into concrete national measures and which public funding can be leveraged. Timely, updated national energy and climate plans are key here, and only 21 Member States have so far submitted the draft updated plans, which were due by June this year. So it is urgent that Member States who have not done so deliver their plans.

Fourth, we need to preserve Europe's position in the ongoing clean technology race. We are in a good position in a number of technological sectors, but we need targeted attention to areas like wind, some parts of solar industry, cables and products for energy-efficient buildings.

In the hydrogen sector, we need to push industry to move from plans on paper to final investment decisions. Skills and venture capital investment are also key areas of vulnerability across the board. Therefore, reaching an agreement on the necessary infrastructure before the end of the parliamentary term would be very important.

Reinforcing competitiveness will also go hand in hand with reviewing energy subsidy schemes. Last year, the report shows, fossil fuel subsidies increased significantly to shelter consumers and industry from surging prices and it is very important that these costly subsidies are progressively scaled down.

Let me conclude with the final point on energy poverty. Last year, around 40 million people were unable to keep their homes warm enough. This is nearly 10% of the EU's population, a sharp increase from just under 7% in 2021. This winter will bring again anxiety and concerns for many more citizens. We need to take swift and targeted action to address the underlying root causes of energy poverty.

Over the past year and a half, the Commission has taken many steps to protect consumers and we need to continue. I have presented two weeks ago a recommendation on energy poverty, and on the same day, Commissioner Reynders and I welcomed the renewal of the joint declaration signed by key stakeholders in the energy sector. And this declaration helps to protect vulnerable consumers from disconnection until the entry into force of the electricity market design.

Honourable Members, this Parliament and this Commission started the mandate with a strong commitment to tackle energy, climate and environmental challenges. The 2023 state of the energy union report shows that despite a unique set of challenges, we stayed the course. We jointly achieved what we set out for and we are on the correct trajectory.

I want to pay tribute to you, honourable Members and the work of this Parliament and the clean energy transition, but let's not be mistaken: the coming months will be challenging. We have now seven months before the European elections, and let's work together to close the open legislative files in the field of energy, ensure robust crisis preparedness and leave, at the end of this mandate, the EU on the right trajectory to achieve its 2030 targets. And now I'm looking forward to hearing your views.

Cristian-Silviu Buşoi, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, thank you Commissioner Kadri Simson for representing the State of the Energy Union report, which every year marks an opportunity for this House to take stock of the progress and also debate what else we should do.

The past year has been one of the decisive actions by the Union in the field of energy policy. The ongoing war of aggression in Ukraine and the overall geopolitical instability has only underlined how important it is for the Union and its Member States to reduce to a minimum our toxic dependencies on unreliable partners and to increase our strategic autonomy. Energy lies at the heart of our economies. It makes our industries function, it heats our homes, it fuels our transport, it keeps our food, it switches on our computers. The more we control that essential input to our way of life, the less vulnerable we will be to external shocks.

Our Green Deal and REPowerEU objectives to have that energy mostly coming from clean indigenous sources therefore makes total sense. We should congratulate ourselves for all the actions taken to tackle the consequences of the war in Ukraine. We should be proud of having reduced our dependence on Russian fossil fuels, to tighten the rules of gas storage, to have increased the renewable generation in record quantities. We have been and are fully committed to bringing the EU legislative framework up to date to be able to face these challenging times with all the tools Member States need to ensure we reach net zero objectives. We have delivered on RED, on energy efficiency, we delivered on gas storage and we will deliver on methane, on energy performance of buildings, on the gas and hydrogen package, on REMIT, electricity market design and the Net Zero Industry Act.

Commissioner Simson spoke about needing to step up our efforts to achieve our goals. As Chair of the ITRE Committee and a Member of the EPP Group, I expect the Commission to take full advantage of this end of the term and all the analysis presented today, to carry out all the necessary impact assessments that will allow the next Commission and co-legislators to take action when needed.

Thank you so much and congratulations.

Dan Nica, în numele grupului S&D. – Doamna președintă, doamna comisară Simson, au fost câteva lucruri bune care s-au realizat în ultima perioadă de timp, pentru că după lecția învățată după o iarnă complicată, grea, aproape catastrofală în Uniunea Europeană, am reușit ca anumite lucruri să le corectăm.

Faptul că există obligația să înmagazinăm gazul natural este un plus, dar oamenii întrebă: iarna asta va fi la fel ca iarna trecută, când se uitau la facturile la gaze și la electricitate să vadă ce trebuie să facă? Ca să-și plătească factura trebuie să renunțe la mâncare, să renunțe la haine, ce trebuie să facă? Și mai ales, faptul că nu a existat această predictibilitate a deranjat foarte mult. Iar în același timp aceiași oameni, firmele mici și mijlocii, întreprinderile mari din Uniunea Europeană, ce au văzut: că sunt anumite firme care au făcut miliarde și miliarde de euro profituri excepționale.

Și vă spuneam și atunci și vă spun și acum, doamna comisară Simson, că atunci când sunt profiturile excepționale, ceva este defect, ceva este profund greșit. Regula trebuie să fie contracte pe termen mediu și lung, să existe o predictibilitate a acestor prețuri, pentru că energia electrică nu e ca o piață agroalimentară.

Și mai este un lucru care lipsește: în Uniunea Europeană întreprinderile energo-intensive, care ce înseamnă? Oțel, aluminiu, ciment, gaze, îngrășăminte chimice și pentru agricultură, produse chimice. Ele nu mai pot să producă pentru că sunt evident necompetitive, că la prețul la care pot să cumpere și gazul, dar și energia electrică, ele nu mai sunt în piață.

Și atunci vreau să vă întreb care este viitorul pe care noi îl vrem în Uniunea Europeană? Să luăm oțelul, aluminiul, cimentul? De unde? Din China? Dacă nu reușim, nu înțelegeți că prețurile sunt de două ori mai mari decât ale celor care nu sunt în Uniunea Europeană și acest lucru face să pierdem și locuri de muncă, dar să pierdem strategic.

Pe de o parte am declarat strategice aceste produse și pe de altă parte, ne uităm cum ele mor. 40 de milioane de tone de oțel anul trecut, capacitate închisă, și una din cauzele principale o reprezintă prețul la energie electrică și la gazele naturale.

Deci, aceste lucruri trebuie corectate pentru ca să avem o iarnă liniștită.

SĒDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

Priekšsēdētājas vietnieks

Morten Petersen, *for Renew-Gruppen*. – Hr. formand! Den årlige statusrapport om vores europæiske energiunion er et vigtigt værktøj i kampen mod klimaforandringerne og vores afhængighed af de fossile brændsler og ikke mindst Putins gas. Den dårlige nyhed er, at 2023 tegner til at blive det varmeste år, som måske nogensinde er målt her på jorden. Den gode nyhed er, at vi ved, hvad der skal til for at bekæmpe klimaforandringerne. Der skal mere vedvarende energi ind i vores elnet. Der skal mere energieffektivitet til. Der skal mere tempo i den grønne omstilling. Vi ved, hvad der skal til, men vi mangler altså viljen til at gøre det nødvendige. Vi skal have ambitioner ind i det bygningsdirektiv, vi er ved at forhandle på plads. Vi skal sikre et fælles europæisk elnet, som kan integrere mere grøn strøm fra vindmøller til havs og på land. Det kræver enorme investeringer, transparens og forudsigelighed og en hjælpende hånd til en skrantende europæisk vindindustri. Og så skal vi have stoppet subsidierne til de fossile brændsler. Så lad os se at få taget de nødvendige og ambitiøse beslutninger, som skal tages i den resterende del af valgperioden.

Ville Niinistö, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner, thank you to the Commission for this annual overview. I think this report highlights very well how we have tackled the worst of the energy crisis and managed to cut off a large share of imports from Russia and fossil fuels. But even if we acknowledge that, it is very clear that we need to do even more in the near future. Some Member States have replaced their dependency on Russian fossil fuels with other fossil fuels, and we need to look at long-term solutions in order to achieve our goals in renewable energy by 2030. If we are looking at the increase to 42.5% of the EU energy mix by 2030, that will require a much faster growth than in the coming years than we've had in the past. Even more so for the aspirational, more ambitious target of 45%.

So, my question is, what does the Commission do to make sure that all the Member States are on board in this, and also including energy efficiency, which is key to reducing dependency on fossil fuels and gas, especially in heating and cooling. In heating and cooling and transport the progress has been more modest, so it is important that all sectors are included, not just the electricity sector, which is doing strongly. We expect more from the Commission also in reducing fossil fuel subsidies and making sure all sectors are included.

Robert Roos, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, oud-klimaatpaus Frans Timmermans heeft hier vier jaar lang kernenergie gesaboteerd. In Nederland gaat hij met een raar hoog stemmetje praten als het over kernenergie gaat. Hij zegt dan dat er geen studies zijn die bewijzen dat kernenergie rendabel is. Die zijn er wel. Ik heb er zelf een laten uitvoeren. Deze studie is gepeerreviewed door onder andere klimaatconoom en Nobelprijswinnaar professor William Nordhaus.

De conclusie? Juist in een klein land als Nederland is kernenergie rendabel. Maar Timmermans wilde dit rapport nooit in ontvangst nemen. En eigenlijk is dat tekenend voor het hele EU-beleid over energie. Wie dogma's heilig verklaart, durft de feiten niet onder ogen te zien. Maar voor iedereen buiten de radicale klimaatbubbel zijn de feiten duidelijk. Voor de hele EU zou een transitie naar kernenergie uitstekend zijn. Daarmee kunnen we het leven weer betaalbaar maken. Daar hebben de mensen behoefte aan. Nu Timmermans eindelijk weg is, kan de EU de bocht maken. Kies voor kernenergie. Het is de hoogste tijd.

President. – I would like to remind you that according to the rules you cannot show even if with books are with you when you are speaking so thank you very much for the future.

Jordan Bardella, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, le monde convulse, le Proche-Orient s'embrase et l'onde de choc qui se propage jusqu'en Europe s'ajoute aux tumultes quotidiens de nos concitoyens dont l'angoisse de découvrir leur facture d'énergie n'aura jamais été aussi palpable. Depuis le déclenchement de la guerre en Ukraine, notre continent fait face à une crise de l'énergie sans précédent, plongeant nos États dans des difficultés que nous pourrions comparer à celles vécues lors du premier choc pétrolier d'octobre 73. Même si elle ne fait plus la une de l'actualité, la situation perdure et les prix de l'énergie restent à un niveau préoccupant qui pénalise aussi bien le pouvoir d'achat des ménages que la compétitivité de nos entreprises.

Dans cette crise de l'énergie, loin de vos satisfaits, l'Union européenne n'a pas été un bouclier. Pire, les règles absurdes du marché européen de l'énergie auront été un amplificateur de crise, et il a contribué à diffuser et à intensifier dans nos sociétés les ondes sismiques d'un choc extérieur. Ce marché européen de l'énergie est le symbole d'une politique de l'énergie technocratique et centralisée. Il risque de mener notre continent tout entier vers un hiver économique, avec un exode industriel qui a déjà commencé par ces règles absurdes et qui menace d'appauvrir l'Europe.

Une autre politique est pourtant possible. Elle nécessite le courage politique dont des pays comme le Portugal et l'Espagne, de manière dérogatoire, ont fait preuve en rompant avec les règles imposées par la Commission. Grâce à l'excellence de sa filière nucléaire, la France a tous les atouts pour devenir un paradis énergétique capable d'offrir à ses citoyens des tarifs raisonnables et capable d'attirer à elle tous ceux qui veulent créer, innover et produire. C'est cet avenir que mon mouvement défendra lors de la grande confrontation démocratique le 9 juin 2024.

Marc Botenga, au nom du groupe *The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, votre autosatisfaction est vraiment insupportable. Franchement, vous parlez d'un succès de la politique européenne, tandis que les Belges, par exemple, payent toujours leur énergie le double de ce qu'ils payaient avant la crise. C'est ça le succès, saigner les gens, faire augmenter leur facture? Vous osez appeler ça un succès? Commencez, s'il vous plaît, par casser le pouvoir des multinationales, par briser ce marché. Bloquons les prix et taxons les surprofits des multinationales. Qu'est-ce que vous attendez? Puis vous reviendrez nous parler éventuellement de succès si vous arrivez à faire le minimum de la base.

Parlons un peu de la moralité de votre politique, quand même aussi, parce que vous avez décidé de ne plus importer de gaz russe par gazoduc. Très bien. Cela a évidemment accentué la hausse des prix, mais vous avez dit que c'était moral parce que nous ne voulons pas financer les crimes de guerre russes en Ukraine. Très bien. Et ensuite, que faites-vous? Vous allez conclure un accord sur le gaz avec Israël. Donc non seulement maintenant on paye plus cher, mais en plus on finance les crimes de guerre israéliens à Gaza. Félicitations! Clairement, un enfant palestinien n'a pas la même valeur qu'un enfant ukrainien pour vous.

Tiziana Beghin (NI). – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, l'Unione dell'energia rappresenta sicuramente una grande opportunità di crescita e di sicurezza per la nostra Europa. Con una centrale unica di acquisto e facendo pesare finalmente la forza della nostra Unione, imprese e cittadini possono ottenere prezzi più competitivi rispetto al passato.

Tuttavia ci sono ancora molte zone d'ombra.

Il boom delle energie rinnovabili nel 2022 non è omogeneo in tutte le parti d'Europa. Ci sono paesi, come l'Italia, che arrancano, non sfruttando appieno le potenzialità di sole e vento.

Sempre in Italia i sussidi statali alle fonti fossili nel 2022 sono aumentati di oltre il 500 % rispetto al 2021, anno in cui il governo Conte li ha portati al minimo storico.

La Commissione deve mettere il fiato sul collo ai paesi membri, sulle comunità energetiche, sulle rinnovabili, sulla lotta alla povertà energetica e sull'efficienza degli impianti. I piani nazionali per l'energia e il clima devono riflettere questi obiettivi, altrimenti avremo fallito tutti.

Pilar del Castillo Vera (PPE). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, hoy discutimos el 8.º informe del Estado de la Unión de la Energía. El informe concluye que la Unión Europea redujo su demanda de gas ruso en un 18 % en comparación con los últimos cinco años.

Sin embargo, a pesar de las prohibiciones a la importación de petróleo crudo y productos derivados, la Unión Europea sigue siendo uno de los mayores clientes de combustibles fósiles de Rusia. Es más, algunos Estados miembros que están a favor de las sanciones han aumentado su consumo en estos meses hasta el punto de que en el primer semestre de 2023 las importaciones rusas de gas licuado en la Unión Europea han sido las más elevadas de los últimos años.

Por otro lado, cuando hablamos de la Unión de la Energía hay que señalar que la reforma del mercado eléctrico constituye un avance. Parlamento, Consejo y Comisión están ahora alineados en los objetivos principales de la reforma. Rechazan que los Estados puedan establecer de manera individual un tope máximo de ingresos a los productores de electricidad y defienden que los contratos por diferencia puedan cubrir inversiones en energía nuclear.

Quedan cuestiones significativas que discutir entre el Consejo y el Parlamento, como impulsar el objetivo del 15 % para las interconexiones, un paso necesario para avanzar en un mercado de energía integrado. Vamos por el buen camino. *But we need to move up a gear.*

Nicolás González Casares (S&D). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, esta edición es la primera que evalúa el impacto de la crisis energética, y veo que el informe es optimista sobre cómo la Unión ha afrontado la crisis de precios, pero creo que olvida evaluar cómo los precios de la energía se han trasladado a la ciudadanía en forma de inflación en productos tan básicos como los alimentos y cómo algunas de las medidas implementadas en ciertos países han sido más efectivas para el control inflacionario.

Por ejemplo, en mi país, España, permitieron bajar el precio de electricidad, según Eurostat, un 42 % el año pasado. Es cierto, señora comisaria, se ha trabajado bien, pero hubo que echar mano de medidas y reglamentos de emergencia. Se han salvado situaciones muy complejas y muy complicadas.

Aun así, no debemos ser complacientes, tal y como reconoce el informe de la propia Comisión, ya que aún se percibe volatilidad en el mercado y estamos a punto de aprobar una extensión de medidas que se han utilizado de emergencia y en un escenario complicado geopolíticamente.

Creo que nuestra dependencia fósil sigue suponiendo un grave problema climático y también un lastre económico. Tenemos una nueva Directiva de energías renovables. Tenemos que ser ambiciosos y velar por que se implemente en hasta el último rincón de la Unión Europea.

Por último, nos queda la reforma del diseño del mercado eléctrico. Esperamos aprobarla este año: contamos con la Comisión y creemos que tiene que ser una realidad en esta legislatura.

Christophe Grudler (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, les conclusions du rapport sur l'état de l'Union de l'énergie en 2023 étaient attendues. Elles montrent que nous avons su réagir face à la crise énergétique provoquée par la guerre en Ukraine en amortissant les prix, et demain en les faisant baisser, grâce à notre marché européen de l'électricité, qui est le seul rempart utile pour lutter contre la hausse des prix. En moins de deux ans, nous avons adapté REPowerEU et la directive sur les énergies renouvelables permettant à l'éolien et au solaire de dépasser la production d'électricité d'origine fossile pour la première fois.

Vous l'avez dit, c'est une dynamique très positive, mais il faut poursuivre les efforts. Nous importons encore 15 % de gaz russe, les amis de M. Bardella. C'est inacceptable. Soutenons le déploiement de toutes les énergies décarbonées en incluant le nucléaire. Je salue à cet égard l'annonce que vous avez faite, Madame la Commissaire, à Bratislava hier, en annonçant la volonté de lancer une alliance européenne des petits réacteurs nucléaires modulaires avec le commissaire Thierry Breton. Nous en avons besoin, notre filière européenne en dépend. Toutes les énergies contribuant à nos objectifs climatiques et à notre autonomie stratégique sont bonnes à prendre.

Zdzisław Krasnodębski (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pamiętam dyskusję w ubiegłym roku, gdy byliśmy bardzo zaniepokojeni, czy uda się zapewnić bezpieczeństwo dostaw energii, gdy gwałtownie wzrastały koszty prądu elektrycznego, gazu i baliśmy się rosnących protestów społecznych. Trzeba przyznać i trzeba to docenić, że uniknęliśmy wielkiego kryzysu – i to jest na pewno sukces, więc gratulacje dla pani, pani komisarz.

Pani komisarz mówiła o tym, dzięki czemu udało się to osiągnąć: dzięki działaniom zmierzającym do wypełnienia magazynów gazu – nad czym pracowaliśmy – dzięki dywersyfikacji szlaków infrastruktury importu energii, inwestycjom w energię ze źródeł odnawialnych, w efektywność energetyczną, dzięki wysiłkom na rzecz zmniejszenia zapotrzebowania na energię.

Pani komisarz wspominała też o tym, że mamy znaczący wzrost wykorzystania OZE, do czego przyczyniły się przede wszystkim fotowoltaika – także w moim kraju odnotowano rekordowe osiągnięcia – i farmy wiatrowe. Unia zmniejszyła swoją zależność od rosyjskich paliw kopalnych. Wycofaliśmy się z importu węgla, nastąpiło ograniczenie importu ropy naftowej do 90% oraz ograniczenie importu gazu. Pozostały jednak pewne problemy.

Mianowicie ciągle jeszcze importujemy gaz z Rosji. Niektóre kraje, jak Austria, nawet zwiększyły swój import gazociągami. Dlatego trudno zrozumieć, że w tym wypadku nie ma odpowiedniej reakcji Komisji i nie ma odpowiedniej reakcji Parlamentu Europejskiego, który w ogóle na ten temat nie chce dyskutować. Poza tym wzrosły o 40% zakupy LNG z Rosji, więc nadal finansujemy Rosję i jej wojnę.

Po drugie, w czasie kryzysu energetycznego dopłaty do paliw kopalnych znacząco wzrosły. Państwa członkowskie wprowadziły mechanizmy wsparcia kryzysowego w wysokości 195 mld euro. To nie jest zgodne z polityką klimatyczną Unii, ale jest zgodne z obecnymi realiami. Problem w tym, że coraz bardziej oddalamy się od zasad rynkowych, jeżeli chodzi o energię.

Po trzecie, o tym też koledzy już wspominali, ceny energii pozostają wysokie zarówno dla konsumentów indywidualnych, jak i dla przemysłu. Ceny gazu i elektryczności są w Europie wyższe niż w innych regionach świata. Można więc się obawiać o konkurencyjność przemysłu europejskiego i coraz częściej słyszymy o przenoszeniu się przedsiębiorstw europejskich za ocean. I to jest oczywiście ogromne zagrożenie.

Paolo Borchia (ID). – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, è giustissimo decarbonizzare, il percorso è quello giusto, dobbiamo provare a produrre, a coltivare, ad alimentarci inquinando di meno.

In questo ragionamento credo però che ci sia un grande assente, l'assente della diplomazia energetica, perché l'Europa non deve diventare la zona a traffico limitato del mondo. Le zone a traffico limitato sono quelle zone delle nostre città dove si va a passeggio e si va a fare shopping, ma nessuno ci lavora. Credo che il rischio tangibile sia questo, cercare di evitare i problemi di competitività che ogni giorno le nostre aziende stanno soffrendo.

Poi c'è il grande tema delle dipendenze. Tanti colleghi hanno legittimamente ragionato sui successi dell'affrancarsi dalle importazioni di gas dalla Russia, però nessuno si accorge che ci stiamo infilando nel vicolo cieco della dipendenza da materie prime, filiere e tecnologie cinesi.

Abbiamo fronteggiato diversi eccessi legislativi: la direttiva sulla prestazione energetica nell'edilizia, che in Italia i cittadini hanno imparato a conoscere come direttiva «case green», con una tabella di marcia assolutamente irrealizzabile. Senza dimenticare il tema dell'obbligo di introduzione dell'auto elettrica e nessuno ci ha spiegato come faremo a generare tutta l'elettricità che servirà per garantire la mobilità elettrica.

Quindi non c'è solo l'elettrificazione, ci sono ragionamenti da aprire, ad esempio, sul tema del nucleare. Basta con la favoletta della dipendenza dai gas fossili, visto che il gas sarà una tecnologia di backup necessaria per i prossimi anni e, soprattutto, credo che la priorità sia evitare che l'Europa diventi la ZTL del mondo.

Hervé Juvin (NI). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, pour tous ceux qui s'inquiètent du prix de l'essence à la pompe et du prix du chauffage cet hiver, l'heure n'est certainement pas à l'autosatisfaction. La préférence irrationnelle pour les énergies renouvelables provoque une inflation des prix de l'énergie en passe de devenir structurelle. Des intermédiaires, qui ont perdu leur identité au passage, s'enrichissent sans cause en revendant du gaz et du pétrole russe. Les impasses techniques qui sont faites, notamment sur les microcentrales nucléaires, mais aussi sur le gaz propre – qui pourrait bien être l'énergie du XXI^e siècle –, mais aussi sur les réseaux électriques intelligents, risquent de pénaliser la compétitivité de nos entreprises et aussi les prix payés pour l'énergie par nos ménages.

Mais l'erreur me semble d'une nature plus grave. C'est une erreur sur la nature même des marchés en concurrence. Sur l'énergie sont d'abord en concurrence des systèmes nationaux, des opérateurs nationaux, et des conditions climatiques et territoriales différentes. Nous permettons aux entreprises privées tout ce que nous interdisons aux opérateurs nationaux: une approche localiste et responsable. Il convient de reprendre les bases d'une concurrence et de faire le bilan de ce que gagneraient les États qui, comme le Portugal ou l'Espagne, reprennent leur indépendance par rapport à des prix européens de l'énergie qui sont une subvention à des pays qui ont fait les mauvais choix. Je pense notamment à l'Allemagne.

Jerzy Buzek (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! To dobry moment, żeby podsumować działanie unii energetycznej, bo powołaliśmy ją do życia dziewięć lat temu, a od pięciu lat mamy rozporządzenie w sprawie zarządzania unią energetyczną. I wszyscy raczej zgodnie podkreślamy, że to nam pomogło w przezwyciężeniu kryzysu rok temu i również dało wiele dodatkowych zalet i osiągnięć, których nie mielibyśmy bez unii energetycznej. Ja wiem, że sytuacja jest trudna, ciągle niepewna, ale trzeba sobie wyobrazić, co by było bez tej unii.

Ale unia to nie jest jakiś stan. To jest cały czas proces. Przed sobą mamy, jak zwykle, dwa zasadnicze zadania: bezpieczeństwo energetyczne i walkę o ochronę klimatu. Co do bezpieczeństwa energetycznego to, jak państwo wiecie, rok temu przyjęliśmy rozporządzenie o magazynowaniu gazu. W dziesięć tygodni – całe rozporządzenie. Mamy takie możliwości i trzeba je stosować wtedy, kiedy to jest potrzebne.

Druga sprawa to platforma do zakupu gazu. Tu się bardzo spóźniliśmy, bo razem z Jacques'em Delorsem zaproponowaliśmy takie rozwiązanie w 2010 roku. Szkoda, że tak późno w to wchodzimy. Ale trzeba włączyć również wodór i inne materiały krytyczne dla Unii Europejskiej. Będziemy mieli z tego cztery zalety: bezpieczeństwo, niższe ceny dla Europejki i Europejczyków, możliwość walki z ociepleniem i wreszcie zachowamy konkurencyjność małych i średnich firm i europejskiego przemysłu. Dlatego trzeba odważnie podejmować decyzje, tak jak się to nam zdarzyło parę lat temu.

Niels Fuglsang (S&D). – Mr President, gas imports from Russia have declined. Total Russian gas imports fell from 155 billion m³ in 2021 to between 40 and 45 billion m³ in 2023.

Is that an enormous achievement or is it a tragedy? On the one hand, we managed to decline rapidly the imports of Russian gas. On the other hand, we are still paying EUR 2 billion every month to Mr Putin to buy his fossil fuels. If you look at it that way, well, I think it's a tragedy. When I read the state of the energy union report, I also see that we are not on track. Member States are not doing enough to meet our goals for 2030 when it comes to reducing CO₂ by 55%. So I have an idea for all of us: why don't we step up the climate efforts – more renewable energy, more energy efficiency – and in the same way we reduce our gas imports, our fossil imports from Russia. We can do the two things at the same time. So let's get started.

Emma Wiesner (Renew). – Herr talman! Energiunionen är fantastisk. Men låt oss vara ärliga. Energiunionen har misslyckats. Sedan Ryssland annekterade Krim 2014 skulle energiunionen minska gasanvändningen och minska användningen av rysk gas. Den förda gaspolitiken har i stället gjort tvärtom. Vi har ökat användningen av gas i EU, vi har ökat importen av gas till EU och vi har ökat importen av rysk gas in i EU. Och det är den förda gaspolitiken som inte har fungerat, och det är den som har lett till de extrema energipriserna som vi har haft de senaste två åren.

Nu måste vi lära oss av den här läxan. Fullt importstopp för rysk gas och fullt importstopp framför allt för rysk LNG som fortsätter strömma in i Europa. Mitt Europa kämpar för freden och för klimatet. För klimatet måste vi dumpa gasen och för freden måste vi dumpa Putin. Så låt oss en gång för alla kalla oss "dumpa Putinunionen".

Katarína Roth Neveďalová (NI). – Pán predsedajúci, energetická únia je podľa mňa veľmi dobrý projekt a tých päť pilierov by som rada rozobrala.

V ôsmej správe hovoríme o bezpečnosti a solidarite, ktorá je vlastne prvým pilierom tejto energetickej únie. A takisto hovoríme aj o tom, že sme stále nedosiahli dostatočnú bezpečnosť a stále musíme na nej pracovať, pretože sme ohrození rôznymi krízami.

A dodávky energie teda potrebujeme viacej podporiť. Plná integrácia našich sietí, myslím si, že ide veľmi správnym spôsobom. Energetická efektívnosť, ktorá je tretím pilierom, má podľa mňa dve časti a to je určite to, že aká je cenová efektívnosť energie, ktorú vyprodukuje. Čiže aká je konečná cena pre našich spotrebiteľov, a či si ju naozaj vedia dovoliť. A tu by som rada povedala, že naozaj by sme sa mali viacej snažiť, aby energia, ktorú produkujeme, bola lacná, a aby bola dostupná pre všetkých občanov, a bola naozaj pre nich dostatočnou príležitosťou.

Druhá časť tejto energetickej efektivity je podľa mňa, aký dopad majú neustále podporované obnoviteľné zdroje aj naozaj na prírodu. Aká je cena výroby napríklad solárnych panelov, a či naozaj veterná energia nerobí problémy aj pre našich poľnohospodárov.

Ďalší, štvrtý pilier, je dekarbonizácia. A tu by som rada zdôraznila, že by som viac podporovala jadrovú energiu a som veľmi rada, že Slovensko sa stalo súčasťou jadrového fóra. A posledný výskum, v ktorom by sme mali hľadať nové možnosti, ako sú napríklad malé modulárové reaktory.

Maria da Graça Carvalho (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Cara Comissária, Caros Colegas, temos assistido a muitos progressos no setor da energia.

Reduzimos o consumo total de gás natural, a União Europeia libertou-se da dependência da Rússia no gás por gasoduto e no petróleo, batemos recordes ao nível da capacidade instalada da energia solar fotovoltaica.

Conseguimos rever um conjunto muito significativo de diretivas e regulamentos no setor energético, nomeadamente a Diretiva das Energias Renováveis e a Diretiva da Eficiência Energética.

Atualmente, estamos nas etapas finais da negociação do desenho do mercado da eletricidade e do REMIT, destinado a combater as manipulações no mercado da energia.

Mas não podemos assumir que fizemos tudo bem. Ao nível dos fornecedores, em especial no que respeita ao gás natural liquefeito, as regras continuaram a ser contornadas. Não podemos aceitar essas práticas. E foi por isso e por este motivo que incluí o gás natural liquefeito no relatório do REMIT de controlo contra a manipulação do mercado da energia.

Цветелина Пенкова (S&D). – Г-н Председател, имахме късмет, че миналата зима и настоящата есен са по-топли от обичайното. Консумирахме по-малко електроенергия и се справихме с високите цени. В краткосрочен план намерихме заместващи доставки на някои енергийни ресурси. Въпросът, на който трябва да отговорим сега е – какво правим в дългосрочен план? Липсата на свързаност на електропреносната и газопреносната мрежа между държавите е ключов проблем. В момента ние нямаме истински работещ енергиен съюз, а това води до допълнителни разделителни линии в Европа.

Държавите от Югоизточна и Източна Европа биват обречени на по-високи цени. Гражданите на тези държави с по-ниски доходи понасят по-тежко това поскъпване. Преди да мислим как да отрежем клона, на който седим заради ситуационни геополитически интереси, трябва да помислим как да защитим най-уязвимите европейски граждани. Отвъд идеологията стои науката и прагматизмът. Имаме нужда от всички налични технологии, за да намалим енергийните си разходи. Само така може да сме реално конкурентни на глобалния пазар. Достъпните цени трябва да са основният стълб, около който градим енергийната си политика.

Maria Spyrali (PPE). – Mr President, dear Commissioner Simson, allow me to start by quoting Mario Draghi: ‘Where we need to get our act together is energy. We are going nowhere paying energy twice or three times what it costs in other parts of the world.’

By speeding up all the relative efforts in regard to the implementation of our REPowerEU plan, with all the emerging legislative measures, we have tried to decrease prices and give some relief to households. But now we need to increase the monitor on the procedure of implementation of all this vast amount of emerging legislation with a fast and imminent element.

At the same time, the EU needs to continue to ensure affordable and accessible energy for households, decreasing the numbers in regard to energy poverty, while at the same time enhancing the industrial and economic competitiveness of its industries with STEP, with Net Zero Act and facilitating new solid investments.

We have to be cautious. When we discuss further actions to Russia in regards to the import of LNG, we have to consider that this kind of sanctions raise critical issues of security of supply, while at the same time jeopardising the fluctuation of the energy prices among Member States. In order to erase our dependence from Putin, we need more renewable, fast deployment, more energy efficiency projects, more renewable fuels as fast as possible. In this direction, and as the winter 2023-2024 is ahead, we have not to forget that, on the basis of collective actions, we can bring concrete results for the benefit of our people and our economies.

Henna Virkkunen (PPE). – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa komissaari, kun katsomme Euroopan energiaunionin edistymistä, voimme olla tyytyväisiä moneen myönteiseen askeleeseen, mitä tämän osalta on otettu. Erityisesti se, että päästöt ovat vähentyneet yli 32 prosenttia vuodesta 1990 ja samaan aikaan Euroopan unionin bruttokansantuote on kuitenkin kasvanut 67 prosenttia, osoittaa sen, että kestävä kasvu on mahdollista ja pystymme leikkaamaan päästöjä.

Samoin vihreää siirtymää on viety monella sektorilla nyt eteenpäin. Samaa aikaan on kyllä sanottava, että tästä on koitunut teollisuudelle ja yrityksille erittäin raskasta hallinnollista taakkaa. Seuraavina kuukausina tärkeä urakka tulee olemaan se, että meidän on purettava liian raskasta sääntelyä ja purettava sitä yksityiskohtaista sääntelyä, mikä nyt aika monen vihreän siirtymän aloitteen kohdalta on tullut eteemme.

Samoin Euroopan unioni on onnistunut siinä, että olemme pystyneet purkamaan erittäin isoa Venäjä-riippuvuutta energian osalta. Hiilen tuonti EU-alueelle on lopetettu. Öljyn tuonti on vähentynyt 90 prosenttia, maakaasun tuonti 75 prosenttia. Mutta samaan aikaan nesteytetyn maakaasun, LNG:n, tuonti on jopa kasvanut EU-alueelle, ja ydinvoimaa pakotteet eivät ole koko aikana vielä koskeneet. Eli sillä sektorilla on myös aktiviteettia.

Voimme todeta, että Euroopan unionin maat maksavat edelleen yli kaksi miljardia euroa pelkästään fossiilisista polttoaineista joka kuukausi Venäjälle, ja tämä on kestäväntöntä. Meidän on lopettava energiaostot Venäjältä kokonaan ja tuotava kaikki energiatoiminta sanktioiden piiriin. Seuraavan kerran, kun komissio valmistele nyt tätä kahdettatoista pakotepakettia, se on laajennettava koko energiatuotantoon.

Pernille Weiss (PPE). – Hr. formand! Vand er gaven, der bliver ved med at give. Især som emne på plenarens dagsorden. Det er nu tredje gang i træk, at jeg siger noget om vand. Også selv om overskriften handler om energi. Logikken er nemlig, at vand er i det meste, der har med energi at gøre, og at der i måden, vi bruger vand på, er masser af energi. Vand bruges til produktion af energi, til afkøling, i energiproduktion og til transport af energi. Derfor er det selvfølgelig ikke tilfredsstillende, at dette års status af Rapportering for Energiunionens tilstand ikke dykker dybt nok ned i det ocean af potentialer, der er ved at få aktiveret relationen mellem vand og energi. Tre sætninger i en rapport på 31 sider. Det svarer altså til at behandle vand som det tynde øl. Jeg er ikke Kate Blanchett, men jeg kan godt gentage, at FN's Vandkonference i år kraftigt understregede, at vand skal tages alvorligt som den centrale katalysator for sundhed, fødevarer og energi NU! Vi bliver ikke grønne uden at få mere styr på det blå, og EU har faktisk evnerne og derfor også pligten til at få energi og vand til at spille bedre sammen. Det kan vi gøre ved at få en EU Blue Deal, som vi har en EU Green Deal, præcis som mange kollegaer sammen med mig og Det Europæiske Økonomiske og Sociale Udvalg for nylig har bedt EU's regeringer om at bakke op omkring. Det vil der være rigtig god energi i.

Franc Bogovič (PPE). – Gospod predsednik! Spoštovani podpredsednik, spoštovana komisarka.

Strinjam se z ugotovitvami sporočila, da so bili kratkoročni ukrepi za ublažitev energetske krize uspešni. Zmanjšali smo odvisnost od Rusije, diverzifikacija dobav je večja, povečane so zaloge, prav tako se tudi povečuje proizvodnja obnovljivih virov energije.

Na drugi strani imamo zmanjšanje porabe energije, ki je v enem delu posledica ukrepov učinkovite rabe energije, žal pa tudi tega, da ljudje težko plačujejo ceno dragega plina za ogrevanje. Na drugi strani je tudi posledica tega, da se je zmanjšala konkurenčnost evropskega gospodarstva, največjega v Nemčiji, in je zmanjšal porabo. Tudi v moji državi Sloveniji, od koder prihajam, ni več proizvodnje aluminija in zdaj uvažamo bistveno bolj umazano jeklo, aluminij iz Kitajske.

Pozdravljam vaš nagovor včeraj na nuklearnem energetskem forumu – podpora jedrski energiji kakor tudi malim modularnim reaktorjem – pripravljam poročilo na to točko. Dolgoročno rešitev pa vidim samo v tem, da bomo res spoštovali pravilo tehnološke nevtralnosti in izvedli ukrepe za 10, 20 let naprej, kajti energetika ni planirana 2, 3 leta, ampak se planiranje meri v desetletjih.

Catch-the-eye procedure

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, one of the primary objectives of the Energy Union was to provide clean and affordable energy for the people of Europe. Yet, Irish consumers pay annual energy bills that are about EUR 800 more than the average in the EU. Irish households pay EUR 0.47 per kilowatt-hour for electricity, compared to a European average of EUR 0.26. That's nearly double the EU average. The EU has pushed the privatisation and liberalisation of the energy sector for decades, promising it would lead to greater efficiency, lower prices and a decarbonised economy. But that's failed. The pace of decarbonisation is far too slow and the concept of marginal pricing means consumers pay gas prices for renewable energy anyway.

And Commissioner, you're boasting about reducing consumption of Russian gas. But, I mean, we're buying LNG from America, paying a lot more for it. These are people who've dropped more bombs than the rest of the world put together since the end of the Second World War. And we've done a gas deal with Israel. With Israel! They've just killed 4 000 children ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, every year that passes brings us closer to the deadline set by the Paris Agreement necessary to limit the climate catastrophe. And yet a new study has shown that the carbon budget today is less than half of what we thought it was in 2020. So if we continue at the present emissions rates, we have only six years to remain within the 1.5 degree limit, and it is fossil fuels that are at the root of this problem. Yet the eighth State of the Union Report states that fossil fuel subsidies in the EU have doubled in 2022, supposedly on the basis of supporting consumer demand for energy. But we have to wonder, how effective is that really, when we see 41 million people in the EU being unable to heat their homes? At the same time, subsidies earmarked for fossil fuel extraction and infrastructure get EUR 19 billion. Three European banks are the top banks financing these companies and exploiting carbon bombs. It is lunacy. We have to stop talking the talk and walk the walk.

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

Kadri Simson, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, thank you, honourable Members of the European Parliament, it is good to see the overall consensus on the importance of energy transition and a competitive and resilient energy system for European energy security. Even if the trends are positive, a lot remains to be done to reach our 2030 targets. And in the coming months, we will use the process to upgrade national energy and climate plans so that national plans together tap into the significantly higher targets, both on renewables and energy efficiency.

I also look forward to working together with the European Parliament and finalising still open key legislative files, such as the hydrogen and gas package, EPBD, REMIT, methane and electricity market design, and by doing so, there will be best-suited solutions at our disposal.

There is one more thing we have to do together still, under this current mandate: adopt the first list of projects of common interest and projects of mutual interest following the adoption of the revised Regulation on the trans-European energy networks. By doing so, we can accelerate the key cross-border electricity infrastructure projects. These projects will be crucial to integrating increasing volumes of renewables and advancing energy system integration.

Once again, I want to thank you for the very valuable discussion today. I was very pleased that we had this opportunity to exchange.

President. – The debate is closed.

Written statements (Rule 171)

Ангел Джамбазки (ECR), в писмена форма. – Енергийният съюз трябва да бъде гарант за по-голям избор и по-ниски цени за потребителите в ЕС, но откакто Русия нахлу в Украйна, на територията на Стария континент се заформи енергийна криза с огромни мащаби. Цените на енергията скочиха драстично както за бизнеса, така и за обикновените потребители.

На фона на тези проблеми европейските институции не спомогнаха за решаването на гореизложените проблеми. Напротив, от страна на Брюксел все по-активно и настойчиво се натрапват тези за ограничения в сферата на ядрената енергетика например. Твърдо заставам зад тезата, че проблемът в областта на ядрената енергетика е политизирането му. Атомната енергия е зелена и сигурна. Тя трябва да бъде развивана вместо закривана. Ако продължим да си губим времето с безпредметни дискусии, рискуваме да задълбочим енергийния проблем.

András Gyürk (NI), írásban. – Az energiaunió helyzetéről évente ad ki jelentést az Európai Bizottság, ebben a ciklusban ez az utolsó ilyen dokumentum. Ezért ez egy megfelelő alkalom Brüsszel, az európai energiapolitika terén nyújtott, teljesítményének értékelésére.

Az élénk tárt lesújtó helyzetnek három elemét érdemes kiemelni. Egyrészt, a Bizottság katasztrofális szankciós politikája súlyos energiaválságot okozott Európában. A legrosszabbat a polgárok áldozatvállalásának és az európai kormányok határozott fellépésének köszönhetően sikerült elkerülni. Hosszútávú következményként azonban az európai gazdaság súlyos válságban került, a versenyképességünk romokban, az előrejelzések stagnálással vagy recesszióval számolnak. A felelősség ezért Brüsszelt terheli.

Másrészt, az energiaunió alapelvei között szerepel az ellátásbiztonság és a szolidaritás biztosítása. Ennek ellenére Bulgária példátlan különadóval sújtja a területén áthaladó földgáz-tranzitot, ami komoly ellátásbiztonsági kockázatot jelent Délkelet-Európában. Ez az ellenséges lépés meggyengíti az energiauniót, ami ellen a Bizottságnak azonnal fel kellene lépnie.

Végül, az energiaunió kiemelt feladata lenne a megfizethető árú energiaellátás elősegítése. Azonban ehelyett Brüsszel, a dollárbaloldallal összehangolt, támadást indított a magyar rezsicsökkentés ellen. A bürokraták és baloldali elvtársaik rászabadítanák a piaci energiaárakat a lakosságra, velük fizettetve meg kudarcos politikájuk árát. A magyar emberek erről is véleményt mondhatnak a nemzeti konzultáció során. Összességében ez a helyzet elfogadhatatlan. Ezért mindezekelőtt változásra van szükség Brüsszelben.

Reméljük, hogy legkésőbb jövő júniusban ez is bekövetkezik!

Krzysztof Jurgiel (ECR), na piśmie. – Na odnotowanie zasługuje fakt, że dzięki wspólnym działaniom Komisji oraz Parlamentu udało się nam uniknąć wielkiego kryzysu na europejskim rynku energii. Po wybuchu wojny na Ukrainie ryzyko ogromnej zapaści energetycznej wisało nad państwami członkowskimi. Podjęte działania w postaci uzupełniania magazynów gazu, dywersyfikacja szlaków infrastruktury importu energii, inwestycje w odnawialne źródła energii oraz efektywność energetyczna pomogły w zmniejszeniu zapotrzebowania na energię.

Warto zauważyć, że znacząco wzrosło wykorzystanie OZE, rekordowo wzrosło bowiem wykorzystanie fotowoltaiki oraz farm wiatrowych. Unia Europejska stała się bardziej niezależna od rosyjskich paliw kopalnych. To również ogromne osiągnięcie.

Niestety istnieją kraje takie jak Austria, która zwiększyła przesył rosyjskiego gazu o blisko 40%, co nie spotkało się z żadną reakcją ze strony Komisji ani Parlamentu. Dlaczego? W trakcie załamania na rynkach energii odnotowaliśmy znaczący wzrost dopłat do paliw kopalnych, co jest powodem uruchomienia przez państwa członkowskie mechanizmów wsparcia kryzysowego w wysokości 195 mld euro. W mojej ocenie nie jest to zgodne z polityką klimatyczną Unii, a nawet znacząco od niej odbiega.

Ceny energii w Unii Europejskiej są na ten moment bardzo wysokie zarówno dla klientów indywidualnych jak i przedsiębiorców. Należy zatem ponownie rozpatrzyć politykę energetyczną Unii Europejskiej, tak aby uwzględnić przede wszystkim interesy konsumentów i zadbać o nie.

Karol Karski (ECR), na piśmie. – Coroczne przedstawienie sprawozdania dotyczącego stanu unii energetycznej to doskonała okazja, aby z bliska przyjrzeć się temu jak Unia implementuje politykę energetyczną opartą na zasadach bezpieczeństwa dostaw, solidarności oraz postępującej integracji sektorowej.

Tegoroczne sprawozdanie jest szczególnie istotne, ponieważ pojawia się ono w kontekście toczącej się wojny w Ukrainie, zagrożeń dostaw energii i podwyżek cen surowców wskutek rosyjskiej agresji oraz wciąż obecnych konsekwencji gospodarczo-społecznych pandemii COVID-19.

Agresja Rosji na Ukrainę oraz następujący kryzys energetyczny przyspieszyły unijną dywersyfikację dostaw energii. Sprawozdanie Komisji mówi o znacznym zmniejszeniu dostaw gazu z Rosji oraz większej dywersyfikacji dostaw. Unia zwróciła się ku bardziej wiarygodnym i pewnym dostawcom błękitnego surowca, takim jak Norwegia czy Stany Zjednoczone.

Sprawozdanie słusznie zauważa wysiłki państw członkowskich na rzecz magazynowania gazu. Rozporządzenie przyjęte przez Parlament i Radę w ramach przyspieszonej procedury w 2022 roku zmobilizowało państwa członkowskie do magazynowania gazu, czyli przygotowania się na okres grzewczy, kiedy zapotrzebowanie na to paliwo rośnie.

W dobie panującego jednak kryzysu energetycznego oraz wysokich cen energii i surowców, które w negatywny stopniu odbijają się na obywatelach oraz przemyśle, nie należy zapominać o tym, iż Unia nie powinna faworyzować jedynie określonych źródeł energii, głównie energii odnawialnej. Należy pamiętać, iż wszystkie źródła energii, które zmniejszają emisyjność powinny być wspierane.

Carlos Zorrinho (S&D), *por escrito*. – A União da Energia deu provas da sua importância e resiliência ao garantir a segurança de abastecimento e o controlo dos preços num contexto de forte ameaça provocado pela suspensão dos fornecimentos da Rússia. Tem vindo também a resistir com solidez aos ataques dos que querem aproveitar o contexto de guerra e de inflação para inverter o propósito da modernização do sistema energético e o objetivo da descarbonização e do combate ao aquecimento climático. O quadro regulamentar e legislativo é hoje mais adequado aos desafios de uma transição verde e inclusiva. Não há nenhuma razão para não prosseguir com determinação os objetivos políticos, económicos, tecnológicos e ambientais do Pacto Ecológico Europeu.

A construção do mercado único exige, no entanto, uma aceleração determinada e solidária na construção das necessárias interconexões que têm sido e são cada vez mais o «calcanhar de Aquiles» da União da Energia.

Por outro lado, a evolução das maturidades tecnológicas e dos instrumentos de monitorização criam condições para uma revisão do Regulamento de governação da União da Energia que tenha em conta novas opções e fomente um amplo debate público e um compromisso com o futuro que envolva o conjunto das sociedades europeias.

18. Homologacja typu pojazdów silnikowych i silników w odniesieniu do emisji i trwałości akumulatorów (Euro 7) (debata)

Sēdes vadītājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par *Alexandr Vondra* ziņojumu Vides, sabiedrības veselības un pārtikas nekaitīguma komitejas vārdā par priekšlikumu Eiropas Parlamenta un Padomes regulai par mehānisko transportlīdzekļu un motoru tipa apstiprināšanu attiecībā uz to emisijām un akumulatoru baterijas ilgturību ("Euro 7") (COM(2022)0586 – C9-0375/2022 – 2022/0365(COD)) (A9-0298/2023).

Alexandr Vondra, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, almost a year has passed since the Commission published its Euro 7 proposal. Unlike previous regulations, Euro 7 encompasses a broad range of vehicles, all within a single legal framework. For the first time, this legislation also contains rules affecting electric vehicles.

No matter which politician you ask, they will all claim to be committed to a sustainable automotive industry. However, the crucial difference is whether the rules being pushed for Euro 7 are realistic.

I support the Commission's goal of producing cleaner cars and improving the quality of the air. But we must also act with due care and caution, not least because the sector accounts for more than 9 % of GDP, 26 % of manufacturing and 24 % of exports in the country I know best.

The Commission's original proposal would have a hugely negative impact on consumers and car manufacturers – an impact which is disproportionate to its positive environmental effects. Firstly, it would divert resources from decarbonisation by requiring substantial investment in soon-to-be-obsolete internal combustion engine technology. Secondly, there are serious questions over the feasibility of the Commission-recommended standards, especially in view of short lead times. Thirdly, the cost implications are a major cause of concern, as they would have exceeded the estimates in the proposal's impact assessment. This in turn would have led to higher costs for consumers that are already grappling with the challenges of rising costs of living.

It was therefore imperative to rework the Commission text and establish a better balance between the environmental objectives and the concerns of consumers and manufacturers. After four months of negotiations, I believe that the mandate adopted in the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety largely achieves that.

First, testing parameters are not a revolution as the Commission proposed, but an evolution from the Euro 6 parameters, which ensures that the new emission standards remain economically and technologically feasible.

Secondly, under these testing conditions, the report is able to correspond with the levels proposed by the Commission for pollutant emissions for passenger cars, and proposes additional three categories for light commercial vehicles based on their weight.

Thirdly, the adopted text also proposes tougher limits for exhaust emissions from the buses and heavy-duty vehicles, including levels set for the real driving emissions. Forced to avoid legal and investor uncertainties, specific implementation timeframes have been included that, in turn, are linked to the entry into force of all relevant secondary legislation. Once all the relevant secondary legislation is complete, new types of fully duty vehicles would have 24 months, and new types of heavy-duty vehicles 48 months, to comply. All existing types of the light-duty vehicles will have 36 months, and heavy-duty vehicles 60 months, to ensure compliance.

The sixth report also better aligns EU methodologies and limits for brake particle emission and tyre abrasion rates with UNECE standards, as well as asking for more ambitious yet achievable goals for electric vehicles' battery-durability standards.

Generally, I believe the committee report represents our best opportunity at securing an interinstitutional agreement ahead of the elections. Why? Because the Council has raised many comparable concerns over the cost, timing and technical feasibility. For that reason, we can already see the outline of possible landing space for the compromise between the co-legislators. It is therefore essential that Plenary endorse my committee report.

Helena Dalli, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, rapporteur Vondra, shadow rapporteurs, honourable Members, I thank you all for the progress made on this important and, I would say, complex file. A file that has been subject to significant debate in this House, but also in the Commission and among stakeholders because it touches upon essential aspects of our daily lives.

The Commission's proposal relied on solid evidence and rigorous assessments, and we made our proposal to respect three main principles, which I trust we can all agree with. One is improving air quality to lower the number of premature deaths in the EU – 70 000 people in Europe die prematurely every year due to air pollution from cars, vans, buses and trucks. Secondly, putting clean vehicles on the market at affordable prices for our citizens, so that citizens across the EU can actually afford new vehicles and not only second-hand or third-hand vehicles, which often pollute more, as we all know. And thirdly, preserving the competitiveness of our automotive industry, and when I speak about automotive industry, I don't only mean large manufacturers, I mean the entire ecosystem, including component manufacturers and aftermarket services.

And we also need to take into account the broader transformation of the automotive industry. In fact, this Parliament has established earlier this year a very clear pathway to zero-emission vehicles. Back in November 2022, the Commission's proposal aimed to strike the right balance between these challenging objectives. We proposed emission limits, achievable with cost-effective solutions, and technology which is already available. We proposed future-proof elements that will remain valid for electric vehicles, brakes, tyres, battery durability. We proposed using available digital technologies like sensors to improve compliance over the lifetime of a vehicle.

I recognise and welcome that the overall architecture and some key blocks of our proposal can be found in the Parliament's position so far. First, the need to tackle exhaust emissions both from light duty- and from heavy duty vehicles. Second, the need to start regulating non-exhaust emissions and to do so based on the work carried out at UN level. Global harmonisation of the rules is the best way forward and Euro 7 will have a pivotal role here. And third, the need for rules on battery durability, lifetime requirements and on-board monitoring to ensure high performance over the life of a vehicle.

Having said this, there are of course areas where the Parliament's position diverges from the Commission's. And here timing is important, both from an environmental and an economic perspective. With ENVI's report Euro 7 requirements will apply about three years later than in the Commission proposal. This would surely give vehicle manufacturers more lead time to adapt to changes. However, it would also give less time to recoup their investment before moving to 100% zero-emission vehicles. Postponing the application would also reduce environmental and health benefits.

Another challenging aspect is the proposed approach to secondary legislation. We are fully committed to be as fast as possible, but the Parliament's proposal would multiply the number of secondary acts, sometimes even overlapping between delegated and implementing acts. And setting strict deadlines of only 12 months could also impede our consultation process and create legal risks. I also have some questions, or at least doubts, concerning some of the proposed changes regarding brake emissions for hybrid electric vehicles or battery durability requirements. And finally, I am aware, of course, that the Council has taken a different position, notably regarding emission limits, but I won't comment any further here today, as this will be discussed in the trilogues.

So to conclude, I want to stress again how encouraging it is to see this House's commitment on this file. It is needed so that we can collectively provide regulatory certainty to companies and protection to our citizens, in particular our most vulnerable ones. So in this spirit, I look forward to the debate today and to the upcoming trilogue negotiations.

Marian-Jean Marinescu, *Raportor pentru aviz, Comisia pentru transport și turism.* – Domnule președinte, cred că opinia din Comisia pentru transport asigură un echilibru între necesitatea de a reduce emisiile și necesitatea de a asigura competitivitatea industriei europene, asigurarea, bineînțeles, de locuri de muncă și, în același timp, accesul la mobilitate al consumatorilor.

Cred că trebuie să avem în vedere acest echilibru, pentru că amândouă cerințele, necesitățile, sunt importante într-o măsură absolut egală.

Rezultatul din Comisia pentru mediu reflectă mult rezultatul din Comisia pentru transport și apreciez ceea ce a făcut raportorul în Comisia ENVI și cred că acest rezultat poate fi îmbunătățit prin amendamentele de plen, în special în ceea ce privește combustibilii neutri din punct de vedere CO₂. Cred că în felul acesta putem să micșorăm chiar emisiile, pentru că putem asigura pentru autovehiculele care sunt acum pe drumurile europene reducerea emisiilor.

Deci, sprijin rezultatul din ENVI și în același timp o parte din amendamentele de plen.

Jens Gieseke, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion.* – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin Dalli, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich wünsche mir mehr Realismus in dieser Debatte. Wir alle wollen bessere Luftqualität für unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger, bezahlbare Mobilität für Bürger und Unternehmen und eine wettbewerbsfähige Industrie in der Europäischen Union.

Um in allen Bereichen Fortschritte zu erreichen und niemanden über Gebühr zu belasten, brauchen wir bei der Euro-7-Norm einen gesunden Mittelweg. Diesen haben wir bereits erarbeitet, dieser Vorschlag steht heute hier zur Abstimmung. Er verbessert die Luftqualität. Strengere Grenzwerte werden dazu führen, dass Euro-7-Pkw 60 % weniger Feinstaub ausstoßen und Lkw 60 % weniger Stickoxide im Vergleich zu Euro 6.

Mobilität bleibt bezahlbar. Strenge Grenzwerte und neue Testverfahren bedürfen erheblicher Investitionen, bringen aber einen vergleichsweise geringen Zusatznutzen für die Luftqualität. Wenn wir die bewährten Euro-6-Testverfahren beibehalten und die Grenzwerte nur moderat verschärfen, verhindern wir hohe Investitionen in teure Technologie, die letztlich der Verbraucher zahlt.

Wir sichern die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit der europäischen Industrie. Erst Anfang dieses Jahres wurde in der EU das Verbrenner-Aus ab 2035 beschlossen. Da können wir die Autoindustrie jetzt nicht zwingen, Milliarden in eine Auslauftechnologie zu investieren. Klimaschutz geht nur mit der Industrie, nicht gegen sie. Luftqualität und der Erhalt von Wettbewerbsfähigkeit und Arbeitsplätzen in der EU haben für uns Priorität.

Der vorliegende Vorschlag bringt das notwendige Gleichgewicht. Was fehlt, ist ein Passus zur Technologieneutralität. CO₂-neutrale Kraftstoffe helfen dem Klimaschutz. Und mit welchen Mitteln wir Klimaschutz oder bessere Luft im Endeffekt erreichen, darf nicht vorgeschrieben werden.

Wir brauchen den Wettbewerb. Ein Verbot bestimmter Technologie ist nie zielführend. Politiker sind nicht die besseren Ingenieure. Ich habe keine gefunden, auch bei den Grünen nicht, obwohl ich lange gesucht habe. Aus diesem Grund haben wir Änderungen eingebracht, damit der Weiterbetrieb von Verbrennerautos, die klimaneutral mit CO₂-neutralen Kraftstoffen betrieben werden, auch nach 2035 noch möglich ist.

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wir haben einen guten Kompromiss gefunden. Deshalb mein Appell an alle hier: Bitte unterstützen Sie diesen ausgewogenen Ansatz für bessere Luft, bezahlbare Mobilität und eine global wettbewerbsfähige Industrie.

Christel Schaldemose, for S&D-Gruppen. – Hr. formand! Hvert år dør tusindvis af europæere af dårlig luftkvalitet fra transportsektoren. Det har vi lige hørt, og vi ved det også fra Verdenssundhedsorganisationen. Det er den største trussel mod vores sundhed i EU, så derfor er det at tackle luftforurening et fælles – eller det burde være et fælles – politisk ansvar. Et ansvar for byrådspolitikere og for nationale politikere og fra os på europæisk plan. Men det ansvar har et flertal her i dette hus nægtet at påtage sig. Med aftalen om Euro 7 leverer vi simpelt hen ikke på luftforurening. Jeg synes, det er pinligt, at Europa-Parlamentet fralægger sig ansvaret for borgernes helbred, og det vil faktisk være helt forkert at kalde det forslag, vi har her i huset, for Euro 7. Det er snarere tæt på det eksisterende Euro 6-forslag. Vi har selvfølgelig brug for at balancere hensynene mellem sundhed og industrien og konkurrenceevne. Men det havde Kommissionen allerede sikret, at der var en balance i. Og med Europa-Parlamentets aftale, så får vi fuldstændig fjernet den balance, der var. Fra Renew og ud til ID, så har de ødelagt balancen. De har udvandet Kommissionens forslag. Sammen med bilindustrien har de reduceret ambitionerne i forhold til emissioner, de har forringet testningen, og de har udskudt implementeringen.

For mig at se er det virkelig, virkelig et dårligt forslag, som på ingen måde hjælper borgerne og sikrer sundheden. Jeg synes, det er pinligt, og jeg og min gruppe kommer til at stemme imod dette forslag. Vi synes ikke, det er ambitiøst, vi syntes ikke, det leverer på det, som det skulle levere på, og derfor er der kun én ting, det er at sige nej tak til det forslag, og jeg ville ønske, at Kommissionen også gik lidt hårdere til værks og turde kritisere det forslag, der ligger her i dag. For Kommissionen må også være ganske skuffet over at se deres eget forslag udvandet så markant, som tilfældet er.

Susana Solís Pérez, en nombre del Grupo Renew. – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, después de largas negociaciones vamos a poder votar una norma Euro 7 coherente y equilibrada que tiene en cuenta la salud de los ciudadanos y mejora la calidad del aire.

Nuestra propuesta reduce las emisiones de NO_x un 60 % en camiones, un 33 % en los coches y —por primera vez— las partículas contaminantes de frenos y ruedas, además de aumentar la durabilidad de las baterías. Como digo, es una propuesta sensata, con tiempos de implementación realistas para la industria y, lo que es muy importante, sin que suponga más costes para los consumidores.

Porque recuerdo que lo que piden aquí socialistas y verdes incrementa el precio precisamente de los vehículos de gama más baja y pone más palos en las ruedas para renovar el parque de vehículos tan antiguo que circula por las carreteras en muchos países europeos.

No solo eso: su propuesta también pone en riesgo la fabricación de los vehículos más pequeños —precisamente los que se hacen en Europa— y, con ello, miles de puestos de trabajo, por ejemplo, en España.

Por tanto, les pedimos que apoyen nuestra propuesta, que es buena para el medio ambiente, buena para los ciudadanos y también buena para la competitividad de Europa.

Bas Eickhout, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group. – Mr President, sometimes you have the feeling that the Euro 7 debate was more about the car industry than it is about air quality, although this proposal is there to improve air quality – mainly in our cities, where road transport is still one of the biggest polluters in Europe, and where 70 000 people die prematurely because of bad air quality, because of road transport. That's what we're trying to address here.

People are saying, of course, 'we are trying here, we are moving to electric vehicles and that's why we don't need to do this.' Well, the last standards that we are looking at now, Euro 6, they were formed in 2009, fifteen years ago, and the standards put in place in 2009 already could be met by technologies existing in 2009.

What we are doing now is basically reinstalling Euro 6 standards and calling it Euro 7, but are not delivering any improvement on air quality, and at the same time claiming that our citizens will be improving. Is it needed when we are moving to electric? Well, be aware that any combustion engine that is still being sold until 2035 for cars will be on European roads until 2050. For trucks, we don't even propose the end of the combustion engine, so they will be running on our streets even longer.

Is it impossible? Even the Commission's medium scenario showed the best cost-benefit ratio. The Commission already lowered their proposal, lowered the ambition in that proposal. We even further lower it. So anyone is saying that this is impossible to meet should read the impact assessment. Certainly the conservatives, who always love impact assessments.

I think I have a final question to the Commission. If this is being adopted and indeed it is Euro 6, can you please hurry up the negotiations on the green claims, because this will be the best example of a greenwashing label.

Sylvia Limmer, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, werte Kollegen! Gleich vorneweg: Der Kommissionsvorschlag zu den Euro-7-Normen ist völlig inakzeptabel. Reicht Ihnen denn die Abschaffung der Autoindustrie in der EU ab 2035 nicht? Wollen Sie den Termin auf 2025 vorverlegen?

Der heute zur Abstimmung stehende Vorschlag aus dem Ausschuss ist zwar besser, aber eben nicht gut. Mir geht es jetzt auch nicht um einzelne Inhalte – ein eh schwieriges Unterfangen in lächerlichen 90 Sekunden, die einem dafür zur Verfügung stehen –, sondern darum, dass es ein Skandal ist, dass wir Marktliberale, wir Konservative uns von einer Minderheit links-grün woker Wohlstandsvernichter, von ideologisch-politischen Abdeckern unserer Wirtschaft und unserer Freiheit am Nasenring durch die politische Arena schleifen lassen.

Sollen wir einem zwar abgemilderten, aber immer noch schlechten Vorschlag zustimmen, um noch schlechteren grüni-deologischen Unsinn zu verhindern? Begnügen wir uns also mit schlechter Politik um des Kompromisses willen? Dafür sind wir nicht gewählt worden. In Umkehrung des hier allseits beliebten Spruches sollte es besser heißen: „*Let's leave those green socialists behind.*“ Wir müssen diesen gefährlichen grün-sozialistischen Utopisten kategorisch die rote Karte zeigen, wenn wir nicht unsere wirtschaftliche Zukunft – und dazu zählt auch unsere Autoindustrie – verspielen wollen.

Nikolaj Villumsen, *for The Left-Gruppen*. – Hr. formand! Hvert år dør mindst 70 000 europæere på grund af luftforurening, mere end tre gange så mange, som der dør i trafikken. Langt hovedparten af borgerne i EU udsættes for dødelig luftforurening. En luftforurening, der i overvældende grad skyldes biler og lastbiler. Det kunne vi have gjort noget ved med dette lovforslag, men bilindustriens venner på højrefløjen ville det anderledes. Så nu står vi i stedet med et forslag, der er udvandet til uigenkendelighed. Et forslag, der i alt væsentlighed blot forlænger de samme lave standarder for biler, som allerede dræber mennesker i dag. Det er en skandale. Vi har ikke behov for greenwashing. Vi har behov for at sætte menneskeliv over bilindustriens kortsigtede profit. Vi har behov for en ambitiøs grøn omstilling, så vi skaber fremtidens grønne arbejdspladser i Europa.

Edina Tóth (NI). – Elnök Úr! A gépjárműveket érintő Euro 7 károsanyag-kibocsátási szabványok minden bizonnyal fontos előrelépést jelentenek a zöld átállásban. Ugyanakkor nem hagyhatjuk figyelmen kívül azokat a kihívásokat, amelyekkel az iparnak és a polgároknak is szembe kell nézniük.

Először is fontos kiemelni, hogy a károsanyag-csökkentő intézkedések bevezetése sok esetben komoly beruházásokat igényel, amely az autóiipari szereplőket terheli leginkább, s az ilyen intézkedések hosszútávon is hatással lehetnek a versenyképességre és a munkahelyekre is. Az áremelkedés pedig természetesen kihat a vásárlókra, hiszen új technológiára lesz szükség, ami komoly költségeket von maga után!

A baloldali által erőltetett céltértek miatt az autóiipar már most is az alternatív hajtású járművek fejlesztésével van elfoglalva, új szabványokkal pedig még nagyobb nyomást gyakorolnánk rájuk.

A jelenlegi háborús inflációs környezetben meg kell védnünk polgárainkat a brüsszeli baloldal felelőtlen javaslatai miatt kialakuló újabb áremelésektől!

Francesca Peppucci (PPE). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, noi tutti vogliamo auto che rispettino l'ambiente, ma dobbiamo agire con cautela.

L'Europa è conosciuta in tutto il mondo per la produzione di automobili a basse emissioni e di alta qualità, il fatturato generato dall'industria automobilistica rappresenta quasi l'8 % del PIL dell'Unione europea. Gli obiettivi climatici dell'Unione europea devono camminare di pari passo con lo sforzo richiesto ai produttori di automobili e di componenti di auto e la proposta che è stata elaborata è certamente la misura giusta tra le due esigenze.

È evidente come il settore dell'industria automobilistica sta già affrontando sfide senza precedenti legate alle conseguenze della guerra, come l'accesso limitato alle materie prime, l'aumento dei prezzi dell'energia o pressioni inflazionistiche, ed è proprio in momenti di crisi come queste che i settori come quello automobilistico devono fare la differenza e lo devono fare in maniera competitiva sulla scena internazionale, oltre a dover garantire una mobilità a prezzi accessibili ai nostri cittadini.

Andiamo spediti, quindi, con proposte concrete che raggiungano obiettivi giusti, invece di procedere con provvedimenti esclusivamente ideologici che difficilmente portano a risultati.

Andreas Glück (Renew). – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Braucht es Euro 7 denn überhaupt? Autos besser und sauberer zu machen, ist natürlich wichtig. Das Problem ist nur, dass die Automobilbranche bereits jetzt schon hin auf dem Weg zur Dekarbonisierung ist – und die Kosten hierfür sind unglaublich intensiv.

Nun, wenn Euro 7 zu streng und zu teuer wird, dann fehlen erstens mal die Ressourcen der Industrie bei diesem Transformationsprozess. Zweitens werden die Euro-7-Fahrzeuge teurer. Dann können sich die Menschen keine neuen Autos leisten, und die Flottenerneuerung erlahmt. Außerdem: Euro-6-Fahrzeuge sind doch nicht unser Problem. Wenn dann allenfalls ältere Fahrzeuge, die dann aber eben länger nicht ausgetauscht werden.

Für mich macht deshalb Euro 7 nur dann Sinn, wenn eben erneuerbare Kraftstoffe im Gesetz verankert sind. Ein Verbrenner ist weder gut noch schlecht. Es kommt einfach darauf an, was man drin verbrennt. Lassen Sie uns dafür sorgen, dass es etwas Klimaneutrales ist, was verbrannt wird. Leider sind die erneuerbaren Kraftstoffe nicht Teil des vorliegenden Gesetzentwurfs. Das halte ich für falsch. Deswegen habe ich Änderungsanträge eingebracht, die das korrigieren sollen.

Nur Technologieoffenheit bringt die besten und günstigsten Lösungen. Bitte unterstützen Sie unsere Änderungsanträge, um ein besseres Gesetz zu machen.

Karima Delli (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, mes chers collègues, je dois vous dire ma colère. Il y a sept ans, au sortir du Dieselgate, nous étions tous d'accord dans cet hémicycle. Nous avions dit: plus jamais ça. Plus jamais de voiture poubelle, plus jamais de triche sous l'œil complice des États membres de l'Union européenne, nous avons pris la mesure du scandale sanitaire, si bien que la commission d'enquête du Parlement européen avait conclu que c'était une victoire pour nous, législateurs, par un message historique aux constructeurs automobiles, un message qui disait: nous vous surveillons et vous allez réparer vos fautes. C'est cela qu'on leur a dit. Et depuis, plus rien. Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé depuis sept ans? Rien, ou très peu. On devait passer tout de suite à la norme Euro 7. On n'y est toujours pas.

Ce qu'on va voter aujourd'hui, c'est une norme allégée, rejetée aux calendes grecques. Nous signons jusqu'en 2050 pour cent millions de véhicules poubelles et une directive sur la qualité de l'air qui ne sera jamais respectée. Vous ne trouverez aucun soutien de ma part à un tel gâchis. Vous irez vous expliquer aux Européens qui vont suffoquer notamment de cet air et aux trois cent mille victimes de la pollution de l'air chaque année.

Marie Dauchy (ID). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, les normes, toujours les normes! L'Union européenne n'a que ce mot à la bouche. Établir toujours plus de normes pour pourrir la vie de nos concitoyens. Vous voulez faire passer une nouvelle norme sur la pollution automobile, la fameuse norme Euro 7. Mais il est important que tous comprennent bien le vice qui se cache derrière ce texte.

L'Union européenne a récemment imposé le passage au tout électrique en nous faisant croire qu'il s'agissait d'une solution miracle pour sauver la planète. Une fois de plus, ce sont les citoyens qui devront payer l'addition. Que proposez-vous aux personnes vivant en dehors des grandes villes, qui n'ont pas de transports en commun et qui n'ont pas d'autre choix que de prendre leur voiture pour aller travailler? Rien, absolument rien. Pire, vous les méprisez, puisque vous prenez des décisions insensées qui vont profondément affecter leurs vies.

Une fois de plus, ces décisions sont prises par des technocrates de Bruxelles planqués dans leur tour d'ivoire qui ne connaissent pas les réalités que vivent nos concitoyens. Derrière vos soi-disant objectifs de protection de l'environnement se dissimule une volonté d'en finir avec nos libertés, à commencer par la liberté de se déplacer. Mais sachez qu'en démocratie, c'est le peuple qui décide et vous payerez bientôt le prix politique de cette méprise du peuple. Et vivement le 9 juin.

Sunčana Glavak (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovana povjerenice, kolegice i kolege, ovim izvješćem postavljamo jasan i snažan smjer koji istodobno štiti potrošače, konkurentnost našeg tržišta te, nemojmo zaboraviti, brojna radna mjesta u Europskoj uniji. Po meni, ključno je pronaći odgovarajuću ravnotežu između industrije i naših klimatskih ciljeva. Pritom, naravno, obraćajući pozornost i na dobrobit naših građana. Rekla bih da razumni rokovi za primjenu ovih pravila daju industriji vremena za prilagodbu bez kompromisa u našim ekološkim ciljevima. Također, naša usklađenost s UN regulativama oko emisija čestica, kočnica i habanja guma pokazuje našu odgovornost i ono što nazivamo *leadership*.

Ovaj zakonodavni prijedlog stavlja nas na čelo borbe protiv klimatskih promjena, ali također nosi težinu odgovornosti za preciznu implementaciju i izvršenje. Naravno da svi želimo voziti čišće automobile, želimo svi čišće kamione, autobuse. To svi dobro znamo. Znamo i kako je Klub zastupnika EPP-a veliki podupiratelj zelene tranzicije, ali jednako tako želimo to učiniti na način koji uzima u obzir realne potrebe naših građana. Nemojmo zaboraviti da si svi u onom prvom prijedlogu jednostavno ne bi mogli priuštiti nove automobile – puno skuplje automobile, ali jednako tako moramo voditi računa o brojnim radnim mjestima i o onome što smo čuli o financijskom kolaču BDP-a koji donosi industrija. Stoga, kolegice i kolege, završit ću. Stabilnost, sigurnost i predvidivost – ono je što moramo pružiti našim građanima i našoj industriji – a ne populizam.

Dita Charanzová (Renew). – Mr President, dear colleagues, more than 14 million Europeans are employed by our automotive industry. That is 6.1% of the total employment in the European Union and 7% of our GDP. But this is also a vital industry undergoing transformation. They already have to heavily invest in European electric motors, European batteries and European innovations. This is why I am glad that our proposal is more realistic, and it will not put additional burdens during this transformation. For this, I want to thank our rapporteur, Mr Vondra.

Mr President, a lot is at stake. The European automotive sector is at the top of the global competition today and it must remain there. That's the reason why we must vote in favour of this proposal.

Gianna Gancia (ID). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi ci troviamo di fronte a una scelta cruciale, quella tra il buon senso e l'ideologia.

La proposta Euro 7, come presentata dalla Commissione europea, rischia di soffocare il nostro settore automobilistico. Sosteniamo con forza il compromesso raggiunto in commissione ENVI per garantire un ambiente più pulito, ascoltando le esigenze dell'industria e quindi salvaguardando l'occupazione. Il Consiglio dell'Unione, con il sostegno dell'Italia, ha raggiunto un accordo che rafforza questo compromesso.

Per questo rimarremo fermi nel rifiutare ogni emendamento che vorrà rendere questo testo maggiormente punitivo.

Андрей Новаков (PPE). – Колеги, имам една логическа задача за вас. В края на миналата година Европейската комисия представя пакет, наречен Евро 7 - Новите екологични норми за автомобилите. Той изисква милиарди инвестиции в бензинови и дизелови автомобили, за да станат по-чисти. Три месеца по-късно, в началото на тази година, този Парламент одобрява тотална забрана за продажба на бензинови и дизелови автомобили. В задачата се пита: защо направихме така?

Знаем ли какво правим или унищожаваме една индустрия, която дава 13 милиона работни места. 13 милиона – това е повече от населението на Белгия. Три четвърти от всичко, всичко във вашите къщи е доставено чрез микробуси или камиони с бензинови или дизелови двигатели. Три четвърти. Освен Ковид, освен войната в Украйна, освен инфлацията, освен високите цени на горивата, какво още искаме да стоварим върху главите на тази индустрия? Нищо чудно, че изоставаме толкова катастрофално от Съединените американски щати. Преди 15 години нашата икономика е с един трилион долара по-голяма от тази на Съединените американски щати. Днес американската е с 5 трилиона долара по-голяма от нашата.

Знаете ли в топ 20 на най-големите компании в Европа, в света простете, колко са европейски? Две, само две. Това е така, защото нямаме нужда от повече регулации. Имаме нужда от свободен пазар и реиндустриализация. И ако може да не въвеждаме Евро 8, Евро 9 и Евро 10 до края на този мандат.

Ondřej Kovařík (Renew). – Pane předsedající, paní komisařko, kolegyně, kolegové, návrh emisní normy pro automobily Euro 7 neměl v první řadě nikdy spatřit světlo světa. To, co Komise předložila před rokem, bylo velmi špatné, nerealistické a těžké proveditelné nařízení. Jeho dopady na životní prostředí by byly sporné a dopady na výrobce a uživatele automobilů jasně negativní: zpomalení inovací, zastavení výroby malých aut, masivní propouštění ze strany výrobců, zdražení nových aut až v řádu desítek tisíc korun. A to jsou jen ty nejvýznamnější.

Jednáním zde v Evropském parlamentu se podařilo celou řadu opatření zmírnit. U emisí výfukových plynů směřujeme k tomu, abychom zůstali v podstatě u nyní platné normy Euro 6 a totéž, a to je také podstatné, z hlediska testování vozidel. Současný návrh ale neobsahuje možnost dalšího využití tzv. CO₂ neutrálních paliv, chcete-li paliv syntetického či biologického původu. A podle mého názoru by měl. Tato paliva nejen přispívají ke snížení emisí, ale hlavně umožní budoucí využívání technologie spalovacích motorů. Jsou zásadní z hlediska zachování principu technologické neutrality, a proto bych vyzval k tomu podpořit pozměňovací návrhy v tomto duchu při zítřejším hlasování.

Dennis Radtke (PPE). – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Für uns als EVP-Fraktion ist klar: Wir müssen den Beweis antreten, dass „Löhne und Wachstum rauf“ und „Emissionen und Umweltbelastung runter“ zusammen geht. Sonst wird uns bei unseren ambitionierten Zielen international niemand folgen. Und für mich ist auch klar: Umweltschutz, Klimaschutz werden wir nur erreichen mit der Industrie als Partner und nicht mit der Industrie als Gegner.

Ich meine, nach vier Jahren sozialdemokratischer Industriepolitik hier in diesem Haus verwundert einen ja gar nichts mehr. Aber es ist schon erstaunlich, wenn vor drei Wochen der SPD-Vorsitzende in Deutschland erklärt, die SPD stehe ohne Wenn und Aber zum Industriestandort Deutschland. Da habe ich ihm klipp und klar gesagt: Es wäre toll, wenn Sie es nicht nur sagen, sondern wenn Ihre Genossinnen und Genossen in den Parlamenten das bei ihren Entscheidungen auch beherzigen würden.

Die SPD, die Sozialdemokratie in diesem Hause, steht eben nicht für den Erhalt von hochwertigen Industriearbeitsplätzen, sondern sie steht an der Spitze der Gegenbewegung! Das ist die traurige Realität. Das wurde hier und heute auch angekündigt. Die EVP steht für einen anderen Kurs: Industrie als Partner für Klimaschutz und Umweltschutz. Und darum geht es morgen. Und dafür werbe ich.

Catch-the-eye procedure

Sara Cerdas (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, 70% das emissões dos transportes vêm das nossas estradas.

No início de 2023, como relatora-sombra, defendi a proposta que visa reduzir as emissões de CO₂ para a atmosfera de veículos ligeiros, a partir de 2035. E, hoje, gostaria de estar aqui a apoiar uma proposta Euro 7 mais ambiciosa, porque a poluição do ar é um problema que não pode ser ignorado pelas graves consequências para o bem-estar, para a saúde e a qualidade de vida dos europeus.

E, ao contrário do discurso da direita, os benefícios do Euro 7 eram evidentes. Os benefícios da proposta da Comissão: por cada euro investido existiria um retorno de 5 € em cuidados de saúde, em proteção ambiental.

A abordagem da direita a este relatório é prejudicial para a nossa capacidade de enfrentar os atuais desafios, tanto ambientais como da saúde pública, e a luta contra a poluição do ar, pela proteção do meio ambiente e pela saúde e pelo bem-estar daqueles que representamos é uma ação que exige o compromisso e exige, acima de tudo, coragem.

Aurélia Beigneux (ID). – Monsieur le Président, soyons lucides: le projet de loi Euro 7 est tout simplement insoutenable. La Commission exige des constructeurs qu'ils investissent massivement pour que les moteurs thermiques soient conformes à des normes toujours plus strictes. Pourtant, ces mêmes constructeurs ont déjà investi des milliards pour passer au tout électrique en 2025 sous votre injonction. Ce que vous demandez donc aux constructeurs est contradictoire et l'exemple frappant de la déconnexion totale avec le monde de l'industrie.

Pire encore, et vous le savez très bien, ces efforts vont faire exploser le prix des véhicules, ce qui va tout simplement supprimer les véhicules abordables du marché. Résultat: les petites citadines, autrefois accessibles à 10 000 EUR, coûtent désormais le triple. Sous prétexte d'écologie, vous renforcez donc les inégalités et creusez la fracture sociale.

Les États membres ont déjà adressé un carton jaune à ce texte. Cela devrait vous alerter. Écoutez les constructeurs, les nations et les automobilistes. Arrêtez de pénaliser injustement les plus vulnérables de notre société et arrêtez enfin de mettre en danger notre industrie automobile.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, this legislation should be about setting adequate standards to improve public health and save lives. Yet the right-wing groups instead want to limit costs for car manufacturers.

It's estimated that pollution from road transport causes 70 000 premature deaths every year in the EU, as the Commissioner herself highlighted. Yet some groups want to put the interests of big business ahead of the health of the ordinary people of Europe.

The Commission proposal already lacked the necessary ambition, but the right wing weakened the text even further at the ENVI Committee. A report by the International Council on Clean Transportation showed that China's emissions limit values are nearly twice as stringent as the Euro 7 proposal, and the US limits are nearly three times as stringent.

The car industry is taking home record profits and paying out massive amounts of money to shareholders. If they wanted to pay for cleaner cars, they quite well could.

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, I thank you again for the work done on this text. We are all aware of the challenges to advance our environmental and climate objectives, while maintaining the competitiveness of our automotive industry and providing our citizens with the best conditions for affordable mobility.

I took good note of the positions taken by all during this debate. There is always a bit of tension between the three objectives which I mentioned earlier, but I am confident that you will find the required majority to progress on this file and start the trilogues shortly.

I know that with the right ambition, we can support a green, digital and resilient single market for motor vehicles. Rest assured that the Commission will continue to support you in this effort and work proactively on the implementation framework, so we look forward to working with the Parliament in this common endeavour.

VORSITZ: NICOLA BEER*Vizepräsidentin*

Alexandr Vondra, rapporteur. – Madam President, thank you very much. I think we had a useful debate, and I want to thank everybody for joining us in this debate. I want to thank, of course, all those associated committees – ITRE, TRAN and IMCO – for their work, which certainly helped to craft my report and to reach a rational balanced proposal. I want to thank also the shadows, in particular Jens Gieseke and Susana Solís, for the excellent cooperation.

I want also to appreciate that the Commission is waking up to a more realistic attitude compared with the original proposal. Yes, it comes under attack from the left. I have two points on that. First, you argue with public health in the big cities. I have a clear medicine solution. You should invest much more in public transportation – like we did in Prague – and then you would not have this kind of problem.

Don't ask the poorer countries to give up their automobiles. Just try to watch the highway connecting Frankfurt, Prague, Bratislava. It's one light commercial after another, transporting the old, under Euro 6, cars to the east. And this is a disaster for the environment. So that's the reason why we selected this rational approach.

And even you – I read your amendments – moved in the direction of my report. So you recognise that this Commission original proposal was not the best one. Nevertheless, the reality is that you continue to press for unworkable high emission limits and new testing parameters, which will require significant cost.

Thus I cannot support that because it would eliminate the smaller cars from the fleets immediately. And it's not just the most vulnerable people. It's also the lower half of society. The left, in the past, was defending those people and now I don't see this. So I think therefore it's essential to endorse, and I hope you endorse, my report.

Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 9. November 2023, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Eugen Jurzyca (ECR), písomne. – Návrhu Euro 7 chýbajú základné analýzy dopadov. Napríklad predkladatelia neanalyzovali, aký vplyv budú mať nové pravidlá na spomalenie výmeny starých áut za nové. Toto spomalenie by pritom viedlo k zhoršeniu životného prostredia. Efektívnejšie by bolo skôr sa (napríklad daňovou politikou) zamerať na výmenu starých (najviac znečisťujúcich) áut za moderné, než ešte viac sprísňovať limity moderným autám, pretože úspory emisií medzi Euro 6 a Euro 7 nie sú veľké, zato rozdiel v cenách pravdepodobne veľký je. Som presvedčený, že za jedno euro investované do výmeny starých áut za nové by sme odstránili viac ton CO₂, než za jedno euro investované do sprísnenia noriem pre nové autá.

Katarína Roth Nevedálová (NI), písomne. – Každý z nás chce dýchať čo možno najčistejší vzduch, no obávam sa, že EURO7 nám v tom zásadným spôsobom nepomôže. Už platná norma EURO 6 znížila emisie o 90% a snahu o ďalšiu reguláciu bez obnovy vozového parku, ktorý najviac znečisťuje životné prostredie, považujem za zbytočnú. EURO7 bude platiť pre nové automobily a predraží sa tým ich výroba, čo pre občanov urobí nové autá ešte menej dostupné a budú viac siahať po jazdených vozidlách. Navyše EÚ už schválila, že od roka 2035 sa budú vyrábať len bezemisné autá, takže si nemyslím, že je rozumné na posledných pár rokov bezrozmyslu tlačiť na to, aby sme boli čo najzelenší, a nútiť automobilky prechádzať na nové systémy na posledných pár rokov. Je dobré, že sa spravodajcovi do správy schválenej v Európskom parlamente podarilo dostať viacero zlepšení oproti pôvodnému návrhu Európskej komisie, ktorý by bol pre automobilky likvidačný, no aj tak som túto správu nemohla podporiť, lebo mám za to, že neprinesie želané výsledky a zásadný pokrok, ale naopak len urobí nové automobily nedostupné pre našich občanov.

Ivan Štefanec (PPE), písomne. – Návrh nariadenia Euro 7 rozširuje cieľ znižovať emisie znečisťujúcich látok z cestnej dopravy o emisie vznikajúce pri používaní brzd, pri odere pneumatík, ale venuje sa aj životnosti batérií. Je dôležité, aby podmienky pre priemysel boli nastavené realisticky, preto vítam kompromisné znenie textu, ktoré ustúpilo z vysokých nárokov na úpravu súčasných spaľovacích motorov. Som tiež presvedčený, že budú schválené všetky 4 kľúčové hlasovania o pozmeňovacích návrhoch, ktoré sme označili ako prioritu pre európskych ludovcov.

19. Wzmocnienie prawa do uczestnictwa – legitymacja i odporność procesów wyborczych w nieliberalnych systemach politycznych i reżimach autorytarnych (debata)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Nacho Sánchez Amor im Namen des Ausschusses für auswärtige Angelegenheiten über eine Empfehlung des Europäischen Parlaments an den Rat und den Vizepräsidenten der Kommission und Hohen Vertreter der Union für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik über das Thema „Stärkung des Rechts auf Teilhabe: Legitimität und Resilienz von Wahlprozessen in illiberalen politischen Systemen und autoritären Regimen“ (2022/2154(INI)) (A9-0323/2023).

Nacho Sánchez Amor, ponente. – Señora presidenta, en este ambiente íntimo de última hora agradezco la atención de los diputados, con algunos de los cuales he negociado como ponentes alternativos y con los que ha sido un verdadero placer elaborar este documento, que me gustaría enmarcar en lo que ha sido la política legislativa de algunas comisiones en este período legislativo.

Porque, en política exterior, a veces saltamos de crisis en crisis sin que haya un momento adecuado para reflexionar sobre los aspectos horizontales de la política o sobre los instrumentos de la política exterior. Y, sin embargo, en esta última parte de la legislatura yo creo que hemos producido un buen paquete de documentos y recomendaciones, entre los que yo señalaría el relativo a la diplomacia preventiva y otros sobre la diplomacia parlamentaria, la defensa del multilateralismo, el funcionamiento del Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior, la idea de la Escuela Diplomática Europea, la diplomacia cultural y la colaboración con los servicios de inteligencia en crisis exteriores.

Y ahora querríamos, con esta Recomendación, unir la preocupación de la Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores y la Subcomisión de Derechos Humanos, en las que nos hemos preguntado durante años cómo lidiar con la creciente presencia y asertividad de regímenes autoritarios e iliberales, regímenes que siguen manteniendo una característica muy esencial a pesar del deterioro democrático, que es pretender que hacen elecciones, de tal manera que la urna sigue siendo una especie de tótem de la tribu incluso en algunas de las dictaduras más brutales: hay que fingir que se tiene una legitimidad democrática.

Y por eso mismo está cambiando la naturaleza de la propia observación electoral. La observación electoral ha sido durante muchos años una forma de asistencia a los países para que hicieran mejor las elecciones y en este clima está convirtiéndose en una especie de sistema de alerta temprana sobre la legitimidad de los regímenes autoritarios.

Esta Recomendación aborda el asunto desde una perspectiva distinta de las que hemos utilizado hasta ahora: desde el punto de vista del derecho de cada ciudadano a participar en elecciones justas y libres. El derecho de participación no es un derecho que tenga tanta tradición como el derecho de expresión, de manifestación, o de reunión, pero está en todos los tratados internacionales de derechos y nos permite, por tanto, utilizarlo como otro elemento en la confrontación ideológica con los sistemas autoritarios e iliberales porque podemos activarlo como un derecho ciudadano.

Por eso, en esta Recomendación engarzamos con el hecho de que las elecciones son un proceso: cuidado con una impresión, que se da en los sistemas autoritarios, de que las elecciones son una cosa que pasa un día, mientras que todo el larguísimo proceso de registro de participantes, financiación de partidos, acceso a medios, acceso a la judicatura, confección de los censos, parece quedar fuera de la atención o de lo que los ciudadanos normales consideran unas elecciones.

Por tanto, hay que poner en conexión este derecho de participación con otros derechos de los que he hablado: reunión, manifestación... Hay que procurar que el derecho de participación evite cualquier tipo de discriminación entre los votantes y hay que abordar la cuestión de la información, que en estos regímenes autoritarios es en muchos casos mera propaganda de los regímenes.

Y para eso tenemos herramientas, como la difusión de un contrarrelato frente al relato de las democracias siempre a punto de caer, una nueva idea de la observación electoral internacional e interna, la lucha contra la desinformación (especialmente grave en los períodos electorales), la inclusión de la integridad electoral en los diálogos de derechos humanos de las delegaciones de la Unión Europea en otros países, y las sanciones para aquellas personas que en los sistemas liberales dificulten el derecho de participación, todo ello en el marco de una política que yo creo que hay que seguir enmarcando en el Consejo de Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas.

Doy las gracias a los ponentes alternativos, y será un placer participar en el debate.

Helena Dalli, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I want to thank the rapporteur Mr Sanchez Amor and all MEPs who contributed to this report. You are bringing forward one of the most complex challenges the EU needs to face as a global actor, which is helping citizens across the world to exercise their right to participate in public life and elections.

Your report highlights that 80 % of the world's population currently lives in countries that cannot be considered free. Only three decades ago, one could believe that the end of the Cold War would give way to a world predominantly ruled by democratic nation states.

Today, we know that not only democracy cannot be taken for granted, but our liberal democracies increasingly come under attack.

We need to make one thing clear from the start. The right to participate in public life and to vote in democratic elections is a human right, a basic right recognised by international law to all citizens across the world, but that fewer and fewer individuals can fully enjoy.

You say in your report that this right is under threat, not only because authoritarian regimes violently silence the opposition, perpetuate themselves in power, abusing the system, or even come to power by means of military coup d'état. Amongst the most dangerous but less obvious threats are the proliferation of illiberal actors who, disguised as democrats, instrumentalise social networks and traditional media to spread false or manipulated information to unjustifiably delegitimise democratic electoral processes, foster mistrust and disenchantment among the population, and ultimately discourage the vote, disempower the electorate, and hijack democratic elections.

The strategies used by illiberal regimes and actors are becoming increasingly sophisticated. In particular, the development of digital and artificial intelligence tools are creating a whole world of opportunities, but also challenges to our democracies. For instance, when used to shape and fuel divisive narratives or a distorted perception of reality.

These threats coexist with older tools used by autocratic regimes, including the deployment of fake observers that rubber stamp manipulated electoral outcomes. In the face of these challenges, the EU must be relentless in its efforts to uphold democratic processes worldwide.

In this spirit, the EU has endowed the global Europe human rights and democracy programme with EUR 1.5 billion to support actions conducive to the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in particular to enhance democratic resilience and participation in third countries.

One of the most visible examples of the EU's actions in support of democracy remains our EU election observation missions. The EU electoral missions are not only highly recognised across the world for their professionalism and high standards of independence and impartiality, but, above all, they remain a crucial tool both for local actors and for the EU to first assess the electoral processes in light of international standards, and second, to identify the necessary actions to support as a follow up of their recommendations.

The EU Election Observation Mission to Guatemala is only one recent example of the significant role that the EU-flagged missions can play in supporting democratic electoral processes.

By adopting a long-term framework, the EU electoral observation missions have been able to expose many of the strategies that autocrats use to perpetuate themselves in power, for example, by capturing institutions, coercing voters or malignly manipulating information.

At the same time, the EU observation missions themselves are sometimes facing challenges, including attempts to delegitimise their action when they expose undemocratic behaviours. However, this is a testimony of their good work in upholding democratic outcomes, particularly as opposition parties and civil society continue to highly demand the EU observation and make good use of their assessment and recommendations.

In this regard, and on behalf of the High Representative, allow me to take this opportunity to thank the European Parliament once again, and most particularly the MEPs who serve as chief observers in our electoral missions, for your active engagement and support for the EU's policies and actions in defence of democracy. You can rest assured that we will take good note of the suggestions you put forward on how to best support democratic participation across the world. Your contribution as elected representatives of EU citizens remains key and remains always welcome.

Leopoldo López Gil, *en nombre del Grupo PPE*. – Señora presidenta, este informe llega en un momento crucial. El 80 % de la población mundial vive bajo regímenes autoritarios que se perpetúan utilizando herramientas electorales que imitan a las empleadas por las democracias para imponer su autoridad. Amañan las elecciones de manera que sus resultados burlan la autoridad del pueblo y avalan su poder de manera ilegítima.

La Unión Europea cuenta con instrumentos de verificación de comicios: las misiones de observación electoral, cuyo objetivo fundamental es disuadir del fraude, proporcionar una evaluación informada sobre el proceso y reforzar la confianza en estas elecciones. La responsabilidad de la Unión para con estas misiones es sobresaliente. Tiene que ser cuidadosa en la selección de dónde observar para que no se la pueda tachar de cómplice y para no ser vista como una fuerza legitimadora que apoye resultados de elecciones no democráticas.

Para mantener la coherencia en la política exterior debemos hacer una evaluación de nuestras relaciones con estos países, haciendo seguimiento de las observaciones recogidas en las evaluaciones de sus procesos electorales y, si fuese necesario, utilizando la Ley Magnitski de la UE contra los responsables de socavar los derechos humanos y la democracia.

Solicito que en el Consejo de Asuntos Exteriores de la semana próxima se desestime la petición del ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de España y se continúe con la imposición de sanciones unipersonales a los funcionarios del régimen de Venezuela, quienes han socavado, con las elecciones, la democracia y el Estado de Derecho en ese país.

Andreas Schieder, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich glaube, es ist ein ganz, ganz wichtiger Bericht, und ich möchte mich beim Berichterstatter auch genau für diese Arbeit herzlich bedanken.

Denn wir beobachten immer öfter, wie ausländischer Einfluss auf Wahlen ist, aber auch leider, wie in autoritär regierten Ländern immer mehr Wahlfälschungen, Beeinflussungen in negativer Art stattfinden. Desinformation, Fake News, Einschüchterungsversuche und Diskriminierung machen das, was wir unter fairen, freien und geheimen Wahlen verstehen, immer öfter unmöglich. Sehr oft beobachten wir auch geopolitische Einmischung von einigen Mächten – sei es Russland, sei es die Türkei, seien es andere –, die hier besonders versuchen, durch die Dynamik der Social-Media-Plattformen besonders auch noch Einfluss zu nehmen.

Und daher sind nicht nur Medienfreiheit, transparente Information, Bildung essenziell, sondern auch Wahlbeobachtungsmissionen und globale Zusammenarbeit, um positive Veränderungen zu bewirken. Die Hereinnahme von freien Wahlen in unsere Beziehungen und Entwicklungshilfebeziehungen mit einzelnen Ländern ist hier besonders wichtig.

Aber gerade die Wahlbeobachtungsmissionen, die die Europäische Union und das Europäische Parlament machen, sind hier entscheidend. Denn es sind keine leichtfertigen Aufgaben, es sind sehr detaillierte Arbeiten. Und die sind nicht nur wichtig für die Qualität der Wahlen und der Demokratie, sie sind sehr oft auch ein wichtiges Signal für die Menschen vor Ort, wenn sie bei den Wahllokalen anstehen, dass sie auch internationale europäische Wahlbeobachter sehen – das ist für viele Menschen auch ein Qualitätsmerkmal.

Katalin Cseh, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, in the recent surge of illiberal and autocratic regimes, we are witnessing a very sharp deterioration of human rights worldwide. Autocratic regimes summon their power by gradually curbing the rights of their citizens to participate in elections. And let's face it, their toolkit is broad. Putting opposition leaders behind bars, intimidating voters, setting up institutional burdens, and the list goes on and on and on. And this inevitably leads to a loss of civil control over power, unchecked corruption, further human rights violations, and a drop in overall development as a result.

And as a standard-bearer for international laws and democratic norms, the European Union must push for fairer elections and safeguards to protect affected societies. And we have to put an end to actively assisting illiberal regimes by recognising ridiculous attempts of mock compliance with international standards, or by participating in disgraceful fake observation missions. This report calls for stronger measures to address these challenges, which is an indispensable part of European ambitions to step up as a principal global power. So I invite you to deliver on this commitment and support this report.

Heidi Hautala, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, I have a special reason to thank the rapporteur for his excellent work, because actually, I got to know him before he joined our Parliament when he was leading an ODIHR OSCE electoral observation mission, of which we as the European Parliament were a part, next to two other parliamentary fora. And I remember very well that we had to undertake certain measures to save the integrity of our mission, right?

So this leads me to the question of fake election observation and behaviour that is not acceptable for observers. And on the grounds of that mission we did together, we actually created a code of conduct for three parliamentary assemblies on code of conduct for election observers. And I think it was an important exercise.

Now, unfortunately, we see that even elected Members of this House from time to time participate in fake elections, such as the so-called referendum in Crimea or also another referendum in Azerbaijan. Or they go and pretend to be experts for elections in Russia, whereas they legitimise totally undemocratic elections.

Now, I am happy to say that, in fact, here in the European Parliament we have a fresh new revised code of conduct for Members. And it's much easier now to make those Members accountable for working against any democratic principles.

Thierry Mariani, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, personne n'a attendu la Commission européenne pour s'inspirer de la démocratie athénienne. Si la culture européenne a rayonné, c'est qu'elle était un exemple pour le monde entier qui puisait librement dans cet héritage inestimable. Or, le texte de cette résolution propose d'inverser complètement cette perspective.

Notre Parlement feint de croire qu'il pourrait inciter le monde à suivre ses recommandations, alors même que nous sommes un contre-exemple de démocratie. Nous ne parvenons toujours pas à obtenir les SMS de M^{me} von der Leyen avec Pfizer, nous ne sommes pas vraiment crédibles pour faire la leçon au monde entier sur la transparence. Pire, les institutions européennes ne cachent même plus qu'elles soutiennent certains candidats contre d'autres, comme on l'a vu encore récemment en Pologne ou en Moldavie.

Sans parler de l'absence totale de notre exigence démocratique quand cela correspond aux calculs de l'Union européenne. Avons-nous entendu la Commission, par exemple, s'insurger alors que M. Zelensky vient d'annoncer qu'il suspendait les élections en Ukraine? Avons-nous vu le début d'une réaction de la Commission européenne contre l'extraterritorialité du droit américain, qui est la pire ingérence démocratique dans notre siècle?

C'est le «deux poids, deux mesures» qui est la règle de ce Parlement. Nous soutenons les accords commerciaux avec le Viêt Nam, mais nous sanctionnons le Cambodge. Nous détestons la Tunisie, mais nous pardonnons tout au Qatar. Et je vous rappelle que l'Égypte d'hier des Frères musulmans soutenait le Hamas alors que vos faveurs aujourd'hui ne cessent au contraire d'attaquer le gouvernement du président Sissi.

La meilleure manière pour nous de soutenir l'intégrité de la vie démocratique dans le monde serait d'en revenir à deux principes simples: le respect des souverainetés et le refus de nous ingérer dans les affaires internes des autres États.

Miroslav Radačovský (NI). – Pani predsedajúca, súhlasím s tým, že voľby sú nevyhnutné pre fungovanie každého štátu. Súhlasím s tým, aby medzinárodné pozorovacie misie, OBS, OSN, Európskej únie zúčastňovali sa pozorovania volieb v každom štáte. Aby sa zúčastňovali pozorovania volieb aj v štátoch, ktoré označujeme ako štáty s neliberálnym politickým systémom, ako štáty autokratické. Nie je predsa možné, aby voľby v Ruskej federácii prebiehali 17. septembra 2021, a Európska komisia prijala alebo Európska únia prijala rezolúciu 16. septembra, že voľby budú nedemokratické. A pozorovateľov sme tam nevyslali. Takto sa to predsa nerobí.

A takto postupujeme vo vzťahu aj k štátom ako je Bielorusko, Venezuela, referendum na Kryme.

Nezúčastníme sa volieb ako pozorovatelia, pretože vraj budú nedemokratické. A potom sme prekvapení z toho, že v takýchto štátoch sa vytvárajú domáci pozorovatelia, kde sú tam predvolávaní pozorovatelia z neštandardných zahraničných misií. Nemôžem predsa tvrdiť, že za mnou sedí Julia Roberts, a nie pani Metsola, keď sa nepresvedčím o tom, či tam skutočne sedí pani Metsola alebo Julia Roberts.

Lukas Mandl (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Nur eine Demokratie ist eine Demokratie. Und das bedeutet viel mehr, als einen Wahltag zu haben. Ein Wahltag, darin gipfelt zwar Demokratie, da sind alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger eingeladen und aufgefordert, ihre Stimme abzugeben. Sie ist das starke Zeichen der Demokratie, dass es diesen Gipfel gibt, aber die Voraussetzungen, die wurzeln viel, viel tiefer. Es braucht nicht nur das aktive Wahlrecht, es braucht das passive Wahlrecht, und zwar für jede und jeden ohne Druckmomente durch ein falsches Justizsystem, das diesen Namen nicht verdient, durch eine Einschränkung von Meinungsfreiheit beispielsweise oder durch den Versuch, einige zu bevorzugen und dadurch unweigerlich andere zu benachteiligen.

Das alles ist es, was die Europäische Union als leuchtendes Beispiel nach außen auf der Welt zeigen soll und worin sie andere Teile der Welt unterstützen sollte. Und das ist nicht selbstverständlich, denn Demokratien kommen unter Druck – überall. Demokratien werden durch systemische Rivalität unter Druck gesetzt, aber jeder Mensch ist gleich viel wert und nach der Philosophie der europäischen Zivilisation verdient jeder Mensch ein solches demokratisches System.

Ich möchte auch jenen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern in der EU, die oft kritisch im Hinblick darauf sind, dass in der Demokratie gestritten wird, sagen: Es ist doch besser, dass gestritten wird als dass es die Ruhe eines autoritären Systems gibt – die Qualität des Streits, die ist entscheidend.

Matjaž Nemeč (S&D). – Gospa predsednica! Spoštovani visoki zbor!

Svobodne in poštene in legitimne volitve so predpogoj za zdravje vsake demokracije. Ta je eden izmed temeljev, na katerih je nastala tudi naša Evropska unija. A pogosto so lahko volitve v neliberalnih in avtoritarnih sistemih zlorabljene ali pa so te le zgolj formalnost in pesek v oči javnosti in sistemu.

Mednarodna skupnost, vključno z Evropsko unijo, ima lahko ključno vlogo pri preverjanju integritete in legitimnosti volitev. A najpomembnejši je nadzor domačih institucij, ki morajo biti seveda močne in neodvisne.

Predpogoj poštenih volitev so zagotovo še svobodni mediji. Še posebej pomembno vlogo pa igrajo civilna družba in nevladne organizacije, ki jih je potrebno ustrezno opolnomočiti. Vsi ti akterji si morajo skupaj prizadevati za vzpostavitev mehanizmov za zaščito volilnih pravic in svoboščin tako pred domačimi kot tudi drugimi grožnjami.

Spoštovani kolegice in kolegi! Evropa mora pri svojem delovanju po svetu podpirati legitimne demokratične procese in volitve, a mora pri tem paziti, da v svojem delovanju ni pokroviteljska ali celo vzvišena.

Odnosi, spoštovani, s prijatelji in partnerji morajo zato temeljiti na medsebojnem spoštovanju navkljub morebitnim razlikam v stališčih in pristopih. Kolegu Nachu čestitam za odlično opravljeno delo.

Tatjana Ždanoka (NI). – Madam Chair, Madam Commissioner, I would like to congratulate the rapporteur for this AFET report for creating very nice formulas of good behaviour. I just want to ask Mr Sánchez Amor: are you ready to offer your know-how to Mr López Aguilar for the similar LIBE report? The formulas you proposed to non-EU countries do not need to be changed and are more than relevant for a number of EU Member States.

For example, Latvia, Estonia and Bulgaria need a recommendation not to restrict the enjoyment of the right to participate of minorities, including ethnic and religious minorities. This concerns problems with electoral rights for non-citizens and the use of languages other than the state language in election campaigning.

A call to monitor hate speech by public authorities and elected officials and to advance towards a zero-tolerance approach to racism and discrimination is extremely important for Latvia as well. In particular, regarding the discrimination of my pro-minority party in receiving state financing and in standing for elections, I call for a zero tolerance approach.

So we have to give up the habit to notice the speck in one eye, but to ignore the log in our own.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, stimați colegi, suntem cu toții aici pentru a apăra drepturile și interesele cetățenilor care ne-au ales. Suntem aici să apărăm drepturile acestora de a ne alege sau de a ne trimite acasă, dacă am eșuat în datoria de a-i reprezenta cu cinste. Suntem aici pentru a apăra democrația în Europa și peste tot în lume.

Prin urmare, este cazul să vorbim deschis, să spunem lucrurilor pe nume. Vorbim despre promovarea alegerilor libere și corecte în timp ce avem printre noi suporteri ai statelor ce folosesc alegerile exclusiv pentru a-și conserva puterea și intervin în procesele electorale din alte state democratice.

Dreptul de participare la alegeri este, bineînțeles, un drept fundamental, care nu are nevoie de explicații, însă asigurarea lui nu este suficientă. Este esențial să asigurăm cetățenilor dreptul la informații corecte și echidistante.

Problema reală este în continuare dezinformarea, propaganda, manipularea, instrumente folosite pentru a controla cetățenii și pentru a le spune ce sunt interesați cei care manipulează.

Uniunea Europeană are obligația de a reacționa ferm și de a contracara campaniile ample de dezinformare.

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, I don't really recognise the world that this report describes. The values it claims it is based on don't exist. How can we lecture non-EU countries about human rights and democracy when we go around the world fuelling wars and sanctioning countries to death? How can we pontificate about democracy and human rights when we not only call the fascist apartheid state of Israel a democracy, but are prepared to support it to the point of the genocide of the Palestinian people?

Human rights and democracy – these words have lost a lot of meaning when spoken by many European leaders and politicians. Over 10 000 Palestinians murdered, over 4 000 of them children. A textbook case of ethnic cleansing and genocide happening before our eyes, and we can't even condemn Israel.

How can you talk about European democracy and human rights when you outlaw protests and brutalise people protesting about their families being massacred by Israeli bombs? The EU's credibility is dying.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, the debate today is testimony of your continued commitment and engagement to uphold democratic values, especially at a time when they are facing serious threats and new challenges. In light of this, we welcome your recommendations on how the EU can best contribute to strengthening the resilience and legitimacy of electoral processes.

The EU will continue to use all the tools at its disposal in support of the right to participation in public life and democratic elections. This includes supporting the work of electoral observers as what they truly are: human rights defenders. The EU and its Member States will continue working with international partners to uphold international standards in election observation, while we step up support for genuine domestic observation.

The comprehensive and coherent follow-up of the EU Election Observation Mission reports remains crucial. Our actions need to be tailor-made, be efficient and, above all, serve to support national-led solutions. These can range from providing technical support to strengthening the resilience of the institutions or media actors, to supporting dialogue between an autocratic regime and the political opposition, or even imposing restrictive measures as a last resort. This is what we have done, for instance, in the case of Belarus.

We need to remain vigilant and adapt our actions to the new, sophisticated strategies that autocratic regimes have adopted to undermine the rule of law at home and abroad. The creative solutions that you suggest in your report will be highly considered in this process.

Nacho Sánchez Amor, ponente. – Señora presidenta, gracias, señora comisaria, por recordar aquella ingenuidad del fin de la historia y de que nos dirigíamos a un mundo de democracias. Gracias, señora Hautala, por recordar que nos conocimos hace ya unos años en una misión electoral en Armenia. También he coincidido con el señor Mariani en alguna otra misión electoral y quería abordar precisamente alguna de las cuestiones a las que él se ha referido, y en diferente modo también el señor Wallace.

Cuando nosotros vamos a hacer una observación electoral lo hacemos por invitación del Gobierno, de tal manera que es difícil plantear que esto es una interferencia con la soberanía de un país o es una intromisión en los asuntos internos. De hecho, el problema que tiene ahora la Unión Europea es que estamos dejando de recibir invitaciones porque estos regímenes iliberales no quieren testigos de sus prácticas en torno a las elecciones.

Y es verdad, como decía el señor Wallace, que a lo mejor aparecemos como alguien que quiere actuar de una manera paternalista, pero lo hacemos a invitación de los países, y los países nos invitan y nos piden que les hagamos recomendaciones para mejorar su sistema electoral, que es a lo que nos dedicamos.

Y yo quería recordar que nosotros ejercemos esta función de observación electoral, junto con otras de promoción de la democracia, no solo por una convicción sobre la universalidad de los valores que defendemos, sino también por un interés. Esto no es solo exportación del mundo occidental, de sus valores, a veces tildados de neocoloniales.

Yo lo que les recuerdo a sus señorías es que un mundo de democracias es un mundo más seguro porque las democracias son previsibles, porque las democracias tienen sistemas de controles y equilibrios, tienen prensa libre y tienen una opinión pública crítica y, por tanto, sus decisiones generalmente son bastante previsibles.

Y, sin embargo, los sistemas autoritarios se caracterizan porque el humor de una sola persona puede provocar una guerra o un desastre. Por tanto, quiero recordar que esas recomendaciones que emitimos (y que yo creo que deberían ocupar un lugar más destacado en la agenda de la política exterior de la Unión Europea) las hacemos por invitación de los propios países que visitamos.

Gracias a todos los negociadores. Yo creo que la Recomendación ha quedado muy bien. Y gracias por el excelente debate.

Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 9. November 2023, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

David McAllister (PPE), in writing. – Geopolitical turmoil, chief amongst it the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine and its global repercussions, is both the cause and the consequences of an environment in which democracies are openly challenged. Only 6.1% of the world's population lives in a functioning democracy, according to the most recent Global Democracy Index. More than a third of the global population lives under authoritarian rule. Precisely because democracy is the beating heart and core of the European Union's identity, we need to reinforce the right to participate, in the world. Autocracies employ increasingly versatile tools to legitimise elections that are neither fair nor free – be it through fake observers or the abuse of information and communication technology. The European Union

needs to strengthen the link between election observation work and our wider support for human rights and democracy. Parliament's Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group is a dedicated structure that coordinates our work in this area. Over the last year, and especially since 2014, our democracy support activities have been ramped up. We have developed expertise and capacity to provide comprehensive assistance to non-EU parliaments through a number of activities undertaken ahead of, during and after elections.

20. Jednominutowe wystąpienia w znaczących kwestiach politycznych

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgen die Ausführungen von einer Minute zu wichtigen politischen Fragen (Artikel 172 GO).

Ich werde in der mir vorliegenden Liste ein bisschen zwischen den Fraktionen mischen, und wir starten mit dem Kollegen Tomislav Sokol.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, u Crnoj Gori formirana je prosrpska i prorуска vlada. Srpski nacionalist koji otvoreno podupire Rusiju izabran je za predsjednika Skupštine, njegova stranka dio je parlamentarne većine. Rezultat je to slijeda događaja koji je počeo litijama organiziranim od strane Srpske pravoslavne crkve Aleksandra Vučića s ciljem vraćanja Crne Gore u srpsku i rusku interesnu sferu.

Nažalost, nakon tri godine možemo reći da su oni svoje ciljeve uglavnom ispunili. Posljednji čin u faktičnom ukidanju crnogorske nacije i pretvaranju ove zemlje u još jednu rusku guberniju predstavlja popis stanovništva. U izmijenjenim geopolitičkim okolnostima, država lišena nacionalnog predznaka tako bi postala hibridna tvorevina u kojoj bi rusko-srpska osovina gradila Bjelorusiju u malom. Zato je ključno da Europska unija podrži daljnju odgodu popisa stanovništva te pomno prati korake nove vlade, posebno predsjednika države Milatovića, u njihovom odnosu prema europskim integracijama.

Dame i gospodo, pretvaranje Crne Gore u Malu Bjelorusiju na obali Mediterana rezultat je katastrofalne politike Europske unije te vas pozivam da je promijenimo dok ne bude kasno. Zaustavimo Srbiju u destabiliziranju Crne Gore i cijele jugoistočne Europe.

Sara Cerdas (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, as regiões ultraperiféricas enfrentam desafios particulares devido à sua localização geográfica, por estarem afastadas do continente europeu. No entanto, esses desafios não devem ser obstáculos intransponíveis, mas oportunidades de superação e crescimento.

É urgente, assim, a criação de um POSEI específico para os transportes que permita melhorar a mobilidade destas regiões, facilitar o acesso aos mercados europeus e garantir uma plena coesão socioeconómica na União Europeia. Porque o POSEI é muito mais do que um programa de apoio financeiro, é um catalisador para o progresso, para a coesão e para o fortalecimento das regiões ultraperiféricas, e o futuro destas regiões depende da nossa ação e do nosso compromisso inabalável para com as regiões ultraperiféricas.

Francisco Guerreiro (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, I was going to talk about the massive lobby that the meat industry made within the European Commission to derail a historic promise made by President Ursula von der Leyen to improve animal welfare standards in the European Union.

However, I will focus on the unfair, unjust and inhumane conviction of the lawyer and animal activist Wayne Hsiung in the United States. So Wayne was recently convicted of conspiracy and misdemeanour charges for, brace yourselves, saving sick and injured livestock animals from factory farms. The system is so rotten that even in the trial, all the evidence of animal abuse and cruelty were dismissed. The power is so corrupt that this hero was convicted for having compassion towards sentient beings. So let it be known all around the world and here in the European Parliament that we stand by you, Wayne, and we will fight back.

Dorien Rookmaker (ECR). – Madam President, the message we have to focus on today is that the Iranian regime is the undeniable epicentre of regional instability and chaos. It is known that the head of the snake lies in Tehran, and we must cut ties with the mullahs in Iran.

With the current crisis happening in the Middle East, the one benefiting and sowing this chaos is sitting in Tehran. While the people of Iran are demanding change and unbearable numbers are being executed on a daily basis in Iran, the regime is taking advantage of what is happening today.

The future of the Middle East – and, indeed, global stability – is directly linked to Iran. A free, democratic and progressive Iranian republic can act as a catalyst fostering regional peace and cooperation. So the global community must renew and enhance its support for the Iranian people's aspirations, and ensure that their quest for freedom and justice is not in vain.

Isabella Tovaglieri (ID). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, in Belgio associazioni e partiti di sinistra spingono per una legge che vieti di criticare l'Islam, una legge che cancellerebbe la libertà di espressione, consegnandoci direttamente nelle mani di chi vuole trasformare l'Europa in una succursale di Teheran.

Nei quartieri ghetto delle nostre città, all'ombra delle moschee finanziate dai fondamentalisti, sta crescendo più di una generazione di immigrati che, nel migliore dei casi, non vuole integrarsi e, nel peggiore, ci uccide al grido di «*Allahu akbar*».

La sinistra, che ci accusa di essere nazisti e razzisti perché denunciemo i rischi dell'accoglienza indiscriminata, oggi deve chiedere scusa ai cittadini italiani ed europei, privati del diritto di vivere in pace e in sicurezza in casa propria.

E allora, cari colleghi progressisti che chiamate «partigiani» i terroristi di Hamas, evitate almeno a sproposito di parlare di islamofobia proprio mentre in Europa si sta riaffacciando l'incubo dell'antisemitismo, ma quello vero.

Chris MacManus (The Left). – Madam President, across Ireland we have seen mass rallies rightfully calling for an end to Israel's massacre of innocent children, women and men in Gaza, wiping out entire families, brutalising those in occupied territories. The Israeli Ambassador in Ireland has insulted and attacked the Irish people and our President for showing solidarity. Further, Israel now refuses to allow Irish citizens to leave Gaza. Her position is untenable whilst Israel intensifies attacks and turns its face against an immediate ceasefire.

And what has the European Union done to help? Its inaction and the indifference of EU leaders and EU institutions towards Gaza has brought the European Union and this House into disrepute. It's shameful! They should be ashamed for not demanding an immediate ceasefire, for turning a blind eye to 4 000 dead children in Gaza, murdered by Israel. These are war crimes wiping out generations of Palestinians from existence. This genocide must end with an immediate ceasefire!

Tatjana Ždanoka (NI). – Madam President, the Government of Latvia has decided to use a historic window of opportunities in order to eliminate Russian language and culture in my country. A country where the first Russian secondary school was created more than 200 years ago. The latest school reform is uprooting the mother tongue from the lessons in national minority primary schools. The native language can only be studied at will in additional lessons. Preschool children are punished for greeting each other in their own minority language.

The policy of double standards, allowing to close their eyes to deprivation of minority rights, has flourished after 2004, when the East European states have joined the EU, bearing on board the essential percentage of traditional, national and linguistic minorities. But this policy has resulted in a sharp decline in minority rights standards for the old Europe.

So, we have to erase three viruses – anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and Russophobia – here in the European Union ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

Peter Pollák (PPE). – Pani predsedajúca, obavy z ohrozenia právneho štátu na Slovensku sa stali skutočnosťou. Po voľbách dostala spravodlivosť v mojej krajine červenú stopku. Vyhrál Fico, spojil sa s Pellegrinim a s Dankom. Prišla vláda mafie, zlodějov, hoaxerov a extrémistov. Nový minister vnútra začal hanebné, okázalé a vrcholne neprípustné čistky v polícii. Začala pomsta policajtom, ktorí vyšetrujú korupciu počas minulých vlád Smeru a Hlasu. Začalo obdobie perzekúcie a hon na policajtov, ktorí vyšetrujú korupciu Fica, Pellegriniho, Danka a ich kamarátov. Vrátila sa vláda mafie.

Dnes na Slovensku vládnu skorumpovaní politici, ktorí boli, respektíve ešte stále sú, trestne stíhaní. Politici, ktorí dnes robia čistky v polícii len preto, aby si zachránili vlastný chrbát. A takto maria vyšetovanie.

Zdá sa, že Slovensko zabudlo na smrť Jána Kuciaka a jeho Martiny. Zabudli sme na politickú vraždu, na mafiu, na systém beztrestnosti vyvolených ľudí. Teraz nám všetkým ostáva, aby sme citlivo sledovali zásahy proti právnemu štátu na Slovensku. Aby sme nezostali ticho, postavili sa strachu na stranu spravodlivosti.

Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE). – Senhora Presidente, estamos no centro da Europa, onde funciona bem o transporte público, mas a realidade diária do transporte público na Galiza, o meu país, é a seguinte: autocarros cheios nas vilas e cidades, pessoas aguardando horas para chegar ou voltar do trabalho e dos centros de estudos, falha de frequências horárias e de bilhetes, que obriga quem precisa de se deslocar a reservar muitas semanas antes, atrasos contínuos, falha de ligações às zonas rurais e precariedade nos contratos dos trabalhadores do setor dos transportes.

O setor dos autocarros na Galiza está quase monopolizado pela empresa de transportes Monbus, amparada pelo Governo galego do Partido Popular, como acaba de confirmar a justiça. A normativa europeia da concorrência continua a não ser respeitada na Galiza.

Peço que a Comissão acompanhe esta problemática, que é, evidentemente, discriminatória para com as galegas e os galegos, que querem um transporte público digno e de qualidade como no resto da Europa.

Charlie Weimers (ECR). –Madam President, most of the West condemned Hamas murders, rapes, torture and kidnaping of innocent civilians. But far too many did the opposite. Colleagues, too many migrants are nominally European, but their loyalties lie elsewhere: a fifth column.

But what to do about those that reject European values? Well, France is considering fast-track deportations, and Germany talks of rejecting citizenship for anti-Semites. If implemented, this is a good first step. But as we know, talk is cheap. The hatred and antisemitism we've seen in European cities has no place here.

This is a matter of Europe remaining Europe. Send them home.

Gianantonio Da Re (ID). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, in questi ultimi giorni l'Italia è stata devastata dal forte maltempo, che ha provocato purtroppo numerose vittime, dispersi, famiglie sfollate, nonché ingenti danni economici.

In Veneto e in Friuli Venezia Giulia, come in Toscana, si sono registrati danni per centinaia di milioni di euro, sia in montagna, con frane e smottamenti, sia lungo i litorali, dove si rende ora necessario il ripristino delle spiagge e con esso il turismo.

È necessario un intervento rapido ed efficace da parte dell'Europa tramite l'attivazione del Fondo di solidarietà, a supporto degli enti regionali e, in particolare, delle piccole realtà locali sempre in prima linea nel prevenire, affrontare e reagire a queste catastrofi naturali.

La salvaguardia del territorio è fondamentale per lo sviluppo e la tutela delle nostre comunità. Come fanno sempre i nostri piccoli comuni, anche l'Europa faccia la propria parte.

Younous Omarjee (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, il est des moments rares dans une vie où les événements du monde nous donnent rendez-vous avec ce que nous sommes. Dans la fidélité à ces valeurs, l'Europe était attendue pour la condamnation ferme de tous les crimes de guerre. Elle était attendue, elle ne l'est plus. Rusant avec ses principes, elle s'est tue.

Par ses silences complices, par ses discours alambiqués, par son refus d'appeler à un cessez-le-feu, l'Europe a dévoilé au monde entier sa duplicité et son indifférence devant le massacre de milliers de femmes et d'enfants assassinés. Par son attitude, elle a ravivé la mémoire douloureuse des peuples du Sud, qui comprennent que l'Europe continue à se solidariser avec les aventures coloniales et meurtrières. En laissant périr Gaza, c'est la civilisation qui périt, et annonce la fin d'une illusion, Madame la Présidente, qui laissera des traces et entraînera une fracture pérenne entre le Sud et l'Occident.

Romana Tomc (PPE). – Gospa predsednica! Slovenska vlada s svojimi dejanji spodkopava temeljne vrednote Evropske unije. Po političnem prevzemu RTV-ja se enako dogaja tudi v drugih slovenskih institucijah, ki bi morale biti neodvisne, pa niso.

Pred dnevi je predsednik vlade javno povedal, da je potrebno slovensko policijo očistiti janšistov. Očistiti. To so grozljive napovedi političnih čistk, ki v demokratičnem svetu nimajo nobenega mesta.

Koalicijski partnerji vladajočih kvaziliberalcev, to so levi in socialisti, ki so dve leti nazaj pisarili laži v spolitizirani resoluciji o Sloveniji, so sedaj tiho in sodelujejo pri uničevanju Slovenije.

Evropske institucije so že pokazale, da znajo obsoditi kršitve vladavine prava. Upam, da tokrat, samo zato ker gre za levo vlado, ne bodo tiščale glave v pesek.

Johan Nissinen (ECR). – Fru talman! I norra Sverige korsar årligen över 16 000 timmerbilar gränsen till Finland. Det sker tack vare ett undantag för Finland och Sverige, där transporter mellan de båda länderna kan ha olika dimensioner och vikt. Att höga vikter tillåts är faktiskt avgörande för dessa transporter, men enligt EU är detta helt problematiskt. Tyvärr vill EU nu införa en så kallad *one-size-fits-all*-modell för alla gällande vikter, vilket kommer orsaka stor skada för Sverige.

De föreslagna reglerna skulle kräva att alla lastbilar måste lossa och lasta om vid gränsen, vilket varken gynnar miljön eller effektiviserar handeln. Vår skogsindustri arbetar hårt för att kunna verka i glesbygden – glesbygda områden utan befintliga järnvägsförbindelser. Decennium av utvecklingsarbete har resulterat i längre och tyngre lastbilar som är anpassade till nordiska förhållanden och industriella behov. EU behöver tänka om, EU behöver tänka rätt.

Gunnar Beck (ID). – Frau Präsidentin! Laut offiziellen Zahlen beläuft sich die Belastung der öffentlichen Haushalte in Deutschland durch Migranten auf knapp 50 Milliarden Euro jährlich. In Wahrheit sind es mindestens 100 Milliarden.

Nun will die deutsche Regierung Abschiebungen durch Migrationsabkommen forcieren und Asylzentren im Ausland einrichten. Altbekannte Absichtserklärungen, aus denen nichts wird, weil Gerichte es verhindern und/oder politischer Wille fehlt. Nach geltendem Recht sind fast alle Migranten illegal eingereist und hätte deren Einreise durch *Push-backs* verhindert werden können. Doch von der Leyens EU-Migrationspakt soll *Push-backs* verhindern, indem er illegale Migration legalisiert.

Schon heute betragen die Kosten für Migranten mindestens 2,5 % des deutschen Bruttosozialproduktes, Tendenz rasant steigend – eine Last, mit der eine führende Volkswirtschaft nicht mehr aufrechterhalten werden kann.

Kateřina Konečná (The Left). – Paní předsedající, kolegyně a kolegové, tak jako další státy v Evropě i Česká republika trpí nedostatkem zdravotníků. Aktuálně dle ministra schází až tři tisíce sester a tisíc lékařů. Špatné pracovní podmínky způsobené také dlouhými přesčasy odstrašují potenciální nové zdravotníky, zatímco zdravotnické školy trpí nedostatečnými financemi a kapacitami. Dobrovolnost přesčasů je často spíše deklaratorní, neboť na ní udržení českého zdravotnictví prostě závisí.

Místo systémového řešení však česká vládní koalice přišla s návrhem přesčasy prodlužovat. Jsem ráda, že se pracovníci ve zdravotnictví proti asociálnímu pseudořešení postavili a velká řada z nich odmítla prodloužené přesčasy pracovat. Ministr zdravotnictví byl donucen z původního záměru odstoupit. Zde opět se zdravotníky souhlasím, že není možné udělat pouze kosmetické změny či se vracet do starých nefunkčních kolejí. Zdravotníci tak jako všichni pracující si zaslouží důstojné mzdy a podmínky, žádné 24hodinové směny. Školy potřebují dostatečné finance. Zdravotníci jsou lidé a lidé nejsou stroje. Nechovějme se k nim tedy tak ani v České republice, ani jinde v Evropě.

Jiří Pospíšil (PPE). – Paní předsedající, chtěl jsem navázat na vystoupení některých kolegů, kteří zde dneska hovořili i v rámci tohoto bloku o narůstajícím antisemitismu a politickém extremismu v Evropě. Považuji to za velký problém a chtěl jsem využít této jednominutovky k tomu, abych vyzval všechny orgány Evropské unie, abychom opravdu nepodceňovali i třeba verbální trestné činy, které jsme viděli v poslední době na demonstracích, které byly vyvolány útokem Hamásu na Izrael. Pokud někde probíhá pokojná demonstrace, je to samozřejmě legitimní projev, legitimní svoboda projevu. Ale pokud někdo obhajuje extremismus, obhajuje útok Hamásu na svobodné, pokojné občany Izraele, tak nad tím nemůžeme zavírat oči. A tady bychom opravdu měli jako Evropa postupovat společně a snažit se i tyto verbální trestné činy postihovat a reagovat na ně. Protože pokud budeme nad těmito projevy extremismu zavírat oči, dlouhodobě se to Evropě vymstí.

Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Doamna preşedintă, stimaţi colegi, tezaurul naţional al României, cântărind 94 de tone de aur, ce constă în bani, lingouri, bijuterii sau alte obiecte de artă, se află de peste o sută de ani în Rusia, iar aceasta refuză să-l restituie României.

În 1916, acest tezaur a fost mutat din România în Rusia ţaristă, cu scopul de a fi pus la adăpost până când se termină Primul Război Mondial. În 1917, Rusia ţaristă a căzut sub stăpânirea hoardelor comuniste conduse de marxistul Lenin, aceasta transformându-se în Uniunea Sovietică. Nu doar că sovieticii au furat şi pârjolit ţări vecine, dar au preluat ca fiind a lor, inclusiv bunuri ce se aflau la adăpost în băncile sau în garanţie în băncile din Imperiul Țarist.

Actuala Federaţia Rusă a continuat această atitudine banditească, refuzând restituirea tezaurului naţional al României, pe care îl deţine abuziv şi în prezent. Acest tezaur reprezintă nu doar o colecţie de obiecte preţioase, ci este şi o parte din identitatea şi moştenirea culturală a României.

Solicit, de aceea, Comisiei Europene şi Parlamentului European ca, în colaborare cu Guvernul României şi Banca Naţională a României, să se folosească de toate mijloacele diplomatice şi juridice disponibile pentru a repara această nedreptate, iar tezaurul naţional al României să se întoarcă din Rusia acasă.

Thierry Mariani (ID). – Madame la Présidente, il y a un an, notre Parlement votait une résolution appelant à soutenir les déplacés congolais dans la région du Kivu. Dans cette résolution, nous encourageons le Rwanda à ne pas soutenir les rebelles du M23 et nous demandions de placer le commandement de ce groupe terroriste sanguinaire sous sanctions. Depuis, le M23 continue ses crimes et sa situation est toujours aussi tendue au Kivu. Alors que 200 000 personnes sont déjà déplacées de Goma, des combats violents ont encore eu lieu ce 7 novembre. Quand obligerons-nous enfin le Rwanda de Kagame à renoncer à la déstabilisation de la République démocratique du Congo politiquement, militairement et économiquement?

Alors que l'élection présidentielle aura lieu en décembre à Kinshasa et que nous discutons aujourd'hui de l'action de l'Union européenne pour préserver le processus démocratique, il faut aider le peuple congolais à stopper les ingérences de Kigali. Nous devons soutenir les initiatives des chefs d'État de l'Afrique australe, notamment de l'Angola, et dénoncer enfin clairement le pillage des richesses de la République démocratique du Congo.

Sandra Pereira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, há cada vez mais pessoas cujo direito à habitação é posto em causa ou, em crescentes casos, negado.

Em Portugal, os dados do INE relativos a agosto de 2023 apontam para uma subida média de 41,4% da prestação da casa em relação ao ano anterior, sendo que, em média, 57% dessa prestação ia para o pagamento de juros.

Enquanto isto acontece na vida de milhões de famílias, os lucros da banca não param de aumentar. Quase 2 mil milhões de euros no primeiro semestre do ano em Portugal, 11 milhões de euros de lucros por dia. O BCE está a tornar num inferno a vida de milhões de famílias para defender os lucros da banca e isso tem de parar.

Milhares de pessoas saem à rua, também em Portugal, para dar voz a este problema e é com esta força que continuaremos a exigir as respostas necessárias a este flagelo.

Aumente-se o parque habitacional público, aumentem-se os salários, ponham-se os lucros a pagar o aumento das prestações, reverta-se o aumento das taxas de juro.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Doamna președintă, este o zi importantă astăzi, Comisia Europeană a invitat să înceapă negocierile de aderare la Uniunea Europeană, Republica Moldova. Însă cred că regulile sunt reguli și ar trebui să fie valabile pentru toți, inclusiv atunci când discutăm despre sport.

Și vreau să transmit de aici, din plenul Parlamentului European, că este inacceptabilă și de neînțeles decizia UEFA de a organiza meciuri de fotbal într-un teritoriu controlat de Federația Rusă de peste 30 de ani, din Republica Moldova, în regiunea transnistreană.

Mă alătur organizației Promo-LEX care cere ca această organizație să suspende toate meciurile jucate într-o zonă controlată de separatiști ghidați de Kremlin. Este inacceptabil acest lucru și cred că trebuie să avem standarde foarte ridicate atunci când discutăm despre interesele noastre strategice și de respectarea drepturilor fundamentale.

João Pimenta Lopes (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, daqui saudamos a ação promovida pela CGTP, luta geral pelo aumento dos salários, que decorre desde 25 de outubro e culmina no dia 11 de novembro.

Daqui saudamos as muitas centenas de iniciativas no âmbito desta ação: os milhares de trabalhadores envolvidos em plenários, concentrações, paralisações e greves nos locais de trabalho de todos os setores, em todo o país, reivindicando o aumento geral e significativo dos salários e a melhoria das suas condições laborais e de vida.

A realidade impõe a justa, necessária e possível reivindicação de um aumento salarial de pelo menos 15% e um mínimo de 150 euros. Aumentar salários e pensões é uma urgência nacional. Os trabalhadores, o povo português, podem contar connosco nesse combate, na defesa do direito à habitação, à saúde, à educação, na luta por um Portugal soberano e independente de desenvolvimento, progresso e justiça social.

Dia 11 aí estaremos, convosco, nas ruas, lado a lado, com os milhares de trabalhadores que, no Porto e em Lisboa, clamarão por um melhor porvir.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Paní předsedající, chtěl bych mluvit o roli kohezní politiky, protože Evropská unie zásadně přispívá státům s nižší úrovní HDP k podpoře regionů, municipalit, podnikatelů, ale také neziskového sektoru. Evropská unie důvěruje státům, že jejich dotační a regionální politika bude založena na podpoře určené rozvojovým projektům, ale bude také založena na datech, která tvoří jasný základ pro další rozvoj regionů.

Členské státy však mnohdy nemají evidenci o potřebách jednotlivých regionů. Chybí tvrdá data o existující infrastruktuře, o její kvalitě, o dostupných službách, ať veřejných či soukromých. Potřebujeme znát nejen explicitní data o hospodářském vývoji určitých regionů, zda jsou slabé či vyspělé, ale také sociální data o dílčích územích a jako kritérium pro přidělování pomoci v regionech jednoznačnou dostupnost dat o jejich rozvoji, úrovni a jednotlivých sektorech. *Data-based policy* nesmí být jen na papíře, ale musí se stát podmínkou úspěšného čerpání evropské podpory.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, there's probably never been a time where international law and respect for international law has seemed so important, but it's a huge problem. We were right to condemn the Russian invasion of Ukraine because it breached the sovereignty of a country. I don't think we were right, though, to spend billions making sure that it didn't stop.

Our lack of consistency in how we talk about international law is killing the EU's credibility. We never had a problem and we actually assisted wars of aggression in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen and now in Palestine.

International law – there's been collective punishment to cut off the water, fuel and food. They've been bombing the place to smithereens. They've killed 4 000 children. They've killed 10 000 civilians. And you know what? We haven't been able to condemn Israel. How can we ever talk about international law again?

Clare Daly (The Left). – Madam President, we need to talk about Israel. Joe Biden says that if Israel didn't exist, the US would have to invent it – and he's right. It's a rogue state, vested in ensuring instability in the region and US geopolitical goals. And the result of this? In the last month, it's bombed Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria – all the while claiming it's the victim. It has occupied parts of these countries and bombed them so often that we don't even generally give it a mention.

And so we've got to where we are today – where they're slaughtering children on an unprecedented scale. Children wrapped in bloodied shrouds in their thousands. Children under the rubble, even now, maimed and terrified, blinded with chemical agents, gasping for food and water. Children screaming over the bodies of their dead parents: 'mama, mama, wake up, wake up'.

Well, I, for one, never thought I'd see such scenes. And the governments of the West may continue to shield Israel, but the people everywhere see it for what it is, including large numbers of Jews. The Zionist project is over. A new Middle East of peace and justice will be built!

Die Präsidentin. – Damit ist dieser Tagesordnungspunkt geschlossen.

21. Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia

Die Präsidentin. – Die nächste Sitzung findet morgen, Donnerstag, den 9. November 2023, um 9.00 Uhr statt.

Die Tagesordnung wurde veröffentlicht und ist auf der Website des Europäischen Parlaments verfügbar.

22. Zamknięcie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 22.16 Uhr geschlossen.)

—

Skróty i symbole

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

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

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych

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

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych

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