Европейски парламент Parlamento Europeo Evropský parlament Europa-Parlamentet Europäisches Parlament
Euroopa Parlament Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο European Parliament Parlement européen Parlaimint na hEorpa
Europski parlament Parlamento europeo Eiropas Parlaments Europos Parlamentas Európai Parlament
Parlament Ewropew Europees Parlement Parlament Europejski Parlamento Europeu Parlamentul European
Európsky parlament Evropski parlament Euroopan parlamentti Europaparlamentet

2024-2029

ПЪЛЕН ПРОТОКОЛ НА РАЗИСКВАНИЯТА

ACTA LITERAL DE LOS DEBATES

DOSLOVNÝ ZÁZNAM ZE ZASEDÁNÍ

FULDSTÆNDIGT FORHANDLINGSREFERAT

AUSFÜHRLICHE SITZUNGSBERICHTE

ISTUNGI STENOGRAMM

ΠΛΗΡΗ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΕΩΝ

VERBATIM REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

COMPTE RENDU IN EXTENSO DES DÉBATS

TUARASCÁIL FOCAL AR FHOCAL NA N-IMEACHTAÍ

DOSLOVNO IZVJEŠĆE

RESOCONTO INTEGRALE DELLE DISCUSSIONI

DEBAŠU STENOGRAMMA

POSĖDŽIO STENOGRAMA

AZ ÜLÉSEK SZÓ SZERINTI JEGYZŐKÖNYVE

RAPPORTI VERBATIM TAD-DIBATTITI

VOLLEDIG VERSLAG VAN DE VERGADERINGEN

PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD

RELATO INTEGRAL DOS DEBATES

STENOGRAMA DEZBATERILOR

DOSLOVNÝ ZÁPIS Z ROZPRÁV

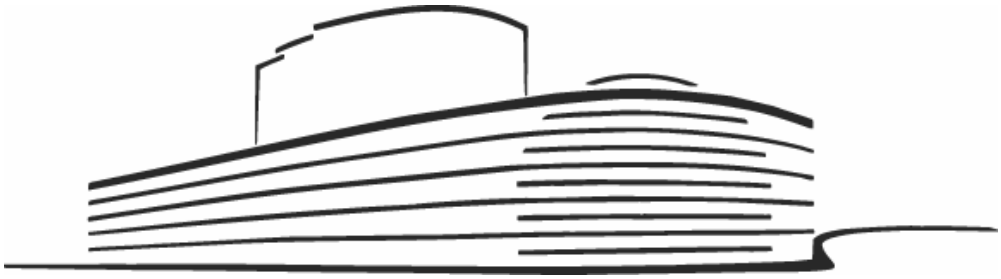
DOBESEDNI ZAPISI RAZPRAV

SANATARKAT ISTUNTOSELOSTUKSET

FULLSTÄNDIGT FÖRHANDLINGSREFERAT

Вторник - Martes - Úterý - Tirsdag - Dienstag - Teisipäev - Τρίτη - Tuesday
Mardi - Dé Máirt - Utorak - Martedì - Otrdiena - Antradienis - Kedd - It-Tlieta
Dinsdag - Wtorek - Terça-feira - Marţi - Utorok - Torek - Tiistai - Tisdag

24.11.2026



Единство в многообразието - Unida en la diversidad - Jednotná v rozmanitosti - Forenet i mangfoldighed - In Vielfalt geeint - Ühinenud mitmekesisuses
Ενωμένη στην πολυμορφία - United in diversity - Unie dans la diversité - Aontaithe san éagsúlacht - Ujedinjena u raznolikosti - Unita nella diversità
Vienoti daudzveidībā - Suvienijusi įvairovę - Egyesülve a sokféleségben - Magħquda fid-diversità - In verscheidenheid verenigd - Zjednoczona w różnorodności
Unida na diversidade - Unită în diversitate - Zjednotení v rozmanitosti - Združena v raznolikosti - Moninaisuudessaan yhtenäinen - Förenade i mångfalden

Редактирана версия - Edición revisada - Revidované vydání - Revideret udgave - Überprüfte Ausgabe - Uuendatud versioon
Αναθεωρημένη έκδοση - Revised edition - Edition révisée - Eagrán athbhreithnithe - Revidirano izdanje - Edizione rivista
Pārskatītā redakcija - Atnaujinta informacija - Lektorált változat - Edizzjoni riveduta - Herziene uitgave - Wersja poprawiona
Edição revista - Ediţie revizuită - Revidované vydanie - Pregledana izdaja - Lopullinen versio - Reviderad upplaga

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2-0001-0000

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TIISTAI 24. MARRASKUUTA 2026
TISDAG DEN 24 NOVEMBER 2026

2-0002-0000

IN THE CHAIR: ESTEBAN GONZÁLEZ PONS
Vice-President

1. Opening of the sitting

2-0004-0000
(The sitting opened at 09:00)

2. Amendment of the agenda

2-0006-0000
President. – With the agreement of the political groups, on behalf of the President, I wish to put to the House the following proposal for a change to the agenda: the report by Dimitris Tsiodras and Borys Budka entitled 'Reduction of methane emissions in the energy sector: postponement of certain obligations' is added to the votes on Thursday. The deadline for amendments is today at 19:00, and that for requesting split and separate votes is tomorrow, 25 November, at 19:00.

If there are no objections, the change is approved.

3. Restoration of the rule of law and fundamental values of the Union in Hungary (following the 2026 parliamentary elections) (debate)

2-0008-0000

President. – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statement on the resolution of the rule of law and fundamental values of the Union in Hungary (following the 2026 parliamentary elections) (2026/2946(RSP)).

2-0009-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you for inviting the Council to take part in this important debate today.

The situation in Hungary is the result of the huge resilience and determination with which the Hungarian citizens, journalists, judges, academics and civil society as a whole met the sustained pressure on civic space and independent institutions for more than a decade. A strong civil society and resilient democratic institutions have always been non-negotiable pillars of the fundamental values on which our Union was founded, as enshrined in Article 2 of our Treaty.

The Hungarian Parliament elections in April, marked by historic levels of voter turnout, give the incoming government a clear democratic mandate for a European future, guided by these values. Targeted reforms enabled the Council, on 13 October, to lift the budget protection measures under the Conditionality Regulation, thereby unlocking cohesion funds and paving the way for Hungarian universities to rejoin Erasmus+ and Horizon Europe.

The Council has followed developments in Hungary closely and continuously. Since April, two state-of-play discussions have been held on the Article 7 procedure at the General Affairs Council in June and October. The Presidency welcomes Hungary's engagement in presenting developments in the country in other formats.

Last week, during the country-specific discussion of the rule of law dialogue, many Member States welcomed the positive developments underway. Indeed, much progress has been achieved since April; for example, including initial constitutional reforms, the expiration of the prolonged state of emergency and rule by decree, accession to the European Public Prosecutor's Office, the strengthening of the Integrity Authority and Anti-Corruption Task Force, as well as the amendment of the Child Protection Act to remove discriminatory provisions, paving the way for stronger protection of the rights of LGBTQI persons.

Against this background, the Presidency welcomes the energy and openness with which the new Hungarian Government has engaged with the Commission, this House and the Council. Challenges do remain, and we remind our Hungarian friends that a sustained commitment to the rule of law demands consistency.

Just as we were firm when we saw the rule of law erode, we must now be thorough, objective and attentive as it is being rebuilt, ensuring that every reform takes deep and lasting root in practice.

The Council is aware of the visit to Budapest by a delegation from the Civil Liberties Committee that took place at the end of last month. Should the European Parliament consider that the developments on the ground justify a closing on the ongoing Article Seven procedure, and should it withdraw its reasoned proposal, acting by the majority foreseen in Article 354 of the Treaty on

the Functioning of the European Union, the Council would, of course, take due note of this outcome.

Regarding this procedure, the Presidency reiterates the vital importance of approaching every next step taken in this regard through close coordination between the Council and the European Parliament.

2-0010-0000
Michael McGrath, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, Minister McConalogue, thank you, on behalf of the Irish Presidency, dear honourable Members, since Hungary's new government took office back in May, important progress has already been made towards upholding the values set out in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union. The new government is moving with determination to deliver on its promises made to the Hungarian people and restore the rule of law.

As President von der Leyen stated in this House in September, and I quote: 'Years of backsliding have started to be reversed. The fight against corruption and state capture is speeding up. There is real progress on fundamental rights, on academic freedom. And now, billions of euro of investment in Hungary have been unlocked. There is, of course, much work ahead.' She concluded: 'but this shows that hard work pays off.'

In June, I visited Hungary and met with relevant ministers and chairs of key parliamentary committees. It was a very positive experience overall. We are, of course, aware that a European Parliament delegation also visited Hungary in late October, as Minister McConalogue has said, and I look forward to hearing the outcome of that visit.

The Commission published the 2026 Rule of Law Report, and on that basis, the General Affairs Council continued its country-specific discussions under the Council's rule of law dialogue last week, covering four countries, including Hungary. In the context of the Article 7 procedure regarding Hungary, I updated the Council on 16 June and on 13 October on the latest developments. Let me now outline to you the latest developments on the rule of law in Hungary.

As regards the independence of the judiciary and of the other institutions, the 2026 Rule of Law Report noted positively that the National Judicial Council continued to exercise the powers it acquired through the 2023 judicial reform. No instances of undue pressure exerted on judges have been reported since May of this year. In the draft annual budget for 2027, the government proposed a 15 % salary increase in the justice system despite a difficult budgetary situation. Yet measures remain to be taken to ensure that such salary increases are carried out in a structured way.

Also, the transparency of case allocation in lower-instance courts still remains to be improved. The Supreme Court, the Curia, continues to enforce uniformity of case-law through its uniformity panel. In the judgement of 16 July this year, the Court of Justice made clear that lower courts are not bound by the Curia's uniformity decisions where these conflict with the Court's interpretation of EU law.

In relation to the fight against corruption, Hungary has undertaken important and determined reforms. New legislation adopted in June this year aims to tackle obstacles to the effective functioning of the Integrity Authority and the Anti-Corruption Task Force. Recently adopted legislation also establishes a comprehensive asset declaration system, and a National Asset Recovery and Protection Office has been set up as an independent body with competences for public asset-focused investigations and prosecution, and has started its operations.

New legislative measures increase transparency in public procurement procedures and enhance the transparency of beneficial owners' data of private equity funds. Public interest trusts will be phased out. Pending their dissolution, the new legislation addresses risks of conflicts of interest related to the operation of public interest trusts and entities maintained by them. These measures already allowed Hungarian universities to return to Erasmus+ and to Horizon Europe.

The number of indictments for corruption-related crimes has generally increased. Progress towards establishing a robust track record in cases of high-level corruption will still need to be assessed in light of the new developments. Following Hungary's request, the Commission confirmed, in July, Hungary's participation in the European Public Prosecutor's Office, EPPO. This is a major development that the Commission very much welcomes. EPPO is expected to become operational in the country next year, and it will be competent for offences committed after 1 June 2021. We stand ready to support Hungary to speed up the preparations as much as possible.

On 13 October 2026, the Council, upon the Commission's proposal, lifted the protective measures introduced under the Conditionality Regulation. We will continue to support Hungary in addressing other areas flagged in the annual rule of law report, such as to adopt comprehensive legislation on lobbying and revolving doors, and address shortcomings related to the transparency of the financing of political parties. As regards the rights to privacy and data protection, the 2026 Rule of Law Report noted that the absence of procedural safeguards and effective oversight in the event of secret surveillance remains a concern.

When it comes to media freedom and pluralism, the Commission is actively pursuing the enforcement of the European Media Freedom Act across all Member States, including Hungary, to whom the Commission addressed a letter of formal notice in December of last year. Legislation adopted in June amending Hungary's Media Act introduced reforms related to the national media regulator, as well as to governance and funding of public service broadcasting. At present, transparency and fairness in the distribution of State advertising remain to be addressed.

Hungary has informed the Commission that additional media reforms are planned. Although the processing of court cases relating to access to information has been accelerated, the scope of access remains limited, particularly in relation to the use of public funding. Since May of this year, there have been no reports of media professionals encountering serious challenges to their work. As regards the implementation of the judgment of the Court of Justice in the Klubrádió case, we trust that the Hungarian authorities will carefully consider Klubrádió's request that it should be granted a new frequency.

As regards academic freedom, in June of this year the National Assembly adopted legislative amendments to address outstanding concerns. Once Hungary submits a new self-assessment, the Commission will assess these reforms against the horizontal enabling condition of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which determines whether Hungary can access its cohesion funding.

As regards freedom of association, the Sovereignty Protection Office has been abolished. This is a very welcome development. At the same time, as noted in the 2026 Rule of Law Report, some obstacles hindering the work of independent civil society organisations are yet to be removed. In this context, a consultation process for the development of a civil society strategy for Hungary has started. This is a positive development and should continue to be built on.

In relation to the right to non-discrimination, in October this year the National Assembly adopted a law removing provisions introduced by the so-called Child Protection Law that breach EU law, with a view to implementing the April 2026 judgment of the Court of Justice. This is an important

step forward for the protection of fundamental rights and LGBTIQ+ rights. The Commission will assess this law in the context of the horizontal enabling condition of the Charter, once Hungary submits a new self-assessment. Prime Minister Magyar's announcement that the Hungarian Parliament will begin the process of ratifying the Istanbul Convention on violence against women and domestic violence is yet another positive development.

The Commission will keep following closely the progress to be made and will continue to support Hungary in its reform path. Thank you, colleagues, for giving me the opportunity to provide that summary on behalf of the European Commission. I look forward to hearing your views and you can count on my strong personal commitment in relation to support for Hungary on its continued reform path.

2-0011-0000

Tomas Tobé, *on behalf of the PPE Group***.** – Mr President, colleagues, six months ago, the Hungarian people voted for change and the new government is delivering on that mandate. After years of democratic backsliding under Orbán, we are now seeing concrete steps to restore democracy, rule of law and trust in public institutions.

Colleagues, this is a historic effort and we must recognise it. The new government is taking action: by joining the European Public Prosecutor's Office to crack down on fraud and corruption; by implementing the European Media Freedom Act to tear apart Orbán's propaganda machine; by ratifying the Istanbul Convention to combat violence against women; and by getting rid of anti-LGBTQ laws.

Of course, much work remains, because years of damage cannot be undone in just six months. But progress must be recognised, and Hungary and the people deserve the support of the European Union in this democratic restoration. That is why the Article 7 procedure must come to an end.

This Parliament was right: we were right to trigger it under the Orbán regime. But we must also be ready to recognise change. Ending the Article 7 procedure does not mean giving the government a free pass. The reforms must continue and the Commission must keep monitoring the progress. But our reflection in this House must be to see this new reality. And I think that we should come together – the pro-European forces of this House should work together – to make sure that we fully welcome Hungary to the heart of Europe again. And I do hope that this debate can lead to this.

2-0012-0000

Klára Dobrev, *on behalf of the S&D Group***.** – Mr President, Viktor Orbán could never have built his Mafia state without the uncontrolled flow of EU funds. Do you want the proof? In 2022, the funds stopped, and this Mafia state collapsed after the next election. But for more than 10 years, you in the European People's Party looked away and remained silent while my country became the poorest country in Europe. For more than ten years, this Parliament was shouting for democracy, asking for action, and you, the European People's Party, were sitting there and covering up for Orbán. You are the ones to blame as well.

If we see this example, then I have to say that Article 7 is not simply about protecting European values; it's about protecting people from their own government if it abuses its power. So that is exactly why we should be relentless guardians of fundamental rights and democracy. Trust is good, but proof and control is even better. What happened in my country – in Hungary – can happen again, but it can happen to any European country. It's up to us.

2-0013-0000
Kinga Gál, *a PfE képviselőcsoport nevében.* – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Egy idézettel kezdeném: „A helyzet, amibe most belekeveredtem, csak igazságtalanságtól hemzseg. Ez egy politikai koncepciós eljárás, amelynek eszköze lettem. És a cél? Valljak bárki politikusra, akkor megoldódik a helyzetem." Ezek Varga-Bajusz Veronika ártatlanul letartóztatott volt államtitkár, háromgyermekes édesanya gondolatai a börtönből. Magyarországon ma újra politikai megrendelésre indulnak koncepciós eljárások, aránytalan és megfélemlítő rendőri intézkedésekkel, letartóztatásokkal, politikai foglyokkal. A miniszterelnök a közösségi médiában utasítja a hatóságokat, és a bíróság döntése előtt mond ítéletet. Mindez számunkra a kommunista önkény éveit idézi. Itt viszont a demokrácia helyreállításaként ünneplik, élen a Néppárttal.

Az uniós intézmények dicsérik, és itt még tapsolnak is ahhoz, hogy a Tisza-kormány visszamenőleges hatállyal megfosztotta az ellenzéki képviselőket a választásokon indulás lehetőségétől, eltávolította a köztársasági elnököt, félreállította az Alkotmánybíróság tagjait, és hogy politikai leszámolás zajlik az ellenzékkel szemben. Micsoda képmutatás ez!

Mi, Patrióták, kezdettől elutasítottuk az átpolitizálódott jogállamisági vizsgálatokat, a hetes cikk szerinti eljárást és a kondicionalitást, mivel ezeket láthatóan zsarolásra használják, kizárólag patrióta kormányok ellen. Ezen a héten éppen a cseh patrióta kormány felett ítélkeznek. De ugyanez volt a forgatókönyv a konzervatív lengyel kormány ellen, tökélyre pedig a patrióta magyar kormány ellen fejlesztették ördögien. Ezért követeltük mindig ennek a kettős mércével mérő eljárásnak a lezárását és a Magyarországnak jogosan járó uniós források azonnali kifizetését. Ahogy Varga-Bajusz Veronika a börtönben hiszi, úgy mi is hiszünk az igazság erejében. Nem hagyjuk, hogy megfélemlítsenek vagy elhallgattassanak bennünket. Küzdünk az épülő önkény ellen Magyarországon és a hipokraták és kettős mércéjük ellen itt és az uniós intézményekben.

2-0014-0000
Patryk Jaki, *w imieniu grupy ECR.* – Szanowny Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowny Panie Komisarzu! Otóż na tej sali mamy w tej chwili przykład tego, jak bezprawie nazwać praworządnością i na odwrót. Jaśnie panująca TISZA, gdy przyszła do władzy, wprowadziła rozwiązania, których nie powstydziłyby się najgorsze junty wojskowe: ograniczenie wystąpień opozycji przy jednoczesnym uprzywilejowaniu premiera. Wolność słowa, jak widać, jest dobra, ale tylko dla swoich.

Po drugie, usunięcie urzędującego prezydenta przez zmianę konstytucji. W czerwcu 2026 r. rząd TISZA przeprowadził zmianę konstytucji przewidującą przedterminowe zakończenie kadencji prezydenta. Ja tylko przypomnę, że my działamy w zasadach cywilizacji rzymskiej, gdzie obowiązuje zasada *res judicata*, to znaczy prawo nie działa wstecz. Generalnie prawo nie działa wstecz, ale jak można uderzyć w konserwatystów, to akurat może działać wstecz.

Po trzecie, wyrzucenie sędziów poprzez wprowadzenie obowiązku wieku emerytalnego do 70 lat. Ja tylko przypomnę, że w czasie konserwatywnych rządów w Polsce dokładnie taka sama poprawka wprowadzona przez państwo została uznana za niezgodną z praworządnością. To był jeden z powodów, dla którego Polsce blokowano środki. Zatem to, co wtedy było złe, teraz, jak jest zastosowane do konserwatywnych rządów, to jest dobre. Gratuluję. Ciężko znaleźć lepszy przykład podwójnych standardów. Tymczasem przypomnę, że traktaty mówią, że to jest obowiązek – obowiązek wszystkich państwa, pana, panie komisarzu, również – aby wszystkie państwa traktować równo.

Dalej: w przypadku czerwcowej reformy konstytucji wyznaczono zaledwie 5 dni na zgłaszanie uwag. To jest dopiero wysoki standard prawa. Następnym razem proponuję, aby wyznaczyć nie 5 dni, tylko 5 godzin. To będzie dopiero wysoki standard. Nie mówiąc już o prześladowaniu

opozycji za to, że przekazywała środki na konserwatywne organizacje, na konserwatywne NGO-sy. Gdyby aresztować posłów za to, że są przekazywane środki na organizacje lewicowe, to wiecie państwo bardzo dobrze, jak by wyglądała ta sala. Ile osób trzeba byłoby aresztować. Tym bardziej na Węgrzech, gdzie NGO-sy Sorosa szaleją. Oni mogą, to znaczy można przekazywać środki na lewicowe organizacje, a na prawicowe nie można. I do więzienia. Gratuluję. Idealne podwójne standardy. Wstydzilibyście się.

2-0015-0000

Sophie Wilmès, *au nom du groupe Renew***.** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, pendant des années, ce Parlement a exigé de la Hongrie ce que nous exigeons de chaque État membre: le respect de l'état de droit et le respect des traités. Mais face à nous, nous avions toujours ce même mur, Viktor Orbán. En avril, les Hongrois eux-mêmes ont fait tomber ce mur pacifiquement, par leur vote.

Notre mission DRFMG en octobre l'a confirmé: le changement est en marche. Tout est-il parfait? Bien sûr que non. Mais la volonté politique est là. Le climat a profondément changé. Les réformes avancent à un rythme impressionnant, en justice, sur les droits LGBT, au niveau académique, dans la lutte contre la corruption ou encore la liberté de la presse.

Et c'est fort de ces nouveaux éléments tangibles que notre Parlement doit pouvoir se pencher sur l'avenir de la procédure article 7. Nous devons reconnaître ces progrès en envoyant un signal positif d'encouragement – pas un chèque en blanc, bien sûr. Et d'ailleurs, comme présidente du DRFMG, je suis prête à y retourner et à y constater, comme nous venons de le faire, l'évolution de la situation sur le terrain.

L'Europe a légitimement fait entendre sa voix quand la démocratie hongroise était menacée. Maintenant, elle doit faire entendre sa voix pour soutenir les Hongrois qui la reconstruisent.

2-0016-0000

Tineke Strik, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group***.** – Mr President, Council, Commissioner, colleagues, after 16 years, Hungarian people can breathe again. This spring, they did not just vote out a government; they rejected Orbán's autocracy and they chose a new democratic future. It was a historic turning point. Therefore, today we must focus on the people of Hungary, their lives, their hopes, their protection. The new government has already achieved extraordinary progress. It stopped capturing media, harassing civil society and minorities, and it has enacted sweeping anti-corruption reforms. Yet Europe cannot simply sit back and applaud. Many tasks still lie ahead to structurally uphold European values. The new Hungarian government must abolish discrimination against LGBTI and Roma people in all layers of legislation, deliver on the European court judgments on asylum and foster a democracy in which many voices can speak again, and actually listen to these voices. We in the Parliament, Commission and Council owe it to the Hungarian people to be diligent in our assessment and to remain by their side. What is at stake here is the people's freedoms, their future, and the ultimate prevailing of the democratic values that unite us all as Europeans.

2-0017-0000

Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left***.** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, πάντα θα είμαστε στο πλευρό της Ουγγαρίας. Πάντα θα είμαστε στο πλευρό των δικαιωμάτων και της δημοκρατίας. Πάντα θα είμαστε στο πλευρό των πολιτών. Αλλά ας μην ζητωκραυγάζουμε χωρίς λόγο. Η κυβέρνηση άλλαξε κάποια ζητήματα. Κάποια ζητήματα σωστά αντιμετωπίζονται —όπως η Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης— ωστόσο, κάποια εξίσου σημαντικά διαρθρωτικά προβλήματα παραμένουν ανεπίλυτα.

Η κυβέρνηση εκπέμπει μια αίσθηση άρνησης σε ορισμένα ζητήματα. Σημαντικές ελλείψεις καταγράφονται επισήμως στην καταπολέμηση της διαφθοράς, στο σύστημα δημοσίων συμβάσεων, στη διαφάνεια, στην πρόσβαση σε δημόσιες πληροφορίες, στη θέση και τη δράση της κοινωνίας των πολιτών και τη θεσμική δικαστική ανεξαρτησία.

Βλέπω τα πράγματα πραγματικά αντικειμενικά, δηλαδή χωρίς μια αίσθηση φιλική προς τη μια παράταξη ή αρνητική προς την άλλη παράταξη. Το θέμα της δημοκρατίας είναι πάνω από όλα. Η πλήρης ευθυγράμμιση με τον Χάρτη Θεμελιωδών Δικαιωμάτων παραμένει εκκρεμής, ιδίως ως προς το άσυλο και την αρχή της μη επαναπροώθησης.

Κλείνοντας, συνεπώς, είναι πολύ πρόωρο αυτή τη στιγμή να μιλάμε για αποφασιστική, οριστική αλλαγή σελίδας. Είναι μια μάχη. Είναι μια διαρκής διαδικασία. Το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο και οι δημοκρατικές δυνάμεις οφείλουν να ωθούν προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση.

2-0018-0000

Zsuzsanna Borvendég, *a ESN képviselőcsoport nevében***.** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! A jobboldali kormány idején a LIBE küldöttsége rendre ellenzéki NGO-kkal találkozott Magyarországon, majd a kormányváltás után is pontosan ugyanazokkal a szervezetekkel tárgyalt, mint korábban. Ellenzéki oldalról senkit nem engedtek ezúttal megszólalni, még a Nemzeti Jogvédő Szolgálatot sem, amely független. Kirívó kettős mérce. Önöknek az jelenti a demokráciát, ha csak a saját véleményüket hallják.

De még így sem tudtak annyira elfogultak lenni, hogy ne ismerjék el: a kizárólag ellenzéki politikusokat sújtó, visszaható hatályú parlamenti mandátumkorlátozással, az Alkotmánybíróság elfoglalásával a magyar kormány túl messzire ment. Hazámban utoljára a kommunista hatalomátvétel során alkalmaztak hasonló módszereket az ellenzék kiiktatására. Jogállamiságot nem lehet jogellenes eszközökkel helyreállítani. Vonatkozik ez az úgynevezett vagyonvisszaszerzésre, arra, hogy a miniszterelnök Facebook-posztokban befolyásolja a nyomozati és igazságszolgáltatási szerveket, kriminalizálja az ellenzéket, valamint közvetlenül beleszól a közmédia személyi döntéseibe is. Most mégsem aggódnak az intézményi függetlenségért.

De tudják, mit? Ne is tegyék! Ez a mi problémánk. A jogállamiság Önöknek úgysem egyéb, mint egy fegyelmező eszköz a szuverenista erők ellen. Önök a pénzügyi források befagyasztásával tisztességtelenül befolyásolták a magyar választásokat. Most, hogy sikerrel jártak, akár le is zárhatják az ellenünk folyó eljárást. Mi pedig majd megoldjuk belső ügyeinket. Lesz mit eltakarítanunk a jelenlegi kormány után is, amely szolgai módon követi az Önök parancsait. Ránk kényszerítették az Európai Ügyészséget, a magyarok akarata ellenére zöld utat adtak a migrációs paktumnak és a genderpropagandának. Sosem szerettük, ha mások döntöttek helyettünk, most sem fogjuk sokáig tűrni. Fejezzék be a politikai zsarolást, és adják ide a nekünk járó forrásokat!

2-0019-0000

Eszter Lakos (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! A Parlamentben már egy évtizede folyik a vita a magyarországi demokrácia leépüléséről. Áprilisig sokan úgy vélték, hogy ebből a folyamatból nincs visszaút. Ezt a helyzetet mostanra gyökeresen megváltoztattuk, és az ezt megalapozó döntést a magyar választók már fél éve meghozták. Itt az idő, hogy ennek a választói felhatalmazásnak megfelelően az itteni vitát is végre lezárjuk. Magyarországon ma már eredményekről beszélhetünk, nem pedig közös értékeink súlyos megsértésének veszélyéről.

Konkrétan: megerősítettük az Integritás Hatóság jogköreit, átfogó vagyonnyilatkozati rendszert vezettünk be, létrehoztunk egy hivatalt az ellopott közvagyonnak a visszaszerzésére, és csatlakoztunk az Európai Ügyészséghez. Véget vetettünk a rendeleti kormányzásnak, megszüntettük a Szuverenitásvédelmi Hivatalt és megreformáltuk a közszolgálati médiát is. Dolgozunk egy új alkotmányon és egy még átfogóbb médiareformon. Elköteleztük magunkat az Isztambuli Egyezmény ratifikálására, valamint a nők védelmét erősítő intézkedések mellett is.

Ezek valódi és kézzelfogható eredmények, amik önmagukért beszélnek. Vannak azonban, akik még ezeket az eredményeket is el akarják vitatni tőlünk, akiknek nem a jogállamiság az érdeke, hanem a maffia típusú kormányzás. Nem a korrupció felszámolása a céljuk, hanem annak elfedése. Éppen ezért kell nagyon világosan fogalmazni, ha azzal támadnának, hogy ez szembemegy a magyarok érdekével. Az uniós jogállamisági mérce nem ránk kényszerített elvárás, hanem közös európai keret, amelyet a magunkénak vallunk. Az áprilisi rekord részvétel bizonyította: a magyaroknak elegük van az oligarchák és a becstelen politikusok uralmából. Magyarország végre visszatért Európába, ahová mindig is tartozott. És ha a tisztességes, hazaszerető magyarokon múlik, akkor ez így is marad.

(A felszólaló hajlandó válaszolni egy kékkártyás kérdésre)

2-0020-0000

Balázs Orbán (PfE), *kékkártyás kérdés***.** – Tisztelt Képviselő Asszony! Én két rövid kérdést szeretnék feltenni. Egyrészt, mikor fog bocsánatot kérni Ön is az európai elit nevében, hogy 16 évig hamisan vádolták diktatúrával Magyarországot? Másik kérdésem az lenne, hogy miért nem beszél azokról a dolgokról a demokrácia helyreállítása nevében, amelyekkel kapcsolatban mindenki tudja, hogy mi történik Magyarországon? Eltiltanak politikusokat attól, hogy induljanak választásokon, bezárnak intézményeket, bebörtönöznek, médiaszabadságról beszélnek, miközben Facebook-posztokban irányítják a médiát. Milyen szabadság ez? Kérdezem én.

2-0021-0000

Eszter Lakos (PPE), *kékkártyás válasz***.** – Képviselő úr, Ön egy autoriter rendszert próbál meg továbbra is védeni. Magyarország ellen számos eljárás van folyamatban, például a kötelezettségszegési eljárások, ez az eljárás is, amiről beszélünk. Nemrégiben zárult le a kondicionalitási eljárás. Azt hiszem, mindenki számára nyilvánvaló a politika és a gazdaság rendszerszintű, mély maffiaállamszerű összefonódása Magyarországon, amit most a Tisza-kormány leépít, és visszaépíti a jogállamiságot. A ciklusmaximalizáció kapcsán, amire Ön most utal, nem jelenti az eltiltást. A jelenlegi ciklusban minden megválasztott képviselő gyakorolja a mandátumát.

2-0022-0000

Ana Catarina Mendes (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, caros colegas, a mudança política na Hungria foi o resultado de uma extraordinária mobilização dos cidadãos húngaros na defesa da democracia, dos seus direitos e de um regresso ao caminho europeu.

Há que reconhecer que os sinais de mudança, os esforços de aproximação aos valores europeus são encorajadores e devem ser apoiados, mas sabemos que ainda há muito para fazer, que é preciso garantir a independência da justiça, a plena liberdade de atuação da sociedade civil e o pluralismo dos meios de comunicação social.

Por isso, não devemos penalizar antecipadamente um governo que procura corrigir os erros do passado, mas também não podemos confundir uma mudança política com uma mudança estrutural.

E é por isso que justificar a mudança de governo não pode, por si só, justificar o levantamento do procedimento do artigo 7.º. Mais do que política, ele é sobretudo um mecanismo jurídico de proteção de valores fundamentais, cuja credibilidade e seriedade devemos preservar.

Reconheçamos os progressos, mantenhamos a vigilância e decidamos com prudência. É assim que agirá o S&D neste plenário.

2-0023-0000

Hermann Tertsch (PfE). – Señor presidente, el título ya de este debate es una broma macabra. Ustedes saben muy bien que en Hungría hay en marcha una campaña de venganza política sin precedentes y la construcción de un régimen verdaderamente autoritario. Ahora sí —no antes, con el demonizado Orbán—, ahora con ese títere que se llama Maghyar.

El nuevo Gobierno detiene, inhabilita a miembros de la oposición con leyes retroactivas. El jefe del Estado, los jueces del Tribunal Constitucional y el fiscal general han sido purgados. Cesan a funcionarios en clásica purga ideológica que recuerda al año 1948, al juicio de László Reich. Con ese tono se está tratando a la gente que estaba en el Gobierno. Al principal partido le decomisan los servidores y le roban sus ficheros. Periodistas, fundaciones, todo lo van liquidando. Todo lo que no sepa a ellos, a Soros y a ellos. La campaña de acoso y criminalización es brutal. Péter Maghyar imputa arbitrariamente delitos imaginarios y somete a sus rivales al calvario político de su propaganda.

Durante años, ustedes emplearon la defensa del Estado de Derecho como pretexto para asediar y derribar Gobiernos patriotas, conservadores y soberanistas. Ahora callan cuando Tusk y Maghyar perpetran auténticas barbaridades antidemocráticas.

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

2-0024-0000

Dóra Dávid (PPE), *blue-card question***.** – Thank you, Mr President. Colleague, you're criticising the new Hungarian Government's anti-corruption measures, when corruption crime is finally facing justice. But let's take a step back here. Do you think it's normal that the son-in-law of the former Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán, has amassed a fortune of EUR 1 billion in 16 years? And that Orbán's childhood friend, a gas technician, has become richer than the King of England? Would your voters accept this?

2-0025-0000

Hermann Tertsch (PfE), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»***.** – ¿Usted se puede creer que el Gobierno más corrupto de Europa, el Gobierno español, que tiene a la mujer del primer ministro, que tiene al hermano del primer ministro, que tiene a uno de sus secretarios generales en la cárcel, ya condenado por veinticuatro años, siga recibiendo masivamente dinero de la Unión Europea para encubrir su desastre económico con la complicidad de la Unión Europea y de la Comisión Europea? El Gobierno criminal de Pedro Sánchez, absolutamente subvencionado.

Mire usted: comparemos las cosas y no usemos el doble estándar ese de siempre.

2-0026-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR). – Signor Presidente, pensate ad un'Ungheria nella quale il governo sospende i notiziari televisivi, nella quale viene cacciato a forza il Presidente della Repubblica, nella quale si ordinano perquisizioni e indagini mirate contro il principale partito di opposizione.

Pensiamo tutti ad Orbán? E invece no! A fare tutto questo è stato il nuovo governo e, magicamente, delle forzature dubbie sul piano democratico e della libertà diventano azioni per ristabilire l'ordine democratico stesso. E, incredibilmente, i finanziamenti congelati vengono sbloccati, confermando il ricatto che c'era esistente nei confronti dell'Ungheria e degli ungheresi tutti. Certo, tutti i soldi però saranno disponibili solo dopo che sarà cancellata la legge sulla protezione dei minori, così pericolosa!

Quindi mi chiedo: c'entra davvero, per l'Unione europea, il rispetto dello Stato di diritto o, invece, ciò che è centrale per voi è la vicinanza politica rispetto al *mainstream* di Bruxelles? Perché ciò che ci pare, ciò che sembra, è che l'Unione europea abbia abbandonato il rispetto delle nazioni e della sussidiarietà e sembra che ci siano due pesi e due misure e questo, per noi, è inaccettabile.

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu")

2-0027-0000

András Tivadar Kulja (PPE), *kékkártyás kérdés***.** – Tisztelt Képviselőtársam! Ön a médiaszabadságról beszélt és a média kézivezérléséről. Tisztában van azzal, hogy a kormányváltás óta több száz e-mail került nyilvánosságra, amelyek azt bizonyítják, hogy az Orbán-kormány, Orbán Viktor kabinetje közvetlenül e-mailekben irányította a közmédiát, adott utasítást, hogy mi mehet le a tévében, miről beszélhetnek és milyen témákról kell hallgatni. Ön számára az elfogadható? Elfogadható az, hogy Orbán Viktorék így irányították a médiát Magyarországon?

2-0028-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR), *risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Io credo – e vedo – che in realtà a strumentalizzare quello che è accaduto e quello che sta accadendo sia il governo attuale dell'Ungheria, perché tutto quello di cui parlate è ancora tutto da dimostrare.

Quando io sono stato in Ungheria, ho visto libertà, democrazia, ho visto il rispetto delle opposizioni, anche di quelle ONG che cercavano di buttare giù il governo di Orbán. Invece, ancora prima di andare al governo, le stesse forze hanno cercato in maniera antidemocratica di escludere i parlamentari che difendono la libertà.

E adesso che sono – e che siete – al governo in Ungheria, cercate di distruggere quelle istituzioni che in ogni Stato evidentemente non potrebbe essere possibile distruggere, come le tv pubbliche. Se accadesse in qualsiasi altro Stato d'Europa, probabilmente questo Stato sarebbe condannato e voi invece no, perché ci sono due pesi e due misure.

2-0029-0000

Moritz Körner (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es könnte eigentlich eine Mafiageschichte, ein Mafiafilm sein: Vor zwei Wochen haben Ermittler 20 Millionen Dollar gefunden, die in einem Wald vergraben worden sind. 20 Millionen Dollar! Vergraben im Wald von wahrscheinlich einem ehemaligen Minister vom System Orbán. Man könnte es nicht bildlicher darstellen, was das System Orbán ausgemacht hat, nämlich, dass die Freunde, die Minister, die Verwandten von Orbán unglaublich reich, die Ungarinnen und Ungarn aber zum ärmsten Land der Europäischen Union geworden sind. Das hat das System Orbán ausgemacht; und das verteidigen Sie hier im Europäischen Parlament weiterhin. Die letzten Jahre haben Sie uns immer erzählt, die Ungarinnen und Ungarn wollten das so, sie hätten Orbán immer gewählt. Jetzt ist er abgewählt worden, krachend!

Und auf einmal erkennen Sie, dass Oppositionsrechte wichtig sind. Es ist doch unglaublich, was hier vorgeht. Ist in Ungarn schon alles gut und richtig? Nein, wir müssen weiter sehr genau hinschauen, dass die Reformen in die richtige Richtung gehen. Ist die Demokratie dort wieder auf dem Weg? Ist Ungarn wieder Teil der Europäischen Union? Ist Ungarn wieder Teil der Rechtsstaatlichkeit unserer Familie? Ja, und daran müssen wir weiterarbeiten, dass es diesen Weg weitergeht.

2-0030-0000

Daniel Freund (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, you can feel the wind of change in Hungary, and you can immediately see it when you now come into the country. The propaganda posters have disappeared from the billboards. You turn on the television and you hear real news. There is real change that has come to Hungary. It's impressive to see how many reforms have passed in the last few months.

But dear colleagues of the EPP, I am a bit afraid that you are pushing too fast now to end the Article 7 procedure. A core principle of the rule of law is that we accept the rulings of the European Court of Justice, that they are fully implemented. And when there is a ruling that has imposed the highest fine that was ever imposed on a Member State, when there is still every single day coming another million on top of that fine, and the government hasn't even promised that they will now abide by this law, it doesn't matter whether you like it or not: that is the rule of law. You abide by the rules and the laws that we have on the books.

So I think we need to make sure that the biggest violations are sorted out, and then we can stop this procedure.

2-0031-0000

Tomasz Froelich (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Ein Verfassungsputsch, der Staatspräsident abgesetzt, vier Verfassungsrichter entfernt, Viktor Orbán darf nie wieder kandidieren, viele Fidesz-Abgeordnete auch nicht. Hinzu kommen Vorwürfe von Psychoterror und Erpressung. Das, was Péter Magyar treibt, ist gezielte Ausschaltung der Opposition – ein persönlicher Rachefeldzug. Die EU lässt ihm all das durchgehen. Schließlich ist Magyar Ursula von der Leyens bravstes Schoßhündchen, eine Marionette der Globalisten. Gegen Orbán gab es früher Sanktionen und Rechtsstaatsverfahren im Wochentakt für deutlich weniger. Magyars Machtmissbrauch hingegen wird mit Freigabe von zuvor geblockten 16 Mrd. EUR belohnt. Die EU – ein Sozialkreditsystem auf supranationalen Ebene: Wer spurt, der kriegt. Und Sie nennen das Wiederherstellung der Rechtsstaatlichkeit und der Grundwerte der EU.

Vielleicht ist genau das das Problem, denn die Doppelmoral ist zum wichtigsten Grundwert der EU geworden. In Deutschland duldet die EU Repressionen gegen die Opposition. In Polen unterstützt die EU einen Staatsstreich von Herrn Tusk. In Rumänien akzeptiert sie, dass demokratische Wahlen annulliert werden. Und in Ungarn stützt sie die Errichtung eines autoritären Regimes. Sie wollen uns etwas über Rechtsstaatlichkeit erklären, über Demokratie? Das ist doch lächerlich. Sie erlauben jeden Rechtsbruch. Man muss nur auf Linie sein. So zerstören Sie Ihre eigene Glaubwürdigkeit.

(Der Redner lehnt Fragen nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" von Lukas Sieper und Arkadiusz Mularczyk ab.)

2-0032-0000
Judita Laššáková (NI). – Vážená pán predsedajúci, vážení kolegovia, vážený pán komisár. Výsledok aprílových volieb v Maďarsku zmenil politickú mapu krajiny, no nemôže zmeniť naše kritériá na právo.

Ako právnička preto pripomínam, že právny štát podľa článku 2 Zmluvy o Európskej únii nie je otázkou politických sympatií k víťazovi volieb, ale otázkou materiálneho práva. Materiálny právny štát znamená, že zákony sa nielen rýchlo prijmú, ale sa aj reálne a bez rozdielu uplatňujú.

Vždy mám kritický prístup, ak niekto uplatňuje dvojaký meter. A tu ho vidím. Takže mi dovoľte zdôrazniť, že ukončenie konania podľa článku 7 Zmluvy o EÚ si vyžaduje overiteľné výsledky, a to v nezávislosti súdnictva a ochrane základných práv, nie iba zmenu politickej garnitúry.

2-0033-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Ich berufe mich auf Artikel 10 Absatz 1 der Geschäftsordnung des Europäischen Parlaments, der zum Ausdruck bringt, dass die Abgeordneten des Europäischen Parlaments während ihrer Redebeiträge dazu verpflichtet sind, die Werte und Prinzipien der Verträge zu achten.

Der Herr Kollege Froelich – ich hätte Sie jetzt eigentlich gefragt –, der Herr Kollege Froelich hat gesagt, dass der Ministerpräsident Ungarns ein Schoßhündchen von der Leyens und eine Marionette der Globalisten ist. Ich halte diese Reduzierung eines in einer freien, gleichen und unabhängigen Wahl gewählten Regierungschefs ...

(Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)

2-0034-0000
President. – Sorry, dear colleague, you are going into the debate and you have asked for catch-the-eye. You will get it, and then you will have the chance to express what you think about this.

Let's continue with the debate.

2-0035-0000
Michał Wawrykiewicz (PPE). – Mr President, after 16 years of Orbán's autocratic regime, Hungary is finally reconstructing its independent institutions and entire democratic architecture, and reconstructing effectively. This is particularly visible in the successful judicial reform. The Constitutional Court has regained its full power to review the constitutionality of the legislation, including budget and tax laws, something that Orbán took away from the Hungarian people. Political control over the leadership of the judiciary has also been ended. Now, the President of the Constitutional Court is once again elected by its own members and not by politicians. Now, judges – and nobody else – have a constitutionally guaranteed role in nominating candidates to lead the Curia and in initiating the removal of senior judicial officials.

The government has also put the end to the brutal, systematic political intimidation of judges. Only last year, before the elections, Viktor Orbán spoke of bugs that needed an Easter clean-up, accusing judges of being bought by foreign interests. This is a typical authoritarian narrative. Now, hate-inciting billboards are banned and public smear campaigns have ended. Once again, judges can adjudicate freely without fear of political repercussions. These are only a few examples. For that reason, I am convinced that the ongoing Article 7 Procedure should be ended. It is clear that there is no more risk of serious breach of EU values.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

2-0036-0000

Enikő Győri (PfE), *kékkártyás kérdés***.** – Tisztelt Képviselő Úr! Látom, hogy Ön kiváló véleménnyel van Magyar Péter rendszeréről. Egyetlen kérdésem van: tudja-e, hogy ha azokat a szabályokat alkalmaznánk erre a házra, amelyek nálunk Magyarországon érvényesek jelenleg – hogy képviselők nem indulhatnak harmadik mandátum után –, tudja-e, hogy ennek a háznak 164 képviselője nem indulhatna 2029-ben, többek között az Ön főnöke, Manfred Weber sem? Ön szerint ez mennyire egyeztethető össze a demokráciával, a jogállamisággal, azzal, hogy az emberek szabadon választhassák meg, hogy ki képviseli őket egy parlamentben, egy választott testületben, Európában vagy bármely tagállamban?

2-0037-0000

Michał Wawrykiewicz (PPE), *blue-card answer***.** – Well, dear representative of the Orbán autocratic regime, I will respond to you in that way. This level of hypocrisy is enormous. You are twisting things and facts around. During these 16 years, none of the legislation in Hungary was challenged by independent courts, and none of the verdicts of the European courts were implemented in Hungary during that time. This is my answer.

2-0038-0000

Krzysztof Śmiszek (S&D). – Panie Przewodniczący! Peter Magyar, nasz były kolega z Parlamentu Europejskiego, stoi dziś przed ogromną szansą. Ludzie przemówili. Społeczeństwo węgierskie przemówiło. Dało mu większość konstytucyjną i mandat społeczny do odbudowania węgierskiej demokracji, demokracji zdewastowanej przez 15 lat skorumpowanych i zdemoralizowanych rządów Viktora Orbána. Przywracanie praworządności po latach rządów populistów jest niezwykle trudnym wyzwaniem. Wiem, co mówię, jako Polak i jako były wiceminister sprawiedliwości odpowiedzialny za zniesienie procedury art. 7 wobec mojego kraju, wobec Polski.

Likwidacja urzędu ochrony suwerenności, przystąpienie do Prokuratury Europejskiej to ważne kroki nowego węgierskiego rządu w procesie przywracania rządów prawa. Dziś trudno jednak uznać, że po kilku miesiącach pracy nowego rządu to, co pozostało po Orbánie, nie stanowi już zagrożenia dla rządów prawa. Nasza prawdziwa troska o standardy demokratyczne nakazuje nam jednak być uczciwym i szczerym. Węgry potrzebują kolejnych reform, niezależnej prokuratury, uczciwego prawa wyborczego, niezawisłych sądów. O to apelują nie tylko politycy socjalistów i demokratów. O to przede wszystkim apelują węgierskie organizacje pozarządowe – te same, które tak dzielnie walczyły o resztki demokracji pod rządami Orbána.

(Mówca nie zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki przez Arkadiusz Mularczyk)

2-0039-0000

Paolo Borchia (PfE). – Signor Presidente, trentaseiesimo dibattito degli ultimi anni sull'Ungheria, trentaseiesima volta che si occupa il lavoro di quest'Aula con questo festival dell'ipocrisia. Si parla tanto di ingerenze straniere, di invasioni di campo, ecco: l'esemplificazione l'abbiamo vista anche oggi.

Lei, Commissario, ha fatto bene a ricordarci l'aumento del 15% degli stipendi dei giudici ungheresi. Questa è un po' una classica "italianata" che spesso anche la sinistra utilizza per rendere

la magistratura – parte della magistratura, che non mi correggano – funzionale ai propri scopi politici.

Però io oggi non ho sentito una singola parola sul clima di vendetta che in questi mesi si sta respirando in Ungheria, sulle conseguenze di questa vittoria che oggi voi state celebrando. Io sono anche stupito da questo clima di rispetto e di accettazione entusiastica di quella che è stata la volontà degli elettori. Ma, contestualmente, mi chiedo: ma negli ultimi 16 anni questo rispetto per gli elettori dov'era? O voi rispettate gli elettori solo quando votano i candidati che piacciono a voi?

Sabato si vota in Spagna, nei prossimi mesi in Polonia, in Italia, in Francia. Voi continuate pure con le invasioni di campo, ma ricordate che gli elettori ragionano ancora con la propria testa e non con la vostra!

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu")

2-0040-0000
Tomáš Zdechovský (PPE), *domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Grazie, collega, parlerò in italiano. È normale che qualcuno abbia venti milioni di euro in contanti a casa? È una situazione normale? La prego di rispondermi: è normale in Italia, è normale in Ungheria o nella Repubblica Ceca?

2-0041-0000
Paolo Borchia (PfE), *risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Grazie collega per la domanda, la ringrazio, anzi le avrei chiesto io di porre questa domanda perché se vogliamo parlare di corruzione – oggi ho sentito parlare tanti colleghi di mafia – ma evidentemente il fatto di avere a disposizione l'immunità scioglie la lingua, ci rende tutti loquaci.

Però io penso che in Spagna e in altri Paesi, se vogliamo fare una lotta alla corruzione che sia seria e non strumentale, allora parliamo di tutti e non solo dell'Ungheria, altrimenti non siamo credibili.

2-0042-0000
President. – Dear colleagues, I've been told that in a previous speech – I didn't receive it in my Spanish translation – someone used a forbidden word. We are holding a very respectful debate, so I beg you to continue in this line and respect the language in the Chamber and certain words are not permitted. So please, let's continue as we have been going from now on.

2-0043-0000
Irena Joveva (Renew). – Gospod predsednik! Odhod Viktorja Orbana po šestnajstih letih oblasti ni konec boja za vladavino prava na Madžarskem, je šele začetek. Primer Poljske nas je že naučil, da je demokracijo bistveno lažje razgraditi kot spet zgraditi. In prav ta izkušnja razgalja pravo naravo iliberalizma.

Podreditev medijev, utišanje civilne družbe in prevzem sodstva nikoli niso bili cilj sami po sebi, temveč zgolj orodje za korupcijo. In kako slikovito, že večkrat omenjeno: v preiskavi nekdanjega ministra so na Madžarskem tudi v gozdovih našli 20 milijonov dolarjev gotovine. Očitno niso bile vse skrivnosti Orbanovega režima zakopane samo v državnih institucijah.

A čeprav je izgubil oblast, orbanizem živi naprej v njegovih posnemovalcih: od Roberta Fica na Slovaškem do Janeza Janše v Sloveniji, kamor prek medijev še vedno priteka kapital madžarskih oligarhov.

Zato mora nova madžarska oblast temeljito raziskati tudi čezmejne finančne tokove. Ker vladavina prava v Evropi bo varna šele, ko bomo razkrili in presekali celotno finančno ozadje tega modela, originali in posnemovalci pa bodo za vedno odšli iz politike.

2-0044-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, Hungary made progress in recent times. That is undeniable. It is acknowledged by many NGOs, and I encourage the government to maintain these efforts and accelerate the reforms needed to secure European funds and European rights.

After years of demolishing the rule of law, corruption and institutional independence during Viktor Orbán's government, it is essential that these reforms continue – and not because the EU wants it; it is essential because people deserve it.

Végül ne felejtsük el, hogy emberekről és családokról beszélünk, akik jobb életet szeretnének. A magyar emberek megérdemlik a reményt, az új lehetőséget és egy jobb jövőt! És kedves Magyar Péter, kérem, ne felejtse el az erdélyi magyarokat sem, ők is megérdemlik a támogatást. Hajrá Magyarország, csak így tovább!

(A felszólaló hajlandó válaszolni egy kékkártyás kérdésre)

2-0046-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Szanowny kolego, dziękuję za przyjęcie niebieskiej kartki. Dziś debatujemy po raz kolejny o rzekomo przywracanej praworządności na Węgrzech. Takie debaty odbywały się w Parlamencie Europejskim w tamtej kadencji, dotyczyły również Polski, a prym wiódł belgijski komisarz Didier Reynders, który siedział tam, gdzie obecnie siedzi komisarz McGrath. I ten komisarz Reynders przyjeżdżał do Polski często i pouczał Polaków o praworządności. Okazuje się, że dzisiaj jest podejrzewany o pranie brudnych pieniędzy. Jak pan to skomentuje?

2-0047-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE), *răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru"***.** – Domnule parlamentar, statul de drept din Ungaria a fost dovedit ca fiind nelegitim. A fost dovedit. Uitați-vă că există cazuri în care acum se dezgroapă milioane de forinți, milioane de euro. Nu este o glumă. Aceștia sunt bani europeni care trebuiau să ajungă la oameni. Eu sunt din România. Oamenii, dacă guvernele lor fură, nu mai văd beneficiile UE, și asta s-a întâmplat în Ungaria. Asta s-a întâmplat în alte țări pe care le-ați pomenit când autocrații au furat banii. Despre asta este vorba și nu puteți acoperi cu nimic fantezii despre alte cazuri când este vorba de banii europeni furați oamenilor. Despre asta este vorba.

2-0048-0000

Jeroen Lenaers (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, two years ago in this House, we told Mr Orbán that we would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Hungarian people on their way to a modern, democratic and European Hungary. Change was coming, and even he would not be able to stop it. Well, colleagues, that change has arrived and what a difference six months can make.

For years, public media served as a government mouthpiece, taxpayers' money financed propaganda and European funds remained frozen because of the erosion of the rule of law. Today, the government of Péter Magyar is restoring media independence – a historic break with the past, according to international press freedom organisations. It has also abolished the Sovereignty

Protection Office, joined the European Public Prosecutor's Office, and introduced major anti-corruption reforms.

The Hungarian people voted for change and that vote is now being rewarded with tangible results. And Europe now also has a responsibility to recognise those results. We are seeing this with the prospect of unlocking almost EUR 10 billion in recovery funding – money that rightfully belongs to the Hungarian people but which Mr Orbán's own actions kept out of their reach. And, of course, so many years of damage and destruction cannot be repaired in six months. But progress deserves recognition. And this Parliament initiated the Article 7 procedure, and it should also now take the initiative to end it.

The Hungarian people have turned a new page in their country's history. Let's write the European chapter of that story together.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

2-0049-0000

Csaba Dömötör (PfE), *kékkártyás kérdés***.** – Tisztelt Képviselő Úr! Azért Önhöz fordulok, mert előbb a néppárti képviselőtársam nem volt hajlandó válaszolni egy kérdésre. Magyarországon az ellenzéki képviselők jelentős részét kizárják a politikai életből egy visszamenőleges hatályú mandátumkorlátozással, nem indulhatnak újra a következő választáson. És ez csak ellenzéki képviselőkre vonatkozik. Hogy ha itt, ebben a házban lenne ilyen szabály, akkor 164 képviselő nem indulhatna újra. Ön, ha jól tudom, 2014 óta képviselő, ami azt jelenti, hogy ha ebben a házban lenne ilyen szabály, akkor 2029-ben nem indulhatna újra. Ezért azt kérdezném, hogy ha itt lenne ilyen javaslat, akkor támogatná-e és demokratikusnak tartaná-e, annak figyelembevételével, hogy ezt a lépést Magyarországon a jogállamiság helyreállításának tartják?

2-0050-0000

Jeroen Lenaers (PPE), *blue-card answer***.** – Thank you very much for the question. And when it comes to eroding democracy, abolishing parliamentary life, I don't want to question your authority on the matter, because you've proven in the past years how well you are at it. For us, I don't have any problems with this. In my party, actually, in the Netherlands, we have a rule that we can only serve three terms. I am in my third term now. I am happy to leave my place to other competent people's representatives in the next election.

2-0051-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario McGrath, cuando Viktor Orbán llevaba ya largos años al frente de su Gobierno ejecutando su plan de desmoronamiento constitucional, que mereció el nombre de «constitutional breakdown», este Parlamento adoptó, por mayoría cualificada y por primera vez, la iniciativa de activar el artículo 7 y lo hizo en defensa de los valores del artículo 2 —Estado de Derecho, democracia y derechos fundamentales—.

Reconocemos el cambio que se ha producido y los progresos que se han producido, pero no son suficientes, en particular para proteger el derecho a un juez predeterminado por la ley, sin interferencias arbitrarias en la asignación de casos judiciales y el pleno cumplimiento de las sentencias del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea que restablezca el principio de primacía del Derecho europeo.

Y una idea más: este Parlamento cuando ha defendido la ciudadanía húngara en ningún caso ha atacado a Hungría, está defendiendo la ciudadanía europea que corresponde a la ciudadanía

húngara y, por tanto, está defendiendo su función representativa de ciudadanía. Además exigimos que, cuando llegue el momento de levantar el procedimiento del artículo 7, se haga por la misma mayoría cualificada con la que se aprobó.

2-0052-0000
Harald Vilimsky (PfE). – Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Die Europäische Union ist mehrheitlich in einer Art Paralleluniversum gefangen. Aber das, was heute hier passiert, nämlich die Wiederherstellung des Rechtsstaates in Ungarn abzufeiern, während gleichzeitig von dieser neuen, psychedelisch anmutenden Magyar-Regierung vom Verfassungspräsidenten abwärts dem Staatspräsidenten Richter einfach abgesetzt werden, integre Personen, die sich nichts zuschulden kommen haben lassen, retrospektiv daran gehindert werden, ihr passives Wahlrecht auszuüben, da sagen Sie überhaupt nichts? Da stecken Sie Ihren Kopf in den Sand? Das mutet ein bisschen an, als würde Budapest jetzt zu einem neuen Pjöngjang oder zu einem neuen Teheran werden. Das ist doch absurd, die Stimme hier nicht zu erheben.

Und Sie haben durchaus Recht, dass da und dort Korruptionsfälle zu untersuchen sind. Aber wenn 17 Millionen irgendwo gefunden werden und Sie das heute erwähnen, gut. Aber gleich zu sagen, das gehört einem Minister der damaligen Orbán-Regierung, und es zu verschweigen, dass die neuen Ermittlungen besagen, dass es einem Unternehmer gehört – eine ganz andere Spur, – da sagen Sie nichts. Sie haben es geschafft, mit Millionen von USAID, von der EU-Kommission, von der Open Society der Soros-Netzwerke hier die Regierung zu stürzen, einen *Regime-Change* herbeizuführen. Heute kann man nur sagen: Gott schütze die Ungarn vor Personen wie Ihnen.

(Der Redner lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" von Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle ab.)

2-0053-0000
Hilde Vautmans (Renew). – Voorzitter, collega's, vorig jaar liep ik, zoals velen van ons hier, mee tijdens de Pride in Boedapest, samen met 200 000 mensen schouder aan schouder tegen het verbod van Orbán. Dat was een overweldigend gevoel. In april kozen de Hongaren zelf voor verandering en gelukkig ook voor een nieuwe relatie met Europa. De politieke wil is er. De hervormingen zijn ingezet.

Europa gaf al een eerste positief signaal door financiële middelen vrij te geven. De Hongaren hopen nu op het beëindigen van de artikel 7-procedure, we horen dat vandaag de hele tijd in het debat. Voor hen is dat zowel praktisch als symbolisch enorm belangrijk. Laten we dus hier het debat voeren maar, zoals collega Sophie Wilmès terecht zegt, geen blanco cheque geven. Collega Moritz Körner en anderen gaven ook al aan: het lijkt wel een maffiafilm met het geld dat gevonden is in de bossen. Europa moet erop toezien dat de hervormingen voelbaar zijn voor de burgers en de ondernemingen. We geven geen blanco cheque en we zien toe op de hervormingen.

2-0054-0000
Lena Düpont (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, I've been following the debate for quite a while now, and sometimes I wonder what we want to display to the public. We are speaking about civil society; we are speaking about citizens' engagement; we are speaking about what actually constitutes a vital and vibrant democracy. Yet when I'm listening to colleagues from that side of the House shouting baseless accusations without any kind of respect – not only for the parliamentary debate, but also for each individual MEP – I sometimes wonder how we could then encourage people to participate in a democracy.

I'd like to quote someone I met when I was in Hungary. He said: 'First and foremost, I need to say that it is the very first time in years that I, as a representative of a civil society organisation, am invited onto a panel with a government representative. And I'm not only invited, I'm able and allowed to criticise him.' This is what it is about: a vibrant democracy can thrive if you engage with the people, if you set up institutions and mechanisms that include citizens' voices in your political process and you make sure that they are also followed up.

This is what Tisza has been doing with the abolition of the Sovereignty Protection Office, with the abolition and the ending of the 'state of danger' mechanism in the House, and by inviting and including civil society organisations in the political process as a foundation for their policy and decision-making. And this is the way to lift the Article 7 procedure, because there is no serious risk of breaching the fundamental rights of the European Union.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

2-0055-0000

András László (PfE), *blue-card question***.** – Ms Düpont, it's very interesting listening to you talking about a vibrant society that can thrive. How can a vibrant society thrive or democratic debate thrive in a situation where half of the opposition MPs are banned from running ever again in the elections? Where the Prime Minister is banned from ever being elected? And it's not the citizens who decide; it's not after a debate about this. This was one of the first measures taken by the new majority – with no debate whatsoever.

Is this how you see a vibrant society? Is it also how you see a vibrant democratic debate in Poland, where the EPP government puts riot police in the Constitutional Court? Has something changed, or is this all allowed because the EPP is also leading the European Commission?

2-0056-0000

Lena Düpont (PPE), *blue-card answer***.** – Thanks a lot, dear colleague, for that question. I also kept on wondering why, during the whole debate, each and every one of you basically put forward the same question. And you all the time got the same answer: it's a baseless accusation, not founded on the proposal.

So what you are doing here basically is you're shying away from accountability. I think that this is also something that is very important for a vibrant democracy: people who are elected need to take responsibility if they are proven to be wrong. And this is what you have been proven.

2-0057-0000

András László (PfE), *blue-card reaction***.** – Ms Düpont, you are denying the facts; you are denying reality and walking away. This exactly says everything about this debate and how the EPP treats this issue.

It is in law; it was enacted; it's in effect since summer. It was one of the first decisions taken by the Parliament, by the Tisza majority: banning parliamentary opposition, a large part of them, from ever running again in elections. And that's why we come back to it again and again – because you dodge the question again and again.

2-0058-0000

Lena Düpont (PPE), *blue-card reaction***.** – Thanks again for giving me the opportunity to answer again. And let me restate again: if you want to have a proper discussion, if you cherish democratic

instruments and institutions, engage in a public debate. Go out and speak to your voters. Go out and speak to the people of Hungary and see what they really want.

You always capitalised on the fact – and you always told us – that you are so backed by the Hungarian people, and look at the election results, although the electoral system has been manipulated by you – also in order to make sure that you are the only one that can take up power.

You are here in order to take accountability for the damage you have been doing in the past years – and that is what it's all about.

2-0059-0000

Jean-Paul Garraud (PfE). – Monsieur le Président, pendant des années, on nous a expliqué, notamment dans cet hémicycle, que la Hongrie était une autocratie électorale. Au nom de cette accusation, elle a été privée de fonds européens et même ses étudiants du programme Erasmus. Depuis les dernières élections, la Hongrie connaît une véritable revanche politique: limitation rétroactive des mandats pour écarter des élus de l'opposition, saisie des serveurs informatiques du principal parti d'opposition et des données de ses sympathisants, éviction du président de la République, de juges constitutionnels et du procureur général. Et que font les institutions européennes si promptes hier à dénoncer les atteintes à l'état de droit? Elles se félicitent de cette situation. Vous vous félicitez de cette situation.

La preuve est faite: le mécanisme européen de conditionnalité n'a jamais été un véritable instrument de défense du droit. Il est un moyen de pression contre les gouvernements qui déplaisent à Bruxelles. L'état de droit ne peut pas être à géométrie variable et dépendre de la couleur politique d'un gouvernement. Lorsque le droit est appliqué aux uns et ignoré pour les autres, ce n'est plus l'état de droit, c'est de l'arbitraire.

(L'orateur accepte une question carton bleu)

2-0060-0000

András Tivadar Kulja (PPE), *kékkártyás kérdés***.** – Mr. Garraud, hogy ha jól tudom, Ön bíróként dolgozott, és most Önök, az Ön pártcsaládja politikai foglyokról beszél, koncepciós eljárásokról. Orbán Viktor egyik volt miniszterénél – legalábbis a hozzá köthető nyomozásban – 20 millió eurónyi forintot találtak az erdőben elásva, köztük 500 eurós bankjegyeket. A volt minisztere a nyilvánosságra került e-mailek szerint 47 millió eurónak megfelelő pénzt csatornázott át politikai kampányokra, Orbán Viktor öccse pedig több mint száz vietnáminak segített Európába jutni hamis továbbképzési igazolásokkal, lényegében embercsempészettel gyanúsítják. Mi a véleménye ezekről? Politikai foglyok, vagy végre egy független igazságszolgáltatás dolgozik és felgöngyölíti a bűnügyeket?

2-0061-0000

Jean-Paul Garraud (PfE), *réponse carton bleu***.** – Il se trouve que je suis moi-même magistrat et que j'ai exercé la justice en France pendant de nombreuses années. Et quand je vois qu'un gouvernement nouveau fait des applications rétroactives et impose une façon rétroactive à des membres de l'opposition, je ne me prononce pas – je ne veux pas. Vous avez la Hongrie qui est en train d'accomplir un certain nombre d'actes judiciaires qui sont en cours, donc je ne peux pas me prononcer sur des actes judiciaires qui sont en cours. Comme je vous l'ai dit, j'ai moi-même exercé la justice.

Par contre, quand je vois ce qui a été fait avec ce que je viens de dire dans mon discours, et bien ça n'a rien à voir avec l'état de droit. Quand vous voyez que des étudiants sont privés d'un

programme Erasmus en fonction de la couleur politique du gouvernement, ce n'est pas normal. Et cela fait que je réponds d'une façon générale à votre question, et je ne peux pas répondre dans le détail naturellement avec ce genre d'affaires.

2-0062-0000
President. – I'm going to close the blue-card option because I'm going to attend all the catch-the-eye requests. So I need the whole time for the catch-the-eye option.

2-0063-0000
Ľudovít Ódor (Renew). – Vážený pán predsedajúci! Britský historik Lord Acton raz poznamenal, že každá moc korumpuje, a tá absolútna korumpuje absolútne.

Niečo o tom vedia aj v Maďarsku, kde sa v súčasnosti odohráva zápas o návrat dôvery ľudí v princípy právneho štátu a demokracie. Zápas, ktorého čiastkové zápletky sme si prednedávnom ani nedokázali predstaviť. Možno iba v gangsterských filmoch.

No ozveny počuť už aj z Európskeho súdneho dvora. Nedávno sme sa dozvedeli, že keď predchádzajúca vláda prepustila na slobodu viac ako 2 500 prevádzačov, išlo o porušenie európskeho práva. Ovplyvnila tým aj parlamentné voľby na Slovensku v roku 2023.

Viktor Orbán podľahol vábeniu absolútnej moci, a tá skorumpovala absolútne aj jeho okolie.

A választók felhatalmazták Magyar Pétert arra, hogy helyrehozza mindezeket az igazságtalanságokat, és ellenálljon a saját hatalma csábításainak is. Nem lesz könnyű, de sok sikert hozzá!

2-0065-0000
Tomáš Zdechovský (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleague, yes, I will not speak about corruption in Hungary because it's not true. Everything what you are saying about Hungary is a lie. The EUR 17 million in cash was not in forests, but it was also in houses and everywhere. The castle of Viktor Orbán is not a castle belonging to Viktor Orbán – it is a castle that belongs to his father. And he is so really smart person because, thanks to Viktor Orbán, he's so rich.

Colleagues, I heard so many, so many nice stories about Hungary. I would really like to tell you something that it was so many stories for my children. I will now tell you a story for real people: please, stop with this stupid story about what you presented, about the EPP being against Hungary. We are proud Hungarians. We have Members here who are fighting for Hungary, who are fighting to make Hungary great again. And this is what we need from the current government. I pray every day for Péter Magyar to really come and to make an investigation of fraud that your government did.

2-0066-0000
András László (PfE). – Mr President, if Viktor Orbán had banned the opposition from running in the elections or illegally removed the President of Hungary, or forced the heads of independent public institutions out of their seats, like justices of the Constitutional Court, you'd be shouting: dictatorship! But Mr Orbán did none of that. However, Péter Magyar did all of that.

How did the Commission not know this? It's because Péter Magyar is with the EPP and so is Ursula von der Leyen. So instead of shouting dictatorship, you celebrate him. You prove exactly what we have been saying for years: that the principle of rule of law and democracy are meaningless in the EU, unfortunately.

You are weaponising EU funds and the Article 7 procedure to weaken and replace strong leaders who defend national interests. In Hungary, you finally have a prime minister who is selling out national interests. Congratulations. But European citizens are not stupid. They see what's going on. You are interfering in national democracies. You are undermining freedom. The Article 7 procedure is nothing more than political blackmail. End it immediately and unconditionally.

2-0067-0000

András Tivadar Kulja (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Magyarországot több mint másfél évtizeden át olyan kormány vezette, amely mindenben és mindenkiben ellenséget keresett, csak hogy elfedje a végtelen korrupcióról a figyelmet. Ellenségként tekintett az EU intézményekre, a független újságírókra, a másképp gondolkodókra, miközben leuralta az igazságszolgáltatást, kifosztotta és megosztotta az országot. 2026 áprilisában a magyar emberek kimondták: az orbáni autokrácia helyett a demokráciát és az európai partnerséget választják.

Magyar Péter megígérte, és a Tisza-kormány azóta újra és újra bizonyítja: a jogállamiság, a nemzeti érdekek határozott képviselete és az európai együttműködés nem egymást kizáró fogalmak. Megőrizhetjük a nemzeti identitásunkat, kiállhatunk a magyar emberek érdekeiért, miközben tiszteletben tartjuk és képviseljük az európai értékeinket. Magyarország visszatért Európába, helyreállítja a demokratikus intézményeket, újraépíti a bizalmat, és ismét megbízható partnerként kíván részt venni az európai együttműködésben. Mert Magyarország helye Európában van.

2-0068-0000

Csaba Dömötör (PfE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Az itt felszólalók többsége úgy tesz, mint hogyha mi sem történt volna. Azt mondják, előrelépés történt a jogállamiság terén, miközben az alapvető tényeket hallgatják el és tagadják le.

Magyarországon az új kormánytöbbség gyakorlatilag kitiltotta az ellenzéki képviselők jelentős részét a politikából. Visszamenőleges jogalkotással nem indulhatnak a következő választáson, és ez egyetlen kormánypárti képviselőre sem vonatkozik. Eltávolították a köztársasági elnököt, alkotmánybírókat, elvitték a legnagyobb párt, legnagyobb ellenzéki párt szervereit, miniszterelnöki komment alapján rúgnak ki újságírókat, és kormányfői kinyilatkoztatások szabják meg a hatósági akciók irányát. Ez lenne az előrelépés a demokráciában? Ez?

Jogállamisági biztos Úr, Ön szerint ezek a lépések valóban erősítették a magyar jogállamiságot? Ön is tudja, hogy nem. Arról van szó, hogy egy simulékony kormányt akartak, és most megkapták, és mindent elnéznek. Ön is hallgat, mint a sír. Nincs kérésünk, csak egy: ezek után ne hivatkozzanak demokráciára, vagy hogy ha megteszik, akkor legalább ne röhögjék el magukat közben.

2-0069-0000

Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0070-0000

Gabriella Gerzsenyi (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Kérem, hogy felejtsenek el minden szót, amit az előző kormánypárt képviselőitől hallottak. Ugyanis ők egytől egyig hazugok és hiteltelenek. Tizenhat éven át hirdettek keresztény értékeket, miközben melegorgiáról menekültek ereszcsatornán és prostituáltakkal hemperegtek yachtokon. Hirdették, hogy törődnek a szegényekkel, miközben fuldokoltak a luxusban. Elfogadták, sőt ellopták az uniós pénzeket, miközben szimbiózisban éltek Vlagyimir Putyinnal. Demokráciát színleltek, miközben megfigyeltek újságírókat, és saját javukra változtatták meg a választási jogszabályokat. És ez csak

néhány példa. És most fájlalják, hogy a magyar emberek azt mondták, hogy elég volt, és elzavarták őket, méghozzá hatalmas többséggel. Fájlalják, hogy végre Magyarország visszatér a jogállamiság útjára, de ez nem az ő érdemük. És végre lekerül Magyarországról az Orbán-stigma.

2-0071-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Señor presidente, como usted ha sugerido, vuelvo a mi cuestión de orden. Que el señor Froelich haya insultado al primer ministro húngaro y lo haya llamado perrito faldero y marioneta es un hecho jurídico, no mi opinión.

Mi opinión es sencilla: el resultado electoral en Hungría es positivo. Los avances desde entonces también, pero no son suficientes.

Lo que realmente me importa es otra cosa: estoy harto de cómo se habla aquí. Insultar a un jefe de Gobierno elegido democráticamente vulnera el artículo 10, apartado 1, de nuestro Reglamento y supone una falta de respeto hacia esta Cámara.

No sé qué piensa usted, señor presidente, pero estoy harto de cómo nos hablamos y de cómo hablamos los unos de los otros en esta Cámara. ¡Ya basta!

2-0072-0000
El presidente. – Señor Sieper, muchas gracias por su esfuerzo de hablar español, se lo agradezco de corazón.

2-0073-0000
Maria Grapini (S&D). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, 10 ani am fost în Comisia pentru libertăți civile. Când s-a introdus noțiunea de stat de drept, am cerut să clarificăm foarte, foarte bine ce înseamnă stat de drept, pentru a putea măsura cu aceeași unitate de măsură toate cele 27 de state. Și da, știm cu toții că s-a discutat ani de zile despre modul în care funcționează guvernul Orbán în Ungaria și alte guverne, evident.

Problema pentru mine, și am spus-o de mai multe ori aici, este că cetățenii dintr-o țară în care guvernele nu respectă statul de drept sunt vitregiți de bani și ar trebui găsit un mecanism ca nu prin guvernele corupte – dovedit prin lege, evident – să se dea banii și cetățenii, de fapt, să nu aibă dreptul la acești bani europeni. Ceea ce se întâmplă în Ungaria poate fi un drum bun, însă cred că este prematur să constatăm dacă într-adevăr se revine la statul de drept și mai cer încă o dată, domnule comisar, să aplicați aceeași măsură de măsurare a statului de drept și de funcționare a statului de drept.

2-0074-0000
Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Mr President, 650 % – that is the increase in sex crimes in Ceuta since the invasion by 70 000 Moroccans. This is what happens when border control fails. But Ceuta is a miniature version of the rest of Europe. Millions of illegals have come here, and sexual crime statistics have started to look terrible across Europe.

However, one of the countries that has shown the rest of Europe what effective migration policy looks like is Hungary. It is refreshing to walk the streets of Budapest and feel once again that this is how Europe used to be. Women can walk safely home at night. No African quarters in the middle of Europe. No crowds of women covered in black bags from head to toe. Nothing radical about this. It is called 'good migration policy', and Hungary has a right to do so.

2-0075-0000
Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle (Renew). – Voorzitter, collega's, het feit dat we vandaag hier staan te debatteren over het herstel van de rechtsstaat in Hongarije, is mede te danken aan het werk van onafhankelijke journalisten, zoals de Nederlander Tijn Sadée. Diep bedroefd hebben we het nieuws vernomen over Tijns overlijden afgelopen zaterdag. Decennialang deed Tijn verslag over Europa, ook vanuit Hongarije, waar hij de corruptie van de clan van Orbán blootlegde. Dankzij zijn werk groeide er in Nederland bewustwording over de gevolgen van misstanden in één lidstaat voor alle Europeanen. We zijn net zo sterk als onze zwakste schakel. Vrije media zijn zuurstof voor onze Europese democratie. En de Hongaren, van wie hij hield, zijn vandaag vrijer dankzij Tijn Sadée. De Europeanen ook. Rust zacht, Tijn.

2-0076-0000
Balázs Orbán (PfE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner, rule of law originally is a noble idea, but you turn it to a toolkit to your liberal, authoritarian empire-building project, and a government which is defending its sovereignty, You go against it. You said it out loud that it was about the Istanbul Treaty, gender ideology, migration and, of course, the war.

If there is a government which is in line, they can do whatever they want. Now Hungary is governed from Brussels so they can ban the opposition, cancelling constitutional offices, commanding the judiciary on social media.

This anti-European, anti-democratic and anti-rule-of-law Article 7 procedure – close it and abolish all mechanisms. No one should be punished for standing up against Eurocrats, globalists and liberal authoritarians, no matter how afraid you are. Patriots will not rest until we achieve this.

2-0077-0000
Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Herr Präsident! Der österreichische Kollege Vilimsky von den Freiheitlichen hat von Regimewechsel gesprochen. Und er hat Recht: Orbán war unterwegs zu einem totalitären Regime, und jetzt ist Ungarn wieder unterwegs Richtung Europa. Die ersten Reformen haben das schon gezeigt. Die Rückkehr von Ungarn zur Europäischen Staatsanwaltschaft, der Kampf gegen die Korruption, die institutionelle Unabhängigkeit der Justiz und auch schließlich die Gesetzgebung, was Medien betrifft, was die öffentlichen Medien betrifft – all das stimmt mich optimistisch.

Ungarn hat es geschafft – diesen friedlichen Machtwechsel –, nach 16 Jahren Orbán, nach einer Entfernung von Europa wieder in das Zentrum zurückzukehren. Und wir, als Europäisches Parlament, haben die Verpflichtung, Ungarn hier zu begleiten. Der Start ist geglückt, aber wir sind noch lange nicht am Ziel.

2-0078-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0079-0000
Michael McGrath, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, thanks to all of the honourable Members for their contributions this morning. I underline again that the European Commission welcomes Hungary's commitment to the values on which our Union is founded. This is essential not only for Hungary and Hungarian citizens, but also for the EU as a whole. The rule of law and our common European values are the cornerstones of our Union. All Member States have committed to respect and promote these founding values of the EU.

It is very encouraging to see the dedication of the new Hungarian Government to swiftly proceed with rule of law reforms and to reverse the backsliding of previous years. There has clearly been renewed momentum in the fight against corruption and progress in strengthening fundamental rights. Substantial reforms have led to the lifting of the protective measures introduced under the Conditionality Regulation. After many years of pressure faced by institutions, civil society organisations, minorities and vulnerable communities, it is reassuring to see the tangible positive developments initiated under the new government. This work should continue, and, in my opening remarks, I set out very fairly the remaining areas where further work is is needed, including by engaging with civil society organisations, citizens and other relevant stakeholders.

Civil society organisations and human rights defenders play an essential role in safeguarding our democracies. They are an integral part of the checks and balances that underpin democratic systems. The Commission supports Hungary's efforts to strengthen regular dialogue with civil society, in line with and complementing the new EU Strategy for Civil Society. I can assure the honourable Members that I and the Commission will keep following closely the progress to be made in the coming weeks and months, and will continue to support Hungary in its reform path.

2-0080-0000

IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTS ZĪLE
Vice-President

2-0081-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you for your comments and remarks in this debate. As I said earlier, real democratic progress is built over time. Hungarian civil society has been steadfast in defending democracy over the past years. It is now our shared duty to ensure that reforms translate into lasting institutional change.

The Council remains firmly committed to upholding the values enshrined in Article 2 of our Treaty, and to defending the rule of law and fundamental rights against any efforts to erode them.

Honourable Members have made reference to broader rule-of-law concerns across our Union. In this regard, the General Affairs Council, under the chairmanship of my colleague Thomas Byrne, continues its country-specific examination under the Council's rule of law dialogue. Alongside the Commission and the Parliament, we will continue our collective efforts to uphold and reinforce the rule of law in all of our Member States.

We all share a common responsibility to protect these values, and to ensure that everyone within the Union enjoys the rights, liberties and freedoms to which they are entitled.

2-0082-0000

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

4. From citizens' demands and youth mobilisation: putting affordability at the heart of Europe's agenda (debate)

2-0084-0000

President. – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements entitled 'From citizens' demands and youth mobilisation: putting affordability at the heart of Europe's agenda' (2026/2980(RSP)).

2-0085-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the issue we tackle today is very timely. Affordability is already high on the Council's agenda, in its many dimensions. We must listen to the strong voices calling for change across the Union. Our citizens expect us to provide solutions to the serious and concrete problems facing Europeans in their daily lives. The high cost of living and financial uncertainty add pressure on a growing number of households, many of whom were already struggling to cover basic daily expenses. Despite the very high employment rate, the purchasing power of middle- and low-income households is being eroded, notably by inflation and energy prices.

The title of today's debate points exactly to the direction our policy response should turn towards. This issue has also been at the core of the presidency work in the employment and social field, and central to our prioritisation of competitiveness across our presidency. We need to have a European economy that delivers for our citizens. Earlier this year, the EPSCO Council deliberated on policies to break the cycle of poverty and on ways to implement the anti-poverty strategy. In June, housing security – with a particular focus on policies that respond to the needs of youth and middle-income households – was the focus of ministerial discussions. Housing affordability is a pressing challenge which affects students, essential workers, but also middle-income earners.

Under the Cyprus Presidency, the Council approved conclusions which recognise the strong link between housing, demographic trends and affordability. In October, the Council adopted a recommendation on fighting housing exclusion, including homelessness. This is another useful tool for Member States and strengthens their ability to prevent and combat homelessness, supporting the most vulnerable. The Council is also currently examining the proposal for an affordable housing act, which is another key commitment of the European affordable housing plan. This proposal is intended to help Member States and local and regional authorities to protect housing affordability and availability in areas that are under housing stress. This week, housing ministers are meeting in Ireland to continue these vital discussions.

Shortly, the presidency will bring another crucial issue on the agenda of employment and social ministers for their December meeting: the financing of social protection systems. Furthermore, the Social Protection Committee – a Treaty-based body that follows the social dimension of the European Semester – is currently working to deliver a stocktaking, but at the same time, forward-looking report on the adequacy of pensions and on the quality of the long-term care. The pensions adequacy, in particular, determines whether millions of elderly people can afford a good quality of life. The Council is expected to endorse this report, which will provide an in-depth analysis and a wealth of data necessary for a well-informed decision-making. We will shortly begin trilogues with you on the supplementary pensions package to boost retirement income and increase savings opportunities for citizens, while stimulating European investments.

The right to quality and inclusive education is at the core of the European Pillar of Social Rights, which we proclaimed together almost a decade ago. What happens in schools and after completing school education is very much part of the concerns of the young people who took to the streets. What we need to do to best support them at a time when technology is reshaping the landscape and we see an erosion of basic skills, was on EU education ministers' agenda last week. Over the months to come, we will work on responses to the education and skills package tabled by the Commission at the beginning of November. Teachers, and stronger basic skills for every learner, are among the priorities ahead for our work.

Let me conclude by recalling the work that we do in a number of Council configurations on competitiveness. Improving competitiveness goes hand in hand with ensuring that our social model delivers for our citizens today and tomorrow. EU leaders have adopted an ambitious

roadmap in this respect. The Council stands ready to work with you to achieve this. Thank you very much for your attention.

2-0086-0000

Roxana Mînzatu, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission***.** – Mr President, indeed, across Europe, young people have been taking to the streets asking for quality education first of all, in other places asking for homes that they can afford, wages that they can live on, actually a fair chance in life. And this is not just about young people, though it starts like that. It's also about families, pensioners that are also struggling with the high cost of living. And I want it to be clear that this Commission is working towards making people's lives more affordable.

I would give a few examples of our actions: our affordable housing act that was put forward earlier this year, the citizens' energy package – and here I would also add that with the European Semester spring package, we also introduce for our Member States an escape clause so that they can support vulnerable households affected by high energy prices – the education package and skills package that I just put forward a few weeks ago, focusing, among other things, or maybe centrally, on the working conditions of teachers, our recommendation on human capital that tells our Member States how they need to prioritise investment in education, skills, in basic skills, in infrastructure, for education as well. The first ever anti-poverty strategy that we presented this May, together with a Council recommendation is a soft legislative tool, but still a strong political tool for fighting housing exclusion, a strategy on intergenerational fairness put forward by my colleague Glenn Micallef, just to name a few of our political actions.

The idea is now that we must act together – European institutions, national governments, local, regional authorities – so these political directions and these political tools can be transformed into very concrete and tangible results that citizens would be able to feel in their daily lives.

I would say that tackling affordability is not just about bringing down living expenses, it's also about raising people's incomes. And the best way to do that is through quality jobs, through the payment of a fair wage, through good working conditions. I would remind this House of a number: one in twelve workers in Europe is considered to be 'working poor' still to this day, a number that is unacceptable for Europe.

We have seen that EU action can really make a difference. We must go back to the strong tool proposed by the Minimum Wage Directive that has been proven to drive increases in minimum wages and protect workers' purchasing powers. At a time of high inflation, continuous implementation of this directive is important. With the European Social Fund Plus and the European Regional Development Fund we are investing in skills, employment and social inclusion as we speak, we are facilitating access to quality and inclusive services and opportunities as we speak.

Important programmes like the Youth Guarantee, that have touched the lives of more than 60 million young people, are, of course, important tools for the next steps that we need to take to protect our young generation. Erasmus+ and the European Solidarity Corps have transformed many young people's lives by opening up opportunities to study, volunteer, gain new skills abroad, boost their confidence, employability and sense of belonging in Europe.

Very soon we will present the quality jobs act, which we want to use to make sure that working conditions keep pace with the new realities of today's economy. We have consulted social partners on how to help people who face barriers to enter the labour market.

And looking ahead, we also need to support young people in the face of the challenges raised by the impact of artificial intelligence on the labour market, building on what we already have as existing schemes. We will also launch a 'right to stay' strategy early next year to ensure that people, and in particular young people, are not forced to leave their regions due to lack of opportunities or access to quality and affordable services.

Honourable Members, young people have every right to demand a better future, and our responsibility is to deliver together.

2-0087-0000

Liesbet Sommen, *namens de PPE-Fractie***.** – Voorzitter, collega's, Charlotte is een verpleegkundige die na een echtscheiding alleenstaande mama is geworden. Ze neemt vaak shifts over van haar collega's om de schoolfactuur, de hobby's en de kosten van haar kinderen te kunnen betalen. Dat legt veel druk op haar schouders. Ze voelt zich dan ook vaak heel moe en vraagt zich soms af hoe ze dit moet volhouden. Een betaalbare woning vinden, de energiefactuur betalen of zelfs maar gewoon de dagelijkse boodschappen doen, dat is voor Europeanen vaak helemaal niet meer zo vanzelfsprekend. Bovendien loeren dan ook nog eens faillissementen om de hoek.

Nu is natuurlijk de vraag: wat kan Europa daaraan doen? Het gaat dan over onze energieprijzen. In amper vijf jaar tijd is de kostprijs van de elektriciteit voor onze Europese gezinnen bijna een derde duurder geworden. Die energiefactuur moet dringend naar beneden. We moeten af van de situatie waarin de grillen van autoritaire wereldleiders onze energiekosten bepalen. Dat doen we door te investeren in onze eigen energieproductie, maar ook door Europese jobs te beschermen en de Europese productie te steunen en te beschermen tegen oneerlijke concurrentie. Dat is een goede start voor industriële jobs.

Maar laten we vooral ook die grote groep in de zorgsector en de dienstensector niet vergeten. Daarvoor is een sterk Europees Sociaal Fonds Plus nodig, ook in het volgende Europese begrotingskader. De mensen moeten naar een job geleid worden. Ze moeten opleidingen kunnen volgen, ze moeten beschermd worden tegen armoede. Dat doen we met het ESF+. Beste collega's, we hebben geen tijd meer om te blijven hangen in eindeloze discussies. Het moment is nu.

2-0088-0000

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D***.** – Señor presidente, ¿qué futuro puede imaginar un joven que no puede emanciparse? ¿Qué libertad tiene una familia que debe elegir entre llenar la nevera y pagar la calefacción? ¿Qué dignidad le queda a una persona mayor que no sabe si podrá pagar sus facturas?

Esa es la Europa que tenemos hoy en las calles, y es la Europa que miles de ciudadanos están denunciando mientras se manifiestan, acampan y exigen algo tan elemental como poder vivir con dignidad.

¿De verdad no escuchamos? ¿Cuántas personas más tienen que salir a la calle para que la Comisión y los Gobiernos entiendan que esto no es una crisis pasajera, sino una emergencia social?

Necesitamos viviendas para vivir, no para especular; frenar los abusos de los alquileres de corta duración, combatir la especulación y prohibir los desahucios de las personas vulnerables. Y necesitamos un fondo europeo de viviendas de 100 000 millones de euros. ¿A qué esperamos para poner los recursos necesarios al servicio del derecho a la vivienda?

Necesitamos también energía asequible. Las guerras de Trump y Netanyahu están disparando los precios y empobreciendo a nuestros ciudadanos. ¿Por qué las grandes compañías energéticas que obtienen beneficios extraordinarios de esta situación no contribuyen a aliviar las consecuencias? La Comisión debe presentar un impuesto europeo a esos beneficios para financiar un bono social que ayude a pagar la luz, la calefacción, la compra y la gasolina.

Y necesitamos trabajar también para que hagamos llegar a la ciudadanía un mensaje claro de lo que significa Europa. No solo nos conformaremos con un verdadero paquete de empleos de calidad, con derechos exigibles, con una negociación colectiva reforzada y el derecho a la desconexión, también tenemos que hablar de las prácticas remuneradas con derechos y condiciones dignas, porque nuestros jóvenes no necesitan esclavitud laboral, merecen oportunidades.

Ninguna sociedad puede llamarse justa si abandona a sus niños. Necesitamos una garantía infantil con 20 000 millones de euros para garantizar las comidas escolares, el acceso a la educación, la sanidad y la vivienda. Ningún niño debe crecer en la pobreza en una Europa que es rica.

Y que las grandes plataformas digitales también sean valientes: propongamos un impuesto europeo a los servicios digitales.

Señorías, la gente no sale a la calle para pedirnos compasión, sale para exigir justicia. No quieren parches ni promesas, quieren soluciones y quieren recuperar el control de sus vidas.

Europa nació para ofrecer un futuro mejor. Devolvamos a nuestros ciudadanos la dignidad que se les está robando, porque Europa solo tendrá futuro si su gente vuelve otra vez a creer en él.

2-0089-0000

Antonín Staněk, *za skupinu PfE***.** – Pane předsedající, kolegyně a kolegové, v této debatě budeme mluvit o tom, co mladé lidi a co pro ně uděláme. Méně už o tom, kolik je naše rozhodnutí stojí. Mladí lidé nepotřebují, aby jim Evropská unie řídila život. O vlastním životě chtějí rozhodovat sami, ale potřebují k tomu příznivé podmínky. A ty máme v moci ovlivnit. Místo toho přicházíme s řešeními, která fungují zcela opačně. Povolenky ETS2 zdraží topení i pohonné hmoty. Konec prodeje nových aut se spalovacím motorem po roce 2035 nejvíce dopadne na mladé lidi z menších obcí, kteří se bez auta do práce nedostanou.

Proto žádám Radu a Komisi, aby podpořili zrušení ETS2 a ponechali lidem možnost koupit si dostupné auto se spalovacím motorem i po roce 2035, protože nejlepší politika dostupnosti totiž často není nový program, ale jsou to rozhodnutí, která lidem nic dalšího nezdraží.

2-0090-0000

Stefano Cavedagna, *a nome del gruppo ECR***.** – Signor Presidente, stiamo assistendo nelle piazze di tutta Europa ad una saldatura tra l'estrema sinistra e l'islam politico: sigle di violenti e centri sociali con gruppi di immigrati di seconda generazione.

Bene ha fatto il governo italiano ad inasprire le sanzioni e ad introdurre nuovi reati per chi mette a ferro e fuoco le nostre città: chi rompe paga! Se sei minorenne, pagano i tuoi genitori, se hai un sussidio o una borsa di studio, è giusto che ti venga tolta.

Ilaria Salis parla di repressione autoritaria? No, questa è la difesa di tutte quelle persone perbene che vivono in Italia e in Europa e sono stanche di pagare i vostri danni.

Se vi piacciono tanto l'Unione Sovietica, la Cina comunista, la Corea del Nord, visto che sventolate sempre le loro bandiere ma mai il tricolore italiano, andate lì a spaccare le vetrine e a manifestare e vediamo cosa succede.

E agli immigrati di seconda generazione vorrei dire: se odiate tanto l'Occidente, avete una libertà che non vi verrà mai tolta: potete tornare a casa vostra!

2-0091-0000

Brigitte van den Berg, *on behalf of the Renew Group***.** – Mr President, last Friday, young people across Europe told us that they don't see their future in the Union. And it hurts, because it's easy to relate. Can you imagine being 34 and having to live with your parents, or having to depend on them for your income? How can we accept that 15 % of our youth is unemployed and that of the people that have a job, one third have temporary contracts. Yet this is the generation that we rely on when we look at our defence, when we look at our healthcare, that we want to carry our continent into the energy transition. And then if I look at the new proposal of this Council for the multiannual budget of Europe, I see that they're only making matters worse. They are not investing in the future of our young people.

If we want the youth to regain their trust in Europe, we need to invest in their house. We need to invest in our jobs. We need to invest in their energy. We need to invest in their future.

2-0092-0000

Marie Toussaint, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE***.** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, je veux vous parler d'un sujet qui est rarement, voire jamais, abordé dans notre hémicycle: celui des toilettes. Parce que oui, parler des toilettes, ce n'est pas seulement parler de commodités, mais c'est aussi parler de dignité. Toilettes cassées, trop sales, inaccessibles, dans lesquelles il manque du papier ou des serviettes hygiéniques. C'est notamment ce déni de la considération la plus élémentaire qui a fait éclater les mobilisations lycéennes qui parcourent aujourd'hui l'Europe. Il y a toujours une base matérielle à l'émergence des révoltes civiques.

«On nous traite comme des animaux, nous voulons des toilettes.» C'est aussi le cri des voyageuses condamnées à l'errance, malmenées par les pouvoirs publics, par exemple dans la métropole de Lille, défaillante dans ses obligations pourtant légales. Des toilettes, c'est aussi ce que réclament les travailleurs de la livraison, les ouvriers agricoles ou évidemment, les sans-abris à travers le continent.

Partout, des jeunes, des travailleurs précaires, les plus exclus souffrent de ne pas avoir accès à leurs besoins les plus fondamentaux. Mais les yeux rivés sur les flux financiers, vous oubliez que, comme le suggère Françoise Vergès, il faut mener une politique des besoins vitaux. Ne vous contentez pas de venir ici parler de la vie chère, mais adoptez un budget conséquent pour rendre effective la stratégie de lutte contre la pauvreté, financer la rénovation des écoles et garantir un logement digne. Pour nos enfants, taxez enfin les milliardaires. Faites de la dignité notre boussole commune.

2-0093-0000

Manon Aubry, *au nom du groupe The Left***.** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, vous feriez quoi avec sept euros? À peine un repas. Pourtant, c'est le seul geste qu'a consenti le gouvernement français face à une mobilisation historique contre la vie chère. Quelques miettes, alors que le prix du gaz explose, le carburant reste hors de prix, et trop souvent les familles doivent choisir entre se nourrir, se déplacer ou se chauffer.

Les peuples d'Europe ont raison de se soulever et d'embrayer le pas de la jeunesse. De Paris à Athènes, de Berlin à Madrid, de Lisbonne à Rome, les jeunes crient leur désespoir face à une société sans avenir. Et quelle est la réponse des gouvernements? La répression, la mutilation. Tout l'appareil militaire est sorti, y compris des grenades considérées comme des armes de guerre, sans aucune retenue. Résultat: des mains arrachées, des visages éborgnés, des enfants mutilés. Même des experts de l'ONU se sont dits consternés par le degré de répression policière et judiciaire qui s'abat sur le mouvement lycéen en France.

À coups de matraques, d'amendes et de gaz lacrymogènes, les gouvernements, de droite comme d'extrême droite en Europe, cherchent à faire taire la colère sociale. Mais on ne répond pas à ce genre de colère légitime par la violence. On y répond par des mesures politiques, des moyens dans nos écoles et contre la vie chère, et en allant chercher l'argent là où il est. Parce que oui, contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait entendre, de l'argent, il y en a: dans les caisses des multinationales, dans les caisses des profiteurs de crise, et chez les plus hauts patrimoines de nos amis les milliardaires. Vous ne voulez pas aller le chercher? Eh bien, nous le ferons.

2-0094-0000

Milan Uhrík, *on behalf of the ESN Group***.** – Mr President, colleagues, you have mouths full of democracy and citizens' initiatives, but it was your European Commission that rejected one of the strongest citizens' initiatives nowadays – the Save Europe Act. Almost a million young people all around Europe have signed the petition because they wanted their voices to be heard, but you betrayed them and rejected them only because they want to save Europe, their future and their jobs. Yes, they are calling 'send them back' because they care about safety. Indeed, sending back home migrants who are staying in the European Union illegally – against the law – is about protecting the rule of law. But unfortunately, the European Commission has chosen not to listen to these young people and to kick them out the door of the European Commission. That is why I bring their request here to the European Parliament to hand it over to you, Madam Commissioner. Please listen to these young people. They are also our citizens and they need to be heard.

2-0095-0000

Jagna Marczułajtis-Walczak (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Dziś dużo mówimy o cyfrowej przyszłości Europy, o konkurencyjności i rozwoju sztucznej inteligencji. Największe firmy technologiczne osiągają na giełdzie wyceny liczone w bilionach dolarów. Zatem wyceniamy przyszłość na niewyobrażalne kwoty, ale wciąż nie potrafimy rozwiązać podstawowych problemów teraźniejszości, problemów, z którymi młodzi ludzie mierzą się każdego dnia. Rosnące koszty życia i brak mieszkań, na które byłoby ich stać, odbierają im poczucie bezpieczeństwa, budzą frustrację i poczucie niesprawiedliwości. A to może prowadzić do coraz bardziej radykalnych postaw.

O gospodarce często mówimy przez pryzmat wzrostu PKB, ale dla ludzi najważniejsze jest to, czy ten wzrost odczuwają w swoich portfelach. Unia Europejska i państwa członkowskie mają narzędzia, by realnie i możliwie szybko poprawić sytuację młodych. Są już przykłady konkretnych działań. Polska w 2026 roku przeznacza na ten cel 6,7 mld złotych, z czego ponad 4 mld na budownictwo społeczne i komunalne.

Musimy przy tym pamiętać, że nie wszyscy młodzi mają takie same możliwości. Szczególnie trudna jest sytuacja młodych osób z niepełnosprawnościami, które często mierzą się z kilkoma barierami jednocześnie. Zwracam na to uwagę również w mojej pracy w komisji HOUS. Mieszkanie powinno być nie tylko dostępne cenowo, ale także dostosowane do potrzeb każdego człowieka. Zatem czy Komisja Europejska zamierza potraktować dostępność mieszkań dla młodych ludzi jako jeden z priorytetów europejskiej polityki społecznej i gospodarczej?...

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówczyni głos)

(Mówczyni nie zgodziła się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki przez Petras Gražulis)

2-0096-0000

Camilla Laureti (S&D). – Signor Presidente, le persone al centro: penso alle centinaia di migliaia di cittadini e cittadine che stanno manifestando per le strade delle nostre città, per un costo della vita che è diventato insostenibile.

I cittadini protestano e i governi europei di destra tagliano risorse: aumenta il costo dell'energia, aumenta il costo del cibo, aumenta il costo per alloggi dignitosi.

Proteste che uniscono diverse generazioni – ci sono giovani e meno giovani – e diversi settori – agricoltura, trasporto, industria – e i sindacati stanno manifestando oggi qui fuori: a loro, da quest'Aula, dobbiamo dare una risposta.

Più risorse per la garanzia per l'infanzia, per sconfiggere la povertà, a partire dalla scuola e dalla salute; investimenti nell'educazione pubblica e negli alloggi per gli studenti: no ai tirocini gratuiti.

Così scriviamo un pezzo delle politiche per un futuro meno disuguale e così rimettiamo i cittadini al centro dell'agenda politica europea. Se non lo faremo, saremo responsabili di un esercito di nuove povertà e non ce lo possiamo permettere.

(L'oratrice rifiuta una domanda "cartellino blu" di Petras Gražulis)

2-0097-0000

Guillaume Peltier (ECR). – Monsieur le Président, «pouvoir d'achat», c'est un mot usé jusqu'à la corde. Un mot de ministres, de plateaux télé, de technocrates qui ne connaissent rien aux travailleurs. Arrêtez avec votre pouvoir d'achat devenu le pouvoir de l'État de nous laisser des miettes tout en volant nos salaires, notre sueur, notre labeur. Le vrai pouvoir d'achat, c'est le pouvoir de garder ce qu'on a gagné. Que notre salaire brut devienne enfin notre salaire net. On n'en peut plus de vos impôts. En France, si tu te lèves tôt, tu payes pour celui qui se couche tard. Si tu travailles, tu payes pour celui qui ne travaille pas. On te taxe pour payer le RSA, la CMU, les 35 heures, les CERFA, les clandestins et tous les professionnels du social et de la paresse.

Alors franchement, si vous aimez la Corée du Nord, allez-y et restez-y, mais laissez-nous tranquilles. On ne veut pas de votre société communiste, de cette gauche qui veut taxer ta réussite pour financer ses échecs. Nous voulons vivre à la hauteur de nos efforts, de nos mérites et en vérité, à la même hauteur que notre liberté.

2-0098-0000

Elisabetta Gualmini (Renew). – Signor Presidente, c'è molta poca ideologia nelle proteste dei giovani in piazza; chiedono cose molto materiali, vogliono quel capitalismo economico di cui hanno goduto i loro genitori: scuole che funzionano, un tetto sopra la testa e un futuro in cui sperare.

Per ora stanno rispondendo – sbagliando – i partiti iperpopulisti: a sinistra, mettendo un patetico cappello sulle proteste, come Mélenchon in Francia; a destra, con la rincorsa a criminalizzare – l'ultima di Salvini di ieri: il reato di squadrismo!

Ecco, servono cose molto concrete: la valutazione di impatto generazionale in ogni provvedimento legislativo; investimenti pubblici e privati sull'educazione e l'orientamento, ad esempio smettendo di considerare l'educazione tecnica di serie B. Bisogna puntare sugli affitti agevolati: un giovane che lavora non può spendere due terzi dello stipendio per una stanzetta.

Non facciamo promesse che non riusciamo a mantenere, né facciamo i genitori coccolosi che vanno con la manina a protestare con i loro figli in piazza. Ognuno faccia quello che deve fare, nel ruolo che ha.

2-0099-0000

Nela Riehl (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, I was in an interview with another Member of this House the other day, and this Member called the student protests all across Europe 'just a hangout for young people'. And that is, of course, very untrue.

But at the same time, it also proves the students' point, because where else should I hang out? In a café, where coffee costs EUR 5, or at a cinema, at EUR 15 a ticket, or in an apartment that I cannot even afford? When every space comes with a price tag, the streets are the only free spaces there are.

We told this generation they could be anything, and then we cut down the education budget. We underpaid their teachers, and we priced them out of the cities that they were born and raised in. And when our students finally take to the streets, we act surprised. And they're not asking for luxury. They are asking for a future that they can afford.

So, let us stop debating whether they're serious or not. Let's fund their schools, let's pay their teachers, and let's build homes that they can actually afford.

2-0100-0000

Li Andersson (The Left). – Mr President, Europeans have made their priorities to us clear time and time again. The number one reason for voting in the last European parliamentary election: rising prices and the cost of living. According to the latest Eurobarometer, the number one priority that people think this Parliament should focus on is the cost-of-living crisis. But where is the action? Where are the proposals? I'm sorry to say, but not enough is done.

The anti-poverty strategy is welcome, but it is not legally binding. The Affordable Housing Act contained no tools to address the financialisation of housing. The Commission work programme for next year does not contain a single legislative initiative on labour and social policy.

We need initiatives on energy. We need initiatives to regulate the housing market, as well as better working conditions and strengthened collective bargaining. We should not be surprised by demonstrations and social unrest if decision-makers continue to ignore the very clear messages and priorities of the European people.

2-0101-0000

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, 21 στους 100 ανθρώπους αντιμετωπίζουν κίνδυνο φτώχειας. Εν μέσω θηριώδους ακρίβειας και ενεργειακής φτώχειας, ένας στους δύο νέους έως 34 ετών ζει στο παιδικό δωμάτιο. Οι ταξικοί φραγμοί στην εκπαίδευση μεγαλώνουν. Πενήντα εκατομμύρια θα πρέπει να διαλέξουν ανάμεσα στο φαγητό ή στη θέρμανση, και εσείς κηρύσσετε τη δημοσιονομική πειθαρχία, δηλαδή ψίχουλα για τη λαϊκή πλειοψηφία και ταυτόχρονα δυσθεώρητα πακέτα πολεμικής οικονομίας και ανταγωνιστικότητας για τους ομίλους.

Γι' αυτή τη βαρβαρότητα βγαίνουν λαός και νεολαία, ιδιαίτερα από τα εργατικά λαϊκά στρώματα σε όλη την Ευρώπη, στους δρόμους. Βαρβαρότητα που αποτελεί δείγμα ενός συστήματος που θρέφει τον ιμπεριαλιστικό πόλεμο και τα κέρδη και θυσιάζει τις λαϊκές ανάγκες. Είναι οι συνέπειες της στρατηγικής της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και του κεφαλαίου που υλοποιούν εξίσου όλες οι κυβερνήσεις. Η ακροδεξιά Meloni, ο σοσιαλδημοκράτης Sánchez, ο «κεντρώος» Macron, ο φιλελεύθερος Μητσοτάκης.

Δύο κόσμοι σε αντίθεση: αυτός που πληρώνει και ματώνει και εκείνος που κερδίζει. Η απάντηση και στην Ελλάδα είναι η πανεργατική απεργία. Το μήνυμα των εργαζομένων είναι σαφές: να πληρώσουν κράτος και κεφάλαιο. Δώστε λεφτά για μισθούς, συντάξεις, στέγη, υγεία και παιδεία και όχι για τα πολεμικά σφαγεία.

2-0102-0000

Viktor Weisz (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Az én generációm nem azt kérdezi, hogy lesz-e például saját autója, hanem azt kérdezi, hogy lesz-e valaha megfizethető lakhatása. Európában is, így Magyarországon is a bérleti díjak sok esetben a fizetések jelentős részét felemésztik. Ez késlelteti az önállósodást és sok esetben a családalapítást is.

Bár a lakáspolitika elsősorban tagállami hatáskör, az uniós finanszírozási eszközök és beruházási programok fontos szerepet játszhatnak a megoldásban. Ezért az Európai Uniónak cselekednie kell! A magyar kormány például a Wekerle programmal pont ezekre a kérdésekre ad választ.

Mit kérünk? Bővítsük a bérlakások kínálatát és ösztönözzük a lakásépítéseket és a felújításokat. Esélyt a fiataloknak: segítsük a stabil elhelyezkedésüket. Olyan gazdaságot, amely biztos megélhetést kínál. Adjanak nekünk kulcsot, és mi felépítjük Európa jövőjét!

(A felszólaló nem fogad el kékkártyás kérdést a következő képviselőtől: Majdouline Sbai)

2-0103-0000

Delara Burkhardt (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Miete zahlen, Essen kaufen, von seinem Job leben können – das ist kein *Princess Treatment*, das ist *Bare Minimum*. Und trotzdem muss die Gen Z dafür auf die Straße gehen. Wir gehen mal rein: Energie- und Lebensmittelkosten? Seit 2019 um 41 % gestiegen. Und die Gehälter? Richtig. Die kommen nicht mit. Wie sollen Menschen der Politik vertrauen, bei Krieg und Frieden, bei KI-Regulierungen Lösungen zu finden, wenn nicht mal das *Bare Minimum* funktioniert?

Deshalb muss klar sein: Bezahlbarkeit ist eine Überlebensfrage unserer Demokratie. Denn wer profitiert denn eigentlich gerade? Öl und Gaskonzerne – 43 % Gewinn allein in diesem Jahr, während Menschen Heizspartipps austauschen. *Big Tech* verdient an unserer Aufmerksamkeit und zahlt kaum Steuern dafür. Die gute Nachricht ist: Das können wir ändern. Deswegen werden wir die Debatten von der Straße hier immer wieder ins Europäische Parlament holen, weil sie Gehör finden müssen, weil es um die bessere Zukunft geht.

2-0104-0000

Marlena Maląg (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Kiedy pytam młodych ludzi, czy chcecie założyć rodzinę, często słyszę: tak, ale... Za tym „ale" stoi brak mieszkania, rata kredytu, obawa o utrzymanie firmy i rodziny. Jak planować przyszłość, kiedy własne mieszkanie oznacza dług od młodości do emerytury? W Polsce rząd Prawa i Sprawiedliwości wprowadził zerowy PIT dla młodych. Programy 500 plus i 800 plus. Wsparliśmy młodych wchodzących na rynek pracy, ograniczyliśmy ubóstwo wśród dzieci, daliśmy więcej możliwości rodzinom.

Dziś tu debatujemy o przystępnych cenach, a Zielony Ład, ETS – za chwilę ETS 2 – drastycznie zwiększa koszty życia i prowadzenia firm. Ceny rosną, konkurencyjność maleje, zostajemy w tyle. Europa potrzebuje nowych miejsc pracy, dobrych warunków dla rodzin, a przede wszystkim zdrowego rozsądku, a nie kolejnych ETS-ów. Bo może okaże się, że Europa osiągnie neutralność klimatyczną, ale zabraknie w niej dzieci, rodzin i firm.

(Mówczyni zgodziła się na kilka pytań zasygnalizowanych przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0105-0000

Majdouline Sbai (Verts/ALE), *question «carton bleu»***.** – Monsieur le Président, j'entends tout le temps ici, dans cet hémicycle, parler de compétitivité, attaquer le pacte vert, et faire en sorte qu'il y ait plus de croissance et d'économies. Mais à quoi ça sert, tout ça, si les étudiants ne peuvent plus se loger? Si les jeunes aujourd'hui ont moins de chance que leurs parents hier? À quoi ça sert si les enfants d'ouvriers ont deux fois moins de chances d'avoir un diplôme supérieur? Alors je vous interroge: véritablement, comment ne pas avoir honte face à cette situation?

2-0106-0000

Marlena Maląg (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Szanowna pani poseł, przede wszystkim powinniśmy sprawić to, aby Europa była konkurencyjna. Bo jeżeli Europa będzie konkurencyjna, to będą dobre miejsca pracy, rozwój firm. I wtedy, bez względu na status społeczny, ci młodzi ludzie będą mogli się rozwijać. I do tego powinniśmy dążyć. Przede wszystkim stanąć w prawdzie, a nie uprawiać zakłamanie, które przez dłuższy czas uprawiamy.

2-0107-0000

Marit Maij (S&D), *blue-card question***.** – Thank you for accepting the blue card. You mentioned young people in the labour market and the importance of young people in the labour market. But we see that young people, they look at their future: they need to find a job; they need to develop themselves, improve their skills and their education, also through traineeships. And how can they build this independent life if they can only participate in unpaid and exploitative traineeships, if traineeships are not paid because only those that already have money will be able to participate in those traineeships?

2-0108-0000

Marlena Maląg (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Dziękuję za to pytanie. Ono jest bardzo ważne, gdyż przede wszystkim powinniśmy stwarzać warunki do równego rozwoju, żeby młodym ludziom dawać szansę do tego, żeby zdobyli wykształcenie takie, jakiego oczekują, i aby mogli się rozwijać. I w ten sposób zarówno państwa członkowskie, jak i decyzje zapadające w Parlamencie Europejskim i Komisji powinny przede wszystkim sprzyjać rozwojowi i sprawić, żebyśmy wszyscy byli równi wobec prawa. Jestem przeciwna temu, aby staże były w jakikolwiek sposób formą wykorzystania młodych ludzi, aczkolwiek powinny być drogą do tego, aby mogli zdobywać umiejętności i rozwój.

2-0109-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Ich hab' blonde Haare und blaue Augen.

Das Lächeln meines Nachbarns lässt mich schnell zu Boden schauen.

Britischer Rasen, Deutschlandfahn'n, wegen Unkraut nah seines Zauns was sagen.

Er besitzt alles, was er braucht.

Wohnt in 'nem Einfamilienhaus.

Lebt mit seiner wunderschönen Frau und trotzdem fühlt er sich beraubt.

Es stinkt nach Bitterkeit, wir riechen nach Angst.

Auf die letzte Demo hab ichs leider nicht geschafft.

Dafür fehlte mir in letzter Zeit die Kraft.

Aber online hab ich mitgemacht.

Aufgeben war nie leichter.

Ich fühl mich so heiser.

Wann wird es endlich leiser?

Shout outs an LIYO.

2-0110-0000

Cristina Guarda (Verts/ALE). – Signor Presidente, volete parlare di *affordability*, di potere di acquisto? Ma qui si parla di poter vivere!

Nelle piazze di tutta Europa ci chiedono una stanza che non costi 1200 euro al mese, una scuola con un soffitto che non crolla; chiedono servizi, salari degni, chiedono dignità. E i vostri governi mandano i manganelli!

In Italia un ragazzo di 16 anni può essere trattenuto in questura prima ancora che il corteo parta. Avete scelto i manganelli, i fermi e la questura al posto delle borse di studio e della scuola. Li chiamate violenti ma la violenza è un affitto a 1200 euro; è non poter uscire di casa prima dei 30 anni perché non ce lo si può permettere; è non poter avere una famiglia!

Avete paura di una generazione che non vi deve nulla! La violenza vera è nei vostri bilanci, compreso quello che voteremo qui, dove i soldi vanno al riarmo, mentre si taglia sui servizi, sulla formazione, sul lavoro e sulla lotta alla crisi climatica.

(L'oratrice accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu")

2-0111-0000

Alicia Homs Ginel (S&D), *pregunta de «tarjeta azul»***.** – Señor presidente, señora diputada, estamos viendo a toda una generación que se moviliza porque los alquileres se comen sus salarios y porque la precariedad sigue condicionando sus vidas.

En Europa tenemos una oportunidad concreta para cambiar esa realidad: la Directiva sobre los períodos de prácticas, que sorprendentemente solo les han mencionado y que busca garantizar unas prácticas dignas, combatir la explotación y acabar con el uso de la juventud como mano de obra gratuita. Sin embargo, las derechas quieren vaciarla de contenido y proteger un modelo que legaliza esa precariedad.

Mi pregunta es si cree que la juventud necesita, quienes se llenan la boca hablando de sus oportunidades desde la hipocresía...

(el presidente retira la palabra a la oradora)

2-0112-0000

Cristina Guarda (Verts/ALE), *risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Non posso che appoggiare il suo pensiero: le destre scelgono, ancora una volta, di andare a tutelare gli interessi di pochi, di chi si può permettere di fare l'attività di lobbismo qua, in queste istituzioni, piuttosto che difendere il diritto di chi non ha voce.

Davvero si meritano quindi di andare a sedere su questi spalti? Insieme a tante e tanti colleghi, in primis la mia collega Benedetta Scuderi, noi stiamo in particolar modo lavorando qui dentro le istituzioni per difendere i giovani da questi abusi. Stiamo lavorando qui ma anche nei nostri territori, lavorando e dialogando insieme con chi sta nelle piazze.

Le istituzioni devono ascoltare le nuove generazioni e stare dalla loro parte, non legittimare chi si può permettere ...

(Il Presidente toglie la parola all'oratrice)

2-0113-0000

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, ça va la joue? Parce qu'avec la gifle que vous vous êtes prise ce week-end, ça doit chauffer. Enfin, je vois que l'extrême droite est tellement sonnée qu'elle n'est même pas là. 25 pays, 500 villes, 1 million de jeunes dans la rue. Vous vous êtes fait remballer vite fait et c'est normal. C'est normal parce que les jeunes, ils ont besoin de classes en bon état, et vous, vous proposez le service militaire. Ils ont besoin de logements, de transports en commun, vous allez acheter des chars d'assaut. Et quand ils vous demandent de sauver le climat, vous sauvez les profits des actionnaires.

Leur projet est l'opposé du vôtre et ils ont raison. Plus de 400 milliards pour les armes... Et pour leur avenir? Et c'est pour ça qu'à Berlin, Rome, Madrid, Bruxelles, Zagreb, Paris, Budapest, Amsterdam, en couple avec les syndicats, ils disent «non» à votre couple toxique qui est celui de la militarisation et de l'austérité. Votre passion, disons-le, c'est quoi? C'est la guerre et la destruction. Et la leur, comme ils le chantent si bien: la fanfare et la révolution. Écoutez-les, parce qu'ils ne lâcheront pas. Et nous non plus, on ne lâchera rien.

2-0114-0000

Danuše Nerudová (PPE). – Pane předsedající, vážení kolegové, už několik týdnů vycházejí do ulic evropských měst mladí lidé. Nikdo je tam nevozí autobusy, jdou tam kvůli vlastnímu svědomí. Protestují za svobodná média, za budoucnost, ve které si budou moci dovolit bydlení, energie a důstojný život. A co slyší v Česku od vládních politiků? Že jsou zmanipulovaní, že se nechali obelhat, že si jen chtějí zažít revoluci, o které četli v učebnicích. Ti mladí lidé nikomu ale nenaletěli, jen si pamatují, co jim Andrej Babiš sliboval, a teď ho berou za slovo. Někteří rádi opakují, že dělají politiku pro budoucí generace. Ta generace teď ale stojí před námi a mluví. A to nejmenší, co můžeme udělat, je přestat je poučovat a začít je poslouchat. A u každého návrhu, pro který tu zvedneme ruku, se ptát, pro koho to děláme. Mladí lidé nejsou problém, který je potřeba uklidnit. Naopak, jste to vy, kdo nás žene kupředu, a my tady vás slyšíme.

2-0115-0000
Thomas Bajada (S&D). – Sur President, iż-żgħażagħ Ewropej mhux qed jitolbu l-impossibbli. Qed jitolbu li jgħixu ħajjithom b'dinjità. Paga li jistgħu jgħixu biha, dar li jifilħu jixtru u futur li jistgħu jibnu mhux futur li jibżgħu minnu. Qed jitolbu wisq? Le, u r-risposta tagħna ma tistax tkun biss kliem sabiħ u fieragħ. Irridu aktar investiment f'akkomodazzjoni affordabbli, miżuri li jindirizzaw l-għoli tal-ħajja u edukazzjoni u trasport li huma aċċessibbli u fuq kollox irridu nieqfu niehdu deċiżjonijiet dwar il-futur taż-żgħażagħ tagħna mingħajr ma huma jkunu parti mit-teħid tad-deċiżjonijiet.

X'jiswa li l-ekonomija tikber jekk in-nies jibqgħu jitħabtu biex ilaħħqu sal-aħħar tax-xahar, ma jkollhomx l-opportunitajiet li qed ifittxu, ma jistgħu qatt jiksbu l-ħolma tagħhom? Is-suċċess tal-Ewropa ma jistax jitkejjel biss bit-tkabbir ekonomiku, imma għandu jitkejjel ukoll bil-kwalità tal-ħajja tan-nies. L-aspirazzjonijiet taż-żgħażagħ tagħna m'għandhomx ikunu biss privileġġ għal min jiflaħ iħallas għalihom, imma għandhom ikunu fattibbli għal kulħadd.

(Il-kelliem aċċetta li jwieġeb diversi mistoqsijiet "karta blu")

2-0116-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew), *blue-card question.* – Thank you, Thomas, for accepting the blue card. When it comes to young people, you and I are in an extraordinary situation because we have a very, very comfortable salary. We earn 12, 13, 14, 15 thousand euros every month. What if you were not an MEP? How would you feel as a young person looking at the prices, looking at rent for a flat, looking at how expensive it can be to go out for one night. What would you think of this world and your prospects? Thank you.

2-0117-0000
Thomas Bajada (S&D), *blue-card answer.* – Thank you. This is a very pertinent question, because, before we were elected, you and I were living that life. We can bring those realities with us here into this Chamber, because sometimes we tend to forget for whom we are talking. We are talking for the young people that are looking at us right now, for those that possibly follow us on our socials. We must continue to be here to speak about the realities that they are facing, the fact that they feel that they don't have a voice, the fact that they are protesting and we are here saying that they are just there hanging out, but really they are speaking; they are using their voice. So their voice needs to be heard here, and we will continue to do that.

2-0118-0000
João Oliveira (The Left), *Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul».* – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Deputado Thomas Bajada, os jovens olham para o futuro com preocupação em relação às perspetivas do emprego, em relação às dificuldades no acesso à habitação, em relação à possibilidade de organizarem a sua vida e construírem o seu futuro.

Ao mesmo tempo, nós vemos reuniões do Conselho Europeu em que estas preocupações ficam completamente à porta da reunião, onde nem sequer os temas são abordados.

E a pergunta que lhe faço é: como é que é possível não dar correspondência política, com as medidas que são necessárias, de valorização do emprego e das qualificações de investimento na habitação, para que essas dificuldades que os jovens têm hoje possam ser ultrapassadas?

2-0119-0000
Thomas Bajada (S&D), *blue-card answer.* – They grew up in a society where they tell you that you need to study, you need to graduate, you need to find a job, you need to make a family. But all of

these are difficult; all of these are almost impossible today. So, there needs to be more action – exactly as you are saying – in order to see that these are all accessible for everyone in order to make their lives better and possible, but also to reach their dreams. How can you dream if you're struggling every day with all the things that are not being addressed? So our message to the Council is: we need action. Our message to this Parliament is: talk about the realities that they are facing today.

2-0120-0000

Stephen Nikola Bartulica (ECR). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, kad govorimo o priuštivom stanovanju, mladima dugujemo prije svega istinu. Brzog rješenja nema. Često puta i vladine mjere završe tako da stanovi budu skuplji. Subvencije za kupce, na primjer, dodatno su dizale cijene, kako je pokazala analiza Hrvatske narodne banke. Rješenje je veća ponuda stanova, brže procedure, građevinska dozvola za mjesec dana, kako kaže novi Zakon o gradnji. Treba i mladima omogućiti život izvan gradova, brzi internet, prijevoz, vrtić i liječnike. Na kraju, Bruxelles ne može graditi stanove, ali ih ne smije poskupljivati kroz različite carine, namete i nove poreze. Na kraju, mladima treba prilika, a ne poklon.

2-0121-0000

Ilaria Salis (The Left). – Signor Presidente, le condizioni materiali di vita in Europa peggiorano continuamente. In Italia il carovita è diventato insostenibile. Da decenni non ci trovavamo in una situazione così grave.

Mentre milioni di persone e di famiglie fanno sempre più fatica ad arrivare a fine mese e mentre un'intera generazione ha davanti a sé prospettive peggiori rispetto ai propri genitori, una sparuta minoranza accumula ricchezze in maniera sempre più scandalosa.

Viviamo al tempo delle oligarchie. Le classi dirigenti neoliberiste avevano promesso prosperità e benessere: hanno fallito. E di fronte a questo fallimento epocale, adesso arrivano i fascisti, come sempre pronti a fare i cani da guardia dei padroni.

Ma i giovani, che ormai scendono in piazza ovunque, non si fanno più fregare. Ed è proprio per questo che le destre li temono e li odiano così tanto. Le nuove generazioni sanno bene che il problema è il capitalismo. Sanno bene che il problema è questo sistema ingiusto e antidemocratico, che concentra le ricchezze nelle mani di pochissimi a discapito di tutti gli altri.

A questi giovani va il mio ringraziamento, perché insieme a loro cambieremo il mondo.

(L'oratrice rifiuta una domanda "cartellino blu" di Arkadiusz Mularczyk)

2-0122-0000

Δημήτρης Τσιόδρας (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν μπορεί να προχωρά ερήμην των πολιτών της. Η ευρωπαϊκή πολιτική κρίνεται στην καθημερινότητα των πολιτών. Στο αν ένας νέος άνθρωπος μπορεί να βρει σπίτι, στο αν μια οικογένεια μπορεί να πληρώσει το ενοίκιο και τους λογαριασμούς της, στο αν η νέα γενιά βλέπει ένα καλύτερο μέλλον.

Και σε όλα αυτά υπάρχει πρόβλημα. Οι νεότερες γενιές βλέπουν την Ευρώπη να μένει πίσω από τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες και την Κίνα, ιδιαίτερα στους τομείς της τεχνολογίας. Και νιώθουν ότι θα ζήσουν χειρότερα από προηγούμενες γενιές. Για να δώσουμε προοπτική στη νέα γενιά, πρέπει να δημιουργήσουμε τις συνθήκες που θα της επιτρέψουν να αισιοδοξεί. Στην εποχή της τεχνητής νοημοσύνης, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν μπορεί να παραμένει σε δεύτερο πλάνο, με πρωταγωνιστές τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες και την Κίνα.

Χρειαζόμαστε επιστροφή της παραγωγής στην Ευρώπη, αύξηση του εισοδήματος και μια πραγματικά ενιαία αγορά, χωρίς εμπόδια που περιορίζουν τον ανταγωνισμό και την αγοραστική δύναμη των πολιτών. Χρειαζόμαστε αποτελεσματικές λύσεις για το υψηλό ενεργειακό κόστος που πλήττει νοικοκυριά και επιχειρήσεις, με επενδύσεις στα δίκτυα και στις υποδομές και με μια καλύτερα διασυνδεδεμένη και αποτελεσματικότερη ευρωπαϊκή αγορά ενέργειας.

Δεν μπορούμε να μιλάμε για ευρωπαϊκό κοινωνικό μοντέλο αν δεν μπορούμε να διασφαλίσουμε πρόσβαση σε αξιοπρεπή και οικονομικά προσιτή κατοικία για τη νέα γενιά. Γιατί η ευρωπαϊκή ιδέα κρίνεται από το κατά πόσο ο κάθε πολίτης βλέπει τον εαυτό του μέσα σ' αυτήν, και την καθημερινότητά του να βελτιώνεται.

(Ο αγορητής δέχεται να απαντήσει σε ερώτηση με γαλάζια κάρτα)

2-0123-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Panie pośle, pan tu stawia bardzo słuszne diagnozy kryzysu Unii Europejskiej oraz problemu młodych ludzi. Ale pan też pochodzi z Europejskiej Partii Ludowej, która od dekad rządzi Unią Europejską. Czy nie uważa pan, że to właśnie wpływ unijnej polityki, ETS-u, walki z ociepleniem klimatu powoduje, że w Europie mamy wysokie ceny energii, transportu, mieszkań, żywności, a w związku z tym kryzys, który dotyka młodych ludzi? Czy nie uważa pan, że wszystkie regulacje, które tu przyjmujemy, powinny mieć odniesienie do życia obywateli Unii Europejskiej?

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

2-0124-0000

Δημήτρης Τσιόδρας (PPE), *απάντηση σε ερώτηση με γαλάζια κάρτα***.** – Δεν πιστεύω ότι τα προβλήματα της Ευρώπης αφορούν ένα κόμμα και τις πολιτικές ενός κόμματος. Ξέρετε πολύ καλά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο λειτουργεί η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση —με 27 κράτη, με συγκεκριμένους θεσμούς και με πολύπλοκες διαδικασίες. Νομίζω ότι οι διαπιστώσεις που γίνονται πρέπει πράγματι να οδηγούν σε πολιτικές, και πιστεύω ότι και το Ευρωπαϊκό Λαϊκό Κόμμα κινείται στην κατεύθυνση του να βρεθούν λύσεις γι' αυτά τα προβλήματα όσον αφορά τόσο το στεγαστικό όσο και την κοινωνική συνοχή.

2-0125-0000

Marta Temido (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, este debate não pode ser apenas mais um debate.

Nós sabemos bem que a guerra da Ucrânia e a guerra do Irão provocaram um choque severo no preço do petróleo e do gás natural, que têm efeitos em cadeia nos custos do dia a dia, mas nós não estamos a proteger suficientemente os europeus desses efeitos.

Pelas nossas praças, pelas nossas cidades, novos, velhos, famílias, crianças saem à rua porque os salários que ganham não lhes permitem pagar uma casa, a fatura da eletricidade, os custos do supermercado.

Nós não podemos continuar a abster-nos de defender a criação de um imposto europeu sobre os lucros extraordinários das grandes energéticas. Nós precisamos de aliviar os custos das famílias e financiar medidas de transição limpa. E a única forma de o fazer é evitando transferências de lucros, distorções do mercado único e litígios que não conferem escala a um combate à inflação que é originada por esta via.

Vivemos uma emergência do modelo social europeu e, se não investirmos agora na proteção das nossas sociedades, na sua coesão (...)

(o Presidente retira a palavra à oradora)

2-0126-0000
President. – I will not give a blue card to those who already had a blue card during this debate. Thank you for understanding.

2-0127-0000
Francesco Torselli (ECR). – Signor Presidente, quando un giovane rinuncia a iscriversi all'università perché una stanza costa troppo o resta a casa dei genitori perché lo stipendio non basta per l'affitto, l'autonomia diventa un privilegio e a quel punto le ragioni di chi scende in piazza meritano rispetto e ascolto, ma a due condizioni.

La prima: che il dissenso non sfoci mai in violenza, perché quando si danneggiano negozi e attività, a pagare sono le persone che ci lavorano e il disagio economico non si combatte generando altro disagio economico.

La seconda: che si prenda atto di come sono cambiate le nostre città. Nella mia Firenze, dove la sinistra governa da 30 anni, nel 2010 gli studenti potevano contare su 4.000 alloggi pubblici, oggi gli alloggi per studenti sono 9.000, ma 4.200 di questi sono in studentati privati e di lusso. Perché? Di chi è la colpa?

Come legislatori, abbiamo il dovere di favorire il recupero a scopo abitativo degli immobili, perché il disagio non nasce dal nulla ma da decenni di politiche amministrative che hanno speculato sul patrimonio edilizio delle nostre città.

2-0128-0000
Eric Sargiacomo (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, ce week-end, des jeunes sont sortis, partout en Europe, dans la rue pour dénoncer la vie chère. Au même moment, le président du Conseil européen proposait 40 milliards de coupes supplémentaires dans le prochain budget européen. Le message est désastreux. Face à la précarité, la réponse ne peut pas être l'austérité. Où est la promesse de la prospérité pour la jeunesse en Europe?

Je parle souvent ici des agriculteurs et des pêcheurs, mais les combats se rejoignent. Ceux qui nous nourrissent, comme notre jeunesse, réclament une Europe qui protège, qui lutte contre la flambée des prix et l'inflation alimentaire.

Ces coupes toucheront aussi les associations, les banques alimentaires essentielles pour aider les plus précaires. Réduire leurs moyens, c'est abandonner davantage les personnes à la précarité. Nous devons au contraire réguler les marchés, anticiper les crises, constituer des stocks stratégiques pour protéger nos concitoyens de l'inflation alimentaire.

Cela exige aussi de nouvelles ressources propres pour financer nos politiques communes. La taxe sur les services numériques doit enfin aboutir. Notre jeunesse ne demande pas des discours, mais des perspectives. Donnons-lui les moyens de croire en son avenir.

2-0129-0000
Sander Smit (ECR). – Voorzitter, commissaris, Hanny moet deze winter haar verwarming op 10 graden zetten, omdat ze haar energierekening anders niet meer kan betalen. Wie van u hier heeft

dat ooit moeten doen? Energiearmoede is een keiharde werkelijkheid. De helft van de prijs in Nederland is een nationale energiebelasting. Toch houdt u vast aan de Green Deal, met straks in 2028 ook nog ETS op aardgas. Weer 15 % erbij.

Ja, wij willen energieonafhankelijk zijn. Maar door dit beleid, zonder voldoende inzet op kernenergie, laat u onze mensen en hun gezondheid deze winter in de kou zitten. Burgers geven ons een duidelijke boodschap. Ze willen een Europese Unie die voor hen werkt. Een Europese Unie waarin sparen en werken lonen en waarin gezinnen, ouderen en jongeren gewoon hun huis en verwarming kunnen betalen.

Commissaris, zet het belang van onze burgers, jong en oud, weer op één. Zie af van ETS 2. Stop hiermee.

2-0130-0000
President. – Colleagues who are asking for blue cards, I just would like to say if you were already a speaker or if you had a catch-the-eye registration, I will not give you the floor. So thank you, colleague Smit, you don't have a blue card according to my decision.

2-0131-0000
Marko Vešligaj (S&D). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, priuštivost je danas jedno od ključnih pitanja socijalne sigurnosti u Europi. Građani sve teže podmiruju troškove hrane, energenata i zdravstvenih potrepština. Radnici su pod prijetnjom umjetne inteligencije, a diskriminacija prožima naše društvo. I dok se jedni bore s rastućim troškovima, drugi na tim tržištima ostvaruju milijarde. Tu prednjači stambena kriza. Cijene nekretnina u Europskoj uniji posljednjih deset godina rasle su 65 %, a u Hrvatskoj, iz koje dolazim, cijene starih stanova narasle su čak za 163 %. Posljedice najviše osjećaju mladi, a posebice su izloženi studenti koji plaćaju preskupi najam. Kada student nema smještaj, onda mu je ugroženo pravo na obrazovanje. Kada mlada osoba ne može napustiti roditeljski dom, ona odgađa početak samostalnog života. Stoga kohezijska sredstva iz europskog proračuna moramo usmjeriti u javnu i priuštivu stanogradnju jer, nažalost, dopustili smo da dom i dostojanstven život postaju privilegija onih koji imaju isključivo najviše novaca. Zato se Europa mora vratiti temeljnim vrijednostima: solidarnosti, javnim ulaganjima i ljudima iznad profita.

2-0132-0000
Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0133-0000
Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, ako želimo smanjiti troškove života i troškove stanovanja, moramo smanjiti troškove energije, dakle troškove i grijanja i hlađenja stanova. Tu i jest problem, ako idemo s primjenom ETS2, za one koji se i dalje griju na plin ili na lož ulje jer će im to poskupjeti ako nemaju priuštive alternative. Jedna priuštiva alternativa bila bi geotermalna energija. I Komisija je predložila da će donijeti jedan akcijski plan o geotermalnoj energiji i s financijskim, naravno, sredstvima za tu namjenu. Međutim, to je najavila da će donijeti u svibnju pa je onda odgodila do lipnja, pa onda do rujna. I sada izgleda da od toga nema ništa ove godine, a nije to niti u programu Komisije za 2027. Stoga, ako želimo priuštivost, moramo ići s konkretnim mjerama, a prva je akcijski plan za geotermalnu energiju.

2-0134-0000
Romana Jerković (S&D). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, mladi diljem Europe sve glasnije poručuju da si ne mogu priuštiti vlastitu budućnost i imaju pravo. Kakva je to Europa u kojoj mladi rade, a

ne mogu si priuštiti stan? Kakva je to Europa u kojoj završetak obrazovanja ne znači ujedno i sigurnost, već nesigurne ugovore i neplaćena pripravništva? Zar rad ne bi trebao osigurati dostojanstven život, a ne biti svakodnevna borba za pokrivanje osnovnih troškova? Mi doista trebamo konkretne mjere, a ne više prazne riječi. Treba nam direktiva o pripravništvu koja će stati na kraj iskorištavanju mladih i osigurati poštenu naknadu za njihov rad. Kao što trebamo i Zakon o kvalitetnim radnim mjestima koji će ojačati prava radnika, sigurnost zaposlenja i kolektivno pregovaranje. Mi ne možemo govoriti o europskoj konkurentnosti i gospodarskom rastu, dok mladi žive gore od vlastitih roditelja. Europa mora prestati od mladih tražiti da se stalno prilagođavaju sve težim uvjetima života. Mi smo ti koji moramo prilagoditi uvjete njihovim potrebama.

2-0135-0000

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, Euroopan kaduilla ryöstellään, omaisuutta tuhotaan, katuja poltetaan ja poliiseja pahoinpidellään. Usein syyn kerrotaan olevan nuorten pahoinvoinnissa tai elinkustannuksissa, opiskelijoiden huolissa taikka eriarvoisuudessa. Kyllä, todellisia ongelmia, mutta ne eivät anna oikeutta muuttaa kaduistamme maanpäällistä helvettiä.

Miksihän tämä sekoilu painottuu Ranskaan, Saksaan ja muuhun Länsi-Eurooppaan? No, vastuuttomalla maahanmuuttopolitiikalla on seurauksensa. Hyvä vihervasemmisto, tekosyynne loppuvat. Ottakaa päänne pois pensaasta, tunnustakaa tosiasia, ja tehdään päätöksiä, joilla lopetetaan Eurooppaa tuhoava haittamaahanmuutto. On täysin mahdollista, että Länsi-Eurooppa ja vapaan liikkuvuuden Schengen-alue eivät pian enää mahdu samaan lauseeseen.

2-0136-0000

Katrin Langensiepen (Verts/ALE). – Herr Präsident! Wie viel Angst muss man vor der eigenen Bevölkerung haben? Wie viele Staaten haben Angst vor jungen Leuten, die gerade auf die Straße gehen? Es ist Angst – Angst, dass sie zum wiederholten Mal ihre Stimme erheben. Und das tun nicht nur diejenigen am Stadtrand. Ich habe vor 20 Jahren in Marseille in den *Quartiers Nord* gelebt, und schon da gab es Unruhe, Unmut. Und die ist berechtigt. Das ist nicht irgendwas, was man sich einbildet. Ja, wenn die Parkbank, die Bank an der Bushaltestelle der einzige Ort ist für junge Leute, die wenig Geld haben, der einzige Ort ist, sich da mit Freunden zu treffen, oder vielleicht gerade nicht der Ort für junge Leute ist, um sich an dieser Parkbank zu treffen, dann ist es ein Armutszeugnis.

Und wenn wir in verrotteten Schulen das als Bildung verkaufen wollen, dort Lehrerinnen und Lehrer arbeiten lassen, dann ist das ein Armutszeugnis für die Europäische Union. Und es hat nichts damit zu tun – oder ein Argument gelten zu lassen, naja in anderen Ländern, da haben sie ja gar kein Bildungssystem, in anderen Ländern ist es ja noch schlechter –, das hilft den jungen Menschen in Spanien, in Frankreich, in Deutschland gar nichts. Die Menschen gehen auf die Straße, weil es eine soziale Ungerechtigkeit gibt. Und der ESF muss hier eingreifen, gestärkt werden und nicht verwässert.

2-0137-0000

Έλενα Κουντουρά (The Left). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η Ευρώπη βρίσκεται σε κατάσταση κοινωνικής έκτακτης ανάγκης. Η ανεξέλεγκτη ακρίβεια, η μείωση της αγοραστικής δύναμης των πολιτών, η ενεργειακή αλλά και η στεγαστική κρίση, η οικονομική ασφυξία των αγροτών και των μικρομεσαίων επιχειρήσεων διογκώνονται συνεχώς.

Εκατομμύρια πολίτες, κυρίως νέοι, διαδηλώνουν διεκδικώντας αξιοπρεπή διαβίωση. Πώς να σχεδιάσει ένας νέος το μέλλον του, όταν δεν μπορεί να βρει οικονομικά προσιτή στέγη; Όταν διαμένει στο πατρικό του σπίτι μέχρι τα 31 του; Όταν τα χρήματα δεν του φτάνουν ούτε μέχρι τα μισά του μήνα;

Χρειαζόμαστε άμεσα οριζόντια ευρωπαϊκά μέτρα για να μειωθούν οι τιμές της ενέργειας και των βασικών αγαθών, να χτυπηθούν τα καρτέλ και να φορολογηθούν τα υπερκέρδη των ενεργειακών εταιρειών. Να θεσπίσουμε μια φιλόδοξη πράξη για ποιοτικές θέσεις εργασίας και να εξασφαλίσουμε ισχυρή ευρωπαϊκή χρηματοδότηση για την καταπολέμηση της φτώχειας και την κοινωνική συνοχή. Και τέλος, χρειαζόμαστε ουσιαστικό έλεγχο των ενοικίων, προστασία της πρώτης κατοικίας και ευρωπαϊκές επενδύσεις για την κατασκευή κοινωνικών κατοικιών.

2-0138-0000

Özlem Demirel (The Left). – Herr Präsident! Wenn die Konservativen und Rechten im Hause Angst haben, dann ist wieder einmal klar, die Jugend geht auf die Straße. Auch in Deutschland protestiert inzwischen die *Gen Z*. Und ich muss ehrlich sagen, ich habe noch nie erlebt, wie vor einer Protestaktion so viel Angst in den Medien und von Politikerinnen gegen Demonstrationen von jungen Menschen geschürt wurde. Das war unsäglich. Die Jugend hat recht, wenn sie auf die Straße geht für eine bessere Zukunft, für Bildungsgerechtigkeit, gegen Sozialabbau – und ja, auch gegen Militarisierung. Milliarden werden in Aufrüstung gesteckt und gleichzeitig wird gekürzt in der Bildung, in der Gesundheit, in der sozialen Infrastruktur. So kann es nicht weitergehen.

Rosa Luxemburg sagte einst: „Nur wer sich bewegt, wird auch seine Fesseln spüren." Die Jugend heute spürt ihre Fesseln, wenn sie für gute Bildung auf die Straße geht, aber ihr mit Knüppeln in Frankreich begegnet wird. Die Jugend spürt, dass ihnen keine Perspektiven geboten werden – aber sie festigt ihre Position und ihre Forderungen. Und das, lieber Herr Präsident, macht Hoffnung. Und Hoffnung ist das, was die Jugend mobilisiert.

2-0139-0000

Petras Gražulis (ESN). – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, ponai europarlamentarai, krikščionys demokratai, pakeitę savo pavadinimą į Liaudies partiją, ir buvę komunistai socialdemokratai. Jūs daugiau kaip 30 metų valdote Europą ir jūs ją griaunat. Jūs uždarėte atomines elektrines. Jūs sukėlėte kainas Europoje. Net Lietuvoje, jūsų pastangų dėka uždaryta atominė elektrinė. Mes turėtume ją atnaujinti, statyti naujas atomines elektrines. Tik dabar, po 30 metų, U. von der Leyen pripažino, kad tai didžiausia sisteminė klaida. Jūs, kurie sugriovėte Europą, kurie įvedėte žalią kursą, griaunate verslą. Jūs esate atsakingi! Jeigu būsto trūksta, jūs statykite. Bet ir čia apraizgę įvairiausiais biurokratiniais mechanizmais – leidimus gauti reikia laukti metų metus, gal ir dešimt, kad leidimą gautum būstui.

2-0140-0000

Georgia Tramacere (S&D). – Signor Presidente, dal 2015 i prezzi delle case dell'Unione europea sono aumentati di quasi il 70%; gli affitti del 25%. I redditi? Molto, molto meno. Gli affitti a breve termine: più 93% tra il 2018 e il 2024.

In Italia, 3 milioni di persone spendono per la casa più del 40% di quello che guadagnano. Non sono numeri, sono vite messe in pausa. Sono giovani che rimandano tutto: il lavoro, l'autonomia, il futuro che avevano immaginato. E finché in quest'Aula non capiremo che i giovani in piazza hanno ragione, questi numeri continueremo a ripeterli.

Abbiamo costruito l'Europa su una promessa chiara: che i giovani potessero muoversi, potessero studiare, potessero viaggiare. Che cosa resta di quella promessa se oggi non riescono neanche a lasciare la casa dei loro genitori?

Noi abbiamo una responsabilità enorme: ascoltarli e poi agire con misure concrete, con più alloggi accessibili, con regole serie sugli affitti brevi, con investimenti europei sulla casa.

I giovani non ci stanno chiedendo un favore: ci stanno chiedendo un futuro.

2-0141-0000
Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, comisaria Mînzatu, en el fondo, este debate —de nuevo— es sobre el malestar que recorre Europa y, sobre todo, la cólera de los jóvenes, que se manifiestan por el empeoramiento de las condiciones de vida y, sobre todo, por el muro especulativo que les hace imposible el acceso a una vivienda asequible.

Por tanto, se necesitan medidas dirigidas a los jóvenes, como la Directiva sobre los períodos de prácticas para garantizar a los becarios condiciones dignas. Es también correcto, como lo será —sin duda— la Ley de Empleo de Calidad. Pero nada será creíble sin una dotación financiera en el próximo marco, un fondo social europeo e inversiones suficientes para la política de vivienda asequible.

Un último punto: lo que la Unión Europea puede hacer —y solo la Unión Europea puede— es intervenir el mercado de capitales para impedir el acaparamiento abusivo de los fondos buitre, de los fondos de inversión de viviendas de uso especulativo, que impiden que se materialice el derecho social por el que claman los jóvenes y por lo que se están manifestando en toda Europa.

Por tanto, esa es la medida que la Unión Europea puede aportar a los Estados miembros.

2-0142-0000
Sabrina Repp (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Mich frustriert diese Debatte wahnsinnig. Junge Menschen gehen auf die Straße, weil sie Angst vor ihrer Zukunft haben und weil sie das Vertrauen in uns als Politikerinnen verloren haben, dass wir diejenigen sind, die ihre Probleme adressieren und die sie tatsächlich lösen. Dabei geht es um bezahlbaren Wohnraum; dabei geht es um tatsächliche Perspektiven in der Bildung; dabei geht es um Chancengerechtigkeit.

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wir haben jetzt viel gehört. Aber was junge Menschen fordern, sind konkrete Handlungen! Und das bedeutet auch, dass wir bei den Verhandlungen zum künftigen EU-Haushalt junge Menschen beachten. Es kann doch nicht sein, dass nur 2 % des Budgets in Erasmus + gehen, was direkt für junge Menschen da ist. Wir müssen insbesondere in der Kohäsionspolitik, im Europäischen Sozialfonds darauf achten, dass junge Menschen davon profitieren können. Es ist ein Warnsignal, dass junge Menschen auf die Straßen gehen. Und wir müssen diese jungen Menschen in das Herz dieser europäischen Demokratie bringen. Und das bedeutet auch: konkrete Zusprüche machen, was den EU-Haushalt angeht und nicht darüber einfach wegwischen und gar Kürzungen befürworten.

2-0143-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0144-0000
Roxana Mînzatu, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission***.** – Mr President, I think all our work in the Commission, in the Parliament and in the Council was somehow touched on in the debate today. I would try to reflect a few of the directions of action that young people and citizens in general expect from all of us – the Commission, Parliament, governments, city halls, regions. If we don't act together, they will never feel tangible results. Beyond appreciating the strength of the calls today, we need to act together so that we can deliver concrete results.

On the cost of living, looking at the long-term measures, we need to make sure that what we propose in terms of energy – the electrification package – really is put into place. We looked at the cost of energy, of electricity. Do you know how much tax is part of this cost? Do you know how many times my colleague, Commissioner Jørgensen, called on Member States to reduce the taxes in this structure? Indeed, the energy mix is important – it's not my portfolio. Nuclear was a big part of the discussion here. It is important that, in the context of the Strait of Hormuz pushing a lot of our inflation of job creation, we are able to be reliant on a good balance of energy sources.

On short-term actions: I have mentioned this earlier with the European Semester Spring Package, we gave Member States an escape clause possibility so that they can support vulnerable households facing high energy prices. This is something that needs to be used. Supply of housing: of course, we want a big MFF that would be able to support all these needs. We already have investment through the cohesion policy in housing infrastructure. With the mid-term review that my colleague, Vice-President Fitto performed, we brought the total amount of some EUR 15 billion into housing, but of course we need much more. For much more, we need to do it also at the European Investment Bank, and see how we can leverage their resources. We need to have a debate with our young people on the revenues of the MFF, so that we can have, in the end, a big amount to spend on all of these priorities. We have seen the negoboxes, and the evolutions in the Council, and the demand for cuts, unfortunately. Then, my colleague Jørgensen presented the Affordable Housing Act so that we can, in the limits of our competences, give the possibility to regions to really limit the impact of empty buildings on the prices of housing, while young people cannot afford rent.

Talking a bit about how we can use our state aid rules, we introduced the category of affordable housing as an investment where public money can be used – not just social housing, but affordable housing – so that we can boost the supply. Looking back at young people that are students, many times I've said that Erasmus is important, but we need to combine it with the European Social Fund Plus. In some countries we do it to top up the scholarships, and we will launch a pilot on Erasmus, working with authorities, with cities where we have a big housing stress, so that together we can give these students targeted support. These are very concrete examples that will become reality once we are able to go from calls to action very fast together.

2-0145-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, this is a timely and important debate, as we have a duty to listen to our citizens of all corners of Europe and of all ages. In particular, we have to listen to the most vulnerable – those who have often had difficulties making their voices heard.

This is not only about listening: we also have to provide credible solutions for them – solutions that make a difference. While Ireland is no longer leading negotiations on the multiannual financial framework, during our presidency, it was clear to us that Member States fully agree on the importance of European funding and our common response to the cost-of-living challenge. It provides significant support to Member States and also a number of essential regional, local and non-governmental actors in their efforts in this field.

Delivering on affordability is a shared responsibility, and the Council stands ready to work closely with the Parliament and the Commission, starting with the education and skills package.

2-0146-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

2-0147-0000
(The sitting was briefly suspended)

2-0149-0000

IN THE CHAIR: JAVI LÓPEZ
Vice-President

5. Resumption of the sitting

2-0151-0000
(The sitting resumed at 12:03)

6. Voting time

2-0153-0000
President. – The next item is the vote.

6.1 Market stability reserve for the EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS): ceasing the invalidation of allowances (A10-0230/2026 - Pierfrancesco Maran) (vote)

2-0155-0000
President. – The first vote is on the market stability reserve for the EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS): ceasing the invalidation of allowances *(see minutes, item 6.1)*.

2-0156-0000
– *Before the vote:*

2-0157-0000
Pierfrancesco Maran, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, today we are putting the first piece of the ETS puzzle in place, and today's vote comes just after the disappointing outcome of COP31 in Antalya. It was the first time since 2009 that a Climate Change Conference ended without an agreement. However, even in this critical moment, we must continue to defend the multilateral approach and our climate policies.

Now more than ever, Europe leadership is essential, but we are only credible if our ambition is matched by effective instruments that transform our economy. The EU ETS is a good example of that. It is one of Europe's achievements: decreasing emissions, accelerating decarbonisation and increasing investment in clean technologies. And it's a model that other regions and countries are following. Currently, around 40 ETS systems operate worldwide, covering about a quarter of global emissions. That is why we need to defend the ETS, and the best way to do so is to ensure the instruments that underpin it keep on delivering for industry and climate.

The market stability reserve is one of these key instruments. It gives stability and balance to the system by intervening when the world is hit by uncertainty. So today's decision strengthens this role. It defends a pillar of European climate policy and gives the industry the predictability it needs. And importantly, today's vote shows that we can build compromise to strengthen Europe's role as a leader, keeping together climate ambition and support to industry. I want to thank our shadow rapporteurs and colleagues, and I hope the spirit will continue to guide the ongoing ETS reforms.

6.2 Amending certain Regulations as regards the extension of certain mitigating measures available for small and medium sized enterprises to small mid-cap enterprises and further simplification measures (Omnibus IV) (A10-0041/2026 - Mariateresa Vivaldini, Niels Flemming Hansen, Lukas Mandl) (vote)

2-0159-0000

President. – The next vote is on amending certain regulations as regards the extension of certain mitigating measures available for small and medium-sized enterprises to small mid-cap enterprises and further simplification measures (Omnibus IV) *(see minutes, item 6.2)*.

2-0160-0000

– *Before the vote:*

2-0161-0000

Mariateresa Vivaldini, *relatrice***.** – Signor Presidente, colleghi, con l'Omnibus IV facciamo una scelta precisa: meno burocrazia, più libertà di fare impresa.

Cambiamo approccio rispetto al passato: le regole europee devono sostenere le imprese, non ostacolarne la crescita. Col riconoscimento delle *small mid-caps*, introduciamo nuove semplificazioni per quelle imprese che crescono e superano le dimensioni delle piccole e medie imprese, senza compromettere le risorse destinate a queste ultime.

Riduciamo gli oneri burocratici, che pesano sugli imprenditori, sul loro tempo e sulle loro risorse, liberando energie per investire, innovare e creare occupazione e puntando a generare risparmi complessivi per circa 35 miliardi di euro.

Gli accordi raggiunti in trilogo, sia sul regolamento che sulla direttiva, sono il risultato di un lavoro intenso e costruttivo, per cui desidero ringraziare i colleghi e correlatori Lukas Mandl, Niels Hansen e Kristian Vigenin per la proficua collaborazione che ci ha permesso di raggiungere risultati importanti per le nostre imprese.

2-0162-0000

Niels Flemming Hansen, *rapporteur***.** – *(Start of speech off mic)* … and the Council for constructive and good negotiations. Mario Draghi told us that Europe is a good place for starting companies, but we needed help to make them grow. Today, we take the first concrete recommendation from this report and make it a reality. For the first time, EU law recognises small mid-cap companies too big to be an SME and too small to be treated like the biggest. Take our battery companies: with less paperwork they will have more energy left to power Europe's future. And now I will switch to Danish.

Hr. formand! Budskabet er ret enkelt: færre regler for flere virksomheder. Vi skal ikke straffe virksomhederne for at vokse, og det her er kun begyndelsen. Nu står kategorien i EU-lovgivningen, og vi har tænkt os at bruge den langt, langt mere.

2-0164-0000

Lukas Mandl, *Berichterstatter***.** – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist ein guter Tag für die europäische Wirtschaft heute, weil wir weitermachen auf dem Weg der Entbürokratisierung. Wenn ein Unternehmen in Europa gegründet wird und funktioniert, wenn es Arbeitsplätze schafft und Wohlstand ermöglicht, wenn es unserem

europäischen Sozialmodell beim Wachsen hilft und unsere Zivilisation unterstützt, dann muss es auch kapitalisiert werden können. Dann muss es wachsen können, ohne Europa zu verlassen und auch ohne durch Bürokratisierung eingeschränkt zu werden. Das ist es, was dieses vierte Omnibuspaket möglich macht.

Ich darf sagen, es war eine Freude, das mit meinen Ko-Berichterstattern Mariateresa Vivaldini und Niels Flemming Hansen zusammen für das Europäische Parlament zu verhandeln. Ich freue mich darüber, dass sich am Schluss auch Kommissar Séjourné ganz, ganz klar für die europäische Wirtschaft und damit auch für die Arbeitsplätze und das Sozialsystem positioniert hat. Heute sendet das Europäische Parlament ein weiteres wichtiges Signal für Wirtschaft und Aufschwung.

6.3 Amending certain Directives as regards the extension of certain mitigating measures available for small and medium sized enterprises to small mid-cap enterprises and further simplifying measures (Omnibus IV) (A10-0034/2026 - Mariateresa Vivaldini, Kristian Vigenin) (vote)

2-0166-0000

President. – The next vote is on amending certain directives as regards the extension of certain mitigating measures available for small and medium-sized enterprises to small mid-cap enterprises and further simplifying measures (Omnibus IV) *(see minutes, item 6.3)*.

2-0167-0000

– *Before the vote:*

2-0168-0000

Kristian Vigenin, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, colleagues, the changes to the Critical Entities Resilience Directive will extend proportionate support to small mid-cap enterprises, including guidance and administrative assistance from national authorities. This matters for companies providing essential services in energy, transport and water, which need expertise and resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

I recommend that we approve the agreement. Looking at the Omnibus IV package as a whole, we have agreed targeted simplification for growing businesses while preserving essential safeguards. On GDPR, we preserved record-keeping for high-risk processing and kept the obligation for public authorities. I would like to thank all co-rapporteurs and shadows for the constructive work.

I also have a message for the Commission: repeatedly reopening legislation creates more legal uncertainty for the very companies we are trying to help, as well as for citizens who need to have confidence that the rights and protections we have established will not be constantly called into question. Please stop bringing forward one omnibus after another. Put that effort into proper consultation and thorough impact assessment. We need better laws from the start.

6.4 Amending certain Directives as regards digitalisation and common specifications (Omnibus IV) (A10-0023/2026 - Reinier Van Lanschot) (vote)

2-0170-0000

President. – The next vote is on amending certain directives as regards digitalisation and common specifications (Omnibus IV) *(see minutes, item 6.4)*.

2-0171-0000
– *Before the vote:*

2-0172-0000
Reinier Van Lanschot, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, dear colleagues, it doesn't happen often, but this cut in red tape really is a win-win-win. From the left to the right, federalists to nationalists, one thing unites us: when we buy a vacuum, a coffee machine or a dishwasher, we all throw the thick paper manual with its 20 different languages straight into the bin, unless perhaps you're an IMCO Committee nerd who loves product legislation like myself.

Thanks to this law, we save paper because manuals can go digital. Every year, that's EUR 300 million saved for companies; that's 900 000 trees uncut – enough to make Robin Hood, the Ents and Ewoks very happy. And consumers stay protected: safety information stays on paper, and anyone can still request a paper manual for free. This is what simplification can look like: not changing the rules halfway, not tearing down protections for people and nature; just improving what's there. Companies win, the planet wins, consumers win.

This law is also a win for our independence. We live in a new world order where foreign powers map our weak spots to twist our arm. And Europe cannot afford to be a paper tiger. Our standards, the guidelines our companies follow, are one of those weak spots, so we build in a safeguard. If China or the US paralyses international standardisation, Europe can still deliver for its companies.

In Japan, they say, if you fold a thousand paper cranes, you get to make a wish. Colleagues, I am a few paper cranes short, but my wish is for a united Europe that protects its nature, businesses and citizens as well as this file does. Thank you to all colleagues who made, I hope, this broad majority possible.

6.5 Amending certain Regulations as regards digitalisation and common specifications (Omnibus IV) (A10-0024/2026 - Reinier Van Lanschot) (vote)

2-0174-0000
President. – The next vote is on amending certain regulations as regards digitalisation and common specifications (Omnibus IV) *(see minutes, item 6.5)*.

6.6 Speeding-up environmental assessments (Omnibus VIII on environmental legislation) (A10-0290/2026 - Emma Ytterell) (vote)

2-0176-0000
President. – The next vote is on speeding up environmental assessments (Omnibus VIII on environmental legislation) *(see minutes, item 6.6)*.

2-0177-0000
– *Before the vote:*

2-0178-0000
Jeroen Lenaers, *on behalf of the PPE Group***.** – Mr President, I would like to propose under Rule 206(4), to adjourn the vote on this report until tomorrow. I think there is still some room to improve the potential outcome of the vote tomorrow. There is a lot of back and forth going on

and I think a little bit of time would be helpful in order to coordinate better in this House, so I would ask to adjourn the vote until tomorrow.

2-0179-0000
Emma Ytterell, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, as rapporteur, I approve of this postponement or request for postponing. But, colleagues, I am astonished by the working methods of this House. The lack of respect towards each other, towards me as rapporteur, and from your groups, towards your shadow. A deal should be a deal. We should be able to trust each other in this process and the lack of trust that this creates, it's totally unacceptable.

2-0180-0000
(Parliament approved the request to adjourn the vote)

6.7 Organic production: amending certain production, labelling and certification rules and certain rules on trade with third countries (A10-0209/2026 - Camilla Laureti) (vote)

2-0182-0000
President. – The next vote is on the report on organic production: amending certain production, labelling and certification rules and certain rules on trade with third countries *(see minutes, item 6.7)*.

2-0183-0000
– *Before the vote:*

2-0184-0000
Camilla Laureti, *relatrice***.** – Signor Presidente, oggi votiamo l'accordo sulla revisione delle regole europee per il settore biologico.

Voglio ringraziare i relatori ombra e la presidenza irlandese, perché abbiamo raggiunto questo obiettivo in poche – anche se intense – settimane di lavoro ed era necessario per evitare che al 31 dicembre saltassero gli accordi di equivalenza che abbiamo con undici Paesi terzi e che consentono all'agricoltura biologica europea di essere leader nel commercio internazionale.

I terreni coltivati a biologico in Europa sono l'11% della superficie agricola totale e siamo lontani da quell'obiettivo che ci siamo dati del 25% entro il 2030. Ma la vendita di prodotti biologici in Europa, solo nel 2024, ha toccato una cifra record: 58,7 miliardi di euro: +4,1%.

Carlin Petrini, fondatore di Slow Food, ci parlava del diritto a un cibo buono, pulito e giusto. Ecco: il biologico è un modello produttivo per un cibo buono, salutare, pulito – perché prodotto rispettando l'ambiente – e giusto – perché prodotto rispettando i diritti di chi lavora nei campi.

Colleghi, con questo regolamento abbiamo fatto modifiche per facilitare il lavoro dei piccoli rivenditori del biologico, abbiamo chiarito alcune norme settoriali e garantito la condivisione di buone pratiche per evitare la contaminazione. Abbiamo dato seguito alle priorità del settore e scongiurato interventi che avrebbero messo in dubbio la credibilità del logo biologico.

È un risultato importante, che abbiamo raggiunto anche grazie alla cooperazione con la Commissione europea, con il commissario Hansen e chiedo a voi di sostenerlo con un'ampia maggioranza per dare un segnale chiaro agli operatori biologici europei.

6.8 Protection of the Union's financial interests in the post-2027 multiannual financial framework through the revision of the anti-fraud architecture (A10-0288/2026 - Tomáš Zdechovský, Dick Erixon) (vote)

2-0186-0000
President. – The next vote is on the protection of the Union's financial interests in the post-2027 multiannual financial framework through the revision of the anti-fraud architecture *(see minutes, item 6.8)*.

6.9 Multiannual plan for the fisheries exploiting demersal stocks in the western Mediterranean Sea (A10-0279/2026 - Carmen Crespo Díaz) (vote)

2-0188-0000
President. – The final vote is on the multiannual plan for the fisheries exploiting demersal stocks in the western Mediterranean Sea *(see minutes, item 6.9)*.

2-0189-0000
(The vote closed)

2-0190-0000
(The sitting was briefly suspended)

7. Resumption of the sitting

2-0193-0000
(The sitting resumed at 12:34)

8. 2027 budgetary procedure: joint text (debate)

2-0195-0000
President. – The next item is the debate on the report by Nils Ušakovs and Michalis Hadjipantela, on behalf of the European Parliament delegation to the Conciliation Committee, on the 2027 budgetary procedure: joint text (11547/2026 – C10-0314/2026 – 2026/0196(BUD)) (A10-0305/2026).

2-0196-0000
Johan Van Overtveldt, *voorzitter van de commissie BUDG.* – Voorzitter, commissaris, collega's, een begroting is meer dan een optelsom van uitgaven en inkomsten. Ze toont welke keuzes we maken, welke problemen we ernstig nemen en vooral op welke toekomst we ons voorbereiden. Het akkoord over de Europese begroting voor 2027 voorziet in afgerond 200 miljard aan vastleggingen en 212 miljard aan betalingen. Dit is een stijging met respectievelijk 2,2 en 4,3% ten opzichte van 2026. De begroting bevat extra en welgekomen accenten op onderzoek, grensbeheer en veiligheid. Want de belangrijkste vraag is niet zozeer hoeveel geld Europa nu uitgeeft, maar of de middelen besteed worden aan de juiste prioriteiten. Daarover moeten we voortdurend kritisch durven zijn.

Wanneer we de verdeling van de vastleggingskredieten bekijken, stellen we vast dat bijna 58,5 miljard naar economische, sociale en territoriale cohesie gaat en 57 miljard naar landbouw. Daartegenover staat dan 22 miljard voor de brede begrotingsrubriek "Interne markt, innovatie en digitalisering" en iets meer dan 3 miljard voor de specifieke rubriek "Veiligheid en defensie". Uiteraard omvatten die laatste begrotingsrubrieken niet alle uitgaven die bijdragen aan onze concurrentiekracht en veiligheid. Maar de onderlinge verhoudingen illustreren wel hoe sterk de Europese begroting nog steeds wordt bepaald door beleidskeuzes uit het verleden. Beleidskeuzes kunnen hun historische bestaansredenen hebben, maar sluiten daarom nog niet optimaal aan op wat de behoeften van vandaag zijn. Want de wereld waarin de structuur van het huidige meerjarig financieel kader tot stand kwam, is allang niet meer de wereld waarin we vandaag leven. De oorlog in Oekraïne, toenemende geopolitieke spanningen, technologische rivaliteit en structurele concurrentieproblemen van onze economie hebben de Europese prioriteiten grondig veranderd.

Ik herinner er ook aan dat de doorgedreven – en op sommige punten zelfs doorgeslagen – klimaatambities van de vorige zittingsperiode de concurrentiekracht van onze bedrijven absoluut geen deugd gedaan hebben. Ondertussen blijven de verwachtingen ten aanzien van de Europese begroting alleen maar toenemen. We vragen Europa om meer te doen op het vlak van defensie, op het vlak van veiligheid, innovatie, energie en zeker ook geopolitieke weerbaarheid. Maar we blijven daarbij telkens grotendeels vertrekken vanuit de begrotingsstructuur die eigenlijk gedateerd is.

Collega's, de begroting voor 2027 is de laatste binnen het huidige meerjarig financieel kader. Dit mag een moment van reflectie zijn, niet alleen over hoeveel middelen Europa nodig heeft, maar vooral over wat Europa met die middelen moet doen.

2-0197-0000

Nils Ušakovs, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, Commissioner, Council, colleagues, every EU budget rapporteur dreams of a record increase for every possible EU programme. This year we did not set that record, but we did set another one: almost 22 hours of consultation, until 06:40 in the morning.

Thank you to the shadow rapporteurs, coordinators, teams, the secretariat, our Chair, Johan Van Overtveldt, and the rapporteur for the other sections, Michalis Hadjipantela, for your support, patience and endurance both through that night and throughout this challenging year. Thank you to the Irish Presidency for your willingness to find a solution, despite severely limited flexibility in dealing with Member States. Thank you, Commissioner Serafin, and your team for actively working towards this complicated compromise.

Colleagues, the reinforcements we negotiated, some of the main positions: EUR 14 million more for Erasmus+, support for young farmers, EU4Health, Creative Europe, workers' organisations, EUR 21.5 million for Horizon Europe, EUR 22.5 million for transport and energy networks, EUR 25 million more for border management, EUR 10 million for internal security and another EUR 10 million for military mobility, EUR 13.5 million for civil protection, EUR 2 million for the European Public Prosecutor's Office, EUR 30 million for humanitarian aid and an additional EUR 10 million for LIFE.

Working on the budget, we also pushed to find ways to provide support to eastern border Member States, hoping for results either in 2027 or in the next MFF. We welcome the fact that President Costa's new MFF proposal recognises support for regions bordering Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. That was exactly the position Members of this House voted for.

Colleagues, next year's budget closes this MFF with a 0.99 % share of GNI, the smallest annual budget in recent history – below even the 1 % mark demanded by the most frugal capitals. One may think that 0.99 % is enough to get by, but it falls short of the ambition our Union should aim for, especially if we want to remain one of the world's leading powers. So 0.99 % should not become a benchmark: that is why the proposed 0.97 % for the next MFF is so worrying.

Tomorrow is the vote. Amid economic pressures, wars, domestic politics across Member States, reversing EUR 1 billion in Council cuts and adding EUR 300 million for EU programmes above the Commission's draft proposal is a realistic and respectable outcome – worth 22 hours of conciliation – and we will not be ashamed to face Europeans. Support the budget tomorrow during the vote and thank you once again.

2-0198-0000

Michalis Hadjipantela, *rapporteur***.** – Mr President, dear colleagues, we are at the end of a lengthy and demanding process. The negotiations on the 2027 European Union budget required months of work, difficult negotiations and, at times, very tough choices. A budget is never just about numbers and allocations; it is about the priorities we set and the results we deliver for European citizens. Also, we must always remember that we are managing taxpayers' money. This demands transparency as well as accountability.

The final stage of these negotiations was particularly challenging, but at the most decisive moment, early in the morning, responsibility prevailed. That is what about-turned this agreement into a workable outcome. When the agreement was at risk, we assumed responsibility and have steered the negotiations towards unity and a balanced outcome. We can readily be proud of that approach. It shows that when we work together, we can find common ground and we deliver.

As rapporteur for the other sections of the 2027 budget, I would like to underline what this agreement means. This is the final budget of the current MFF. Our institutions must, therefore, have the capacity to fulfil their responsibilities today, while preparing for the challenges that lie ahead in the future. Those challenges are real. Europe faces a changing security environment, growing geopolitical uncertainty and rapid technological change. We must be able to protect our buildings, our people, our communications and our sensitive information. This will safeguard our independence and allow us to continue serving our citizens effectively.

We have, therefore, worked to ensure that the operational needs of our institutions are properly recognised and addressed. This includes stronger institutional security as well as the capacity to respond to the challenges posed by digitalisation and artificial intelligence. A well-functioning European administration means delivering results for European citizens. Secure institutions, effective digital capabilities and the proper implementation of European policies helps to protect citizens' rights and strengthen democratic accountability.

This agreement is a balanced compromise. I am proud that through dialogue and a shared sense of responsibility, we have reached this compromise position. I ask you to support this agreement. Let us show that that we can disagree, negotiate, and ultimately find common ground in the interest of the European Union and its citizens.

2-0199-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, Vice-President, honourable Members, Commissioner, it is a pleasure to address you today on the occasion of the European Parliament's debate on the general budget of the European Union for the financial year 2027. I would like to express the Council's satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the

conciliatory procedure, with an agreement reached in the morning of 11 November, following long and intensive negotiations.

This positive outcome is a clear demonstration that our three institutions can collaborate in a spirit of mutual understanding and loyal cooperation. Throughout the negotiations, we remained committed to finding common ground and reaching an agreement that would allow the Union to address the challenges and priorities of the final year of the current multiannual financial framework. The agreement reached strikes the right balance: equipping the Union with the means to act decisively, responding to the needs of its citizens and investing in their future, while avoiding additional burden on national budgets and taxpayers.

The budget for 2027 safeguards the Union's ability to cope with ongoing crises and challenges, such as those in Ukraine and the Middle East. It will also allow the EU to deal with unforeseen circumstances. Our resources will be concentrated on initiatives that deliver tangible results, strengthen our common resilience and protect what matters most to Europeans: peace, security and prosperity.

Of course, reaching this agreement was no easy task. It required difficult compromises and the final outcome was not equally easy to accept for all Member States. This is a reminder that in an increasingly unpredictable geopolitical and economic environment, we must remain vigilant and preserve the flexibility needed to respond to evolving circumstances and emerging challenges.

Looking back at the past months, I would like to underline the constructive spirit that characterised our cooperation – both in formal meetings and through our informal contacts. Both sides of the table were ready to engage constructively to reach an agreement and work together towards practical solutions.

Following the successful outcome of the Conciliation Committee, I am pleased to inform you that the joint text was formally approved by the Council yesterday, 23 November. The Council now looks forward to the European Parliament's approval of the joint text. This will allow the general budget for the financial year 2027 to be formally adopted within the deadlines laid down in the Treaty, ensuring that the Union can begin the new financial year on a sound and orderly basis.

Coming to the end of my intervention, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Chair of the European Parliament's Committee on Budgets, Johan Van Overtveldt, to the rapporteurs, Nils Ušakovs and Michalis Hadjipantela, and to their teams for their commitment and good cooperation throughout the negotiations. Finally, I would like to express my particular appreciation to you, Commissioner Serafin, and to your team for your valuable support and your efforts as an honest broker in facilitating the negotiations and helping us reach a successful outcome.

Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude by thanking you once again for your attention and by wishing you a successful vote tomorrow.

2-0200-0000

Piotr Serafin, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, dear Minister, let me begin by welcoming the agreement on the annual budget for 2027 that was reached by the Conciliation Committee, as has been already mentioned, early in the morning on Wednesday 11 November.

Now, 2027 is the final year of the budget negotiations under the current multiannual financial framework and usually the negotiations of the last year of the MFF are the most difficult. They were even more challenging because we live in times of global uncertainty, but it is exactly because of that that it was more than ever important to set aside our differences and work together to agree on our shared goals and priorities. As you know, the initial positions were quite far apart. Therefore, I appreciate even more that all parties acted responsibly and made the necessary compromises to have a solid agreement on time.

The budget will provide a significant amount of reinforcements for key programmes and priorities of the European Parliament, including Erasmus+, Horizon Europe, humanitarian aid and border protection. When it comes to the European public administration, the priority of security was strengthened. But at the same time, we have agreed the budget that meets important concerns of the Council by keeping margins and availabilities so that we are also ready for the unexpected.

On behalf of the Commission, I would like to thank, in particular, the Chair of the Committee on Budgets, Mr Van Overtveldt, the rapporteurs, Mr Ušakovs and Mr Hadjipantela for their work and our cooperation. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Irish Presidency and Tánaiste Harris for his constructive approach during the negotiations.

The result of your work show that the institutions have a strong capacity to work towards a compromise for the benefit of the Union and its citizens. For this again, congratulations to the negotiators and their teams, and I do hope that we will witness this capacity to work on the compromises also in the context of the incoming MFF negotiations.

2-0201-0000

Isabel Benjumea Benjumea, *en nombre del Grupo PPE***.** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, señor ministro, la aprobación del presupuesto es el acto más importante que puede llevar a cabo un Parlamento. Es su razón de existir, y siempre he repetido esta idea en cada una de mis intervenciones, precisamente porque vengo de un país —España— donde nuestro Gobierno lleva sin aprobar presupuestos desde el año 2023: una inaceptable anomalía democrática que obliga a poner en valor la normalidad institucional de este Parlamento.

Y no solo cumplimos con una obligación, la de aprobar el presupuesto, sino que hemos aprobado un buen presupuesto. Un presupuesto que, a pesar de todas las limitaciones y dificultades, consigue dar respuesta a los retos y desafíos de la Unión.

Desde el Partido Popular Europeo, hemos sido muy claros desde el primer día de las negociaciones: la prioridad debe ser la seguridad de nuestras fronteras, como la de Ceuta, y la lucha contra la inmigración ilegal; la defensa de nuestros agricultores; el refuerzo de la capacidad competitiva e innovadora de las empresas europeas y las pymes y de programas fundamentales como es Erasmus+. Todo ello debe hacerse mediante la eficiencia de la gestión presupuestaria, porque estamos hablando del dinero que sale del bolsillo de los ciudadanos. También debemos suprimir duplicidades y burocracia innecesaria elevando el verdadero impacto de cada uno de los programas europeos. Debemos fiscalizar partida a partida hasta el destinatario final, incluidas las ayudas a terceros países, que deben cumplir con los acuerdos de cooperación alcanzados, así como con los valores europeos y los contenidos de los Tratados.

Quiero destacar el buen trabajo del equipo negociador liderado por el ponente Nils Ušakovs y por mi colega Michalis Hatzipantelas, y quiero reconocer públicamente la unidad que ha mostrado este Parlamento durante las negociaciones. Así hemos conseguido un buen acuerdo.

Pero quiero repetir: este acuerdo tiene enormes limitaciones, especialmente por lo que supone el repago de la deuda de los fondos Next Generation. Un impacto que se va a ir agravando en el próximo marco financiero y que nos debe hacer reflexionar la próxima vez que queramos evitar emitir deuda conjunta, porque las deudas hay que pagarlas.

Quiero terminar pidiendo el voto a favor mañana y de nuevo dando las gracias a todo el equipo negociador, a la Comisión y al Consejo.

2-0202-0000

Jean-Marc Germain, *au nom du groupe S&D***.** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, je souhaite tout d'abord féliciter nos négociateurs pour ce budget 2027. Bravo à Nils, bravo à Michalis, bravo à Sandra et à tous les rapporteurs fictifs, car vous avez fait au mieux. Malgré les coupes tous azimuts du Conseil, vous avez par exemple arraché 13,5 millions d'euros pour la protection civile, 14 millions d'euros pour les étudiants, 21,5 millions d'euros pour nos chercheurs et la recherche, et 30 millions d'euros pour nourrir et soigner les plus démunis.

Face à la guerre et à la crise écologique, ainsi qu'à celle du coût de la vie, il aurait pourtant fallu beaucoup plus. Mais c'est impossible, car le cadre financier pluriannuel n'avait plus aucune marge de manœuvre. Pourtant, en 2020, le plafond de verre de 1 % avait été brisé, avec un espoir de 1,11 % du PNB consacré au budget européen. Malheureusement, cet espoir ne s'est pas concrétisé, pour deux raisons auxquelles il va falloir remédier dans le prochain cadre financier pluriannuel.

La première, c'est la promesse de ressources propres pour couvrir les intérêts de la dette du programme NextGenerationEU, lesquelles ne sont finalement jamais venues. À cet égard, on peut se féliciter que le président Antonio Costa ait mis sur la table un paquet solide, que j'invite les États membres à voter.

Plus aucune marge de manœuvre non plus pour nos négociateurs, à cause de cette règle stupide selon laquelle il faut indexer les montants qui sont votés de 2 % par an, et pas un de plus, au lieu de les indexer sur l'inflation, alors que celle-ci a été, par exemple, de 9 % en 2022, puis de 6 % en 2023. Cela représente *in fine* 10 % de perdu et cela fait sept ans que les programmes se réduisent comme peau de chagrin, rongés par l'inflation et ponctionnés jour et nuit pour répondre aux crises et payer les intérêts de la dette.

Alors j'en appelle à un sursaut, à ce que la négociation, qui est dans sa phase finale, permette de faire en sorte qu'on ne se retrouve pas, dans le prochain CFP, avec un budget bien négocié mais finalement notoirement insuffisant.

2-0203-0000

Tamás Deutsch, *a PfE képviselőcsoport nevében***.** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! A Patrióták nem fogadják el a 2027-es uniós költségvetésről szóló paktumot. Mi, Patrióták, olyan uniós költségvetést javasoltunk a jövő esztendőre, amely lefaragja a liberális és baloldali ideológiai kiadásokat, megerősíti a külső határok védelmét és támogatja a gazdákat. Ezt akarják az európai emberek, de ezen célkitűzések egyike sem tükröződik a Tanács és az Európai Parlament megállapodásában.

A mi javaslatunk a 2027-es költségvetésben a közös agrárpolitika forrásainak 2,5 milliárd eurós növelését irányozták elő. Ezzel több támogatást kívántunk biztosítani többek között a fiatal gazdák, a borágazat és a méhészet támogatására. Emellett a Patrióták képviselőcsoportja javaslatot nyújtott be a gazdák kártalanítását szolgáló uniós válságalap 450 millió euróról 900 millió euróra történő növelésére, azonban ezt a javaslatot is leszavazta az Európai Parlament baloldali és néppárti nagykoalíciója.

A Patrióták követelték, hogy szűnjön meg a tagállamokkal szembeni ideológiai-politikai zsarolás, valamint a woke propaganda költségvetési finanszírozása. 250 millió euróval kívántuk csökkenteni azokat a fölösleges uniós kiadásokat, amelyek a baloldali aktivista szervezeteket, NGO-kat és a médialerakataikat pénzelik. A 2027-es uniós költségvetésről kötött megállapodás tehát nem tükrözi az európai gazdák és régiók valós igényeit. Mindez ráadásul rendkívül rossz üzenet a most zajló 2028 és 2034 közötti többéves költségvetési tárgyalások szempontjából is. Az Európai Parlament néppárti-baloldali koalíciója ugyanis bármit is mondott korábban a jövő évi költségvetésről, mégis beleegyezett egy olyan paktumba, amely kevesebbet ad a közös agrárpolitikára és a régióra. Mindez előrevetíti, hogy ugyanez következik be majd az MFF tárgyalások kapcsán is.

2-0204-0000

Beata Szydło, *w imieniu grupy ECR.* – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowny Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Dyskusja nad budżetem na przyszły rok tak naprawdę toczy się już w cieniu tej poważniejszej dyskusji, która dotyczy wieloletnich ram finansowych. Póki co nie ma zgody, nie ma porozumienia. Dyskusja jest bardzo trudna i nie wiem, czy do takiego porozumienia dojdzie. Nawet premier polskiego rządu Donald Tusk jest sceptyczny i powiedział, że nie zaakceptuje nigdy budżetu, który oznacza wyższe koszty energii czy wyższe koszty społeczne. To oznacza, że nawet ci, którzy do tej pory popierali politykę finansową prowadzoną tutaj, w Unii Europejskiej, zaczynają dostrzegać, że coś jest nie tak. A dostrzegają to z tego prostego względu, że ludzie się buntują, mają dosyć.

Przemysł upada. Gospodarka europejska ma coraz poważniejsze problemy. Rolnicy mają coraz poważniejsze problemy. Młodzi ludzie wychodzą na ulice i protestują, bo zaczynają dostrzegać, że nie ma dla nich perspektyw. Z czego to wynika, drodzy państwo? Ano z tego, że nie są wyciągane wnioski z błędów, które były popełniane i które doprowadziły do tego stanu. I w tym budżecie na przyszły rok dokładnie ta linia programowa cały czas jest utrzymywana, co oznacza, że problemy przemysłu, gospodarki, rolników, młodych ludzi będą się tylko pogłębiały. Stąd jest coraz więcej niezadowolenia i to powoduje, że być może dojdzie do tego, że wreszcie rządy państw członkowskich powiedzą dosyć i przyjdzie opamiętanie. Zielony Ład, ideologia – to dominuje w tych zapisach budżetowych na przyszły rok. I do tego traktowanie budżetu jako kary dla nieposłusznych państw członkowskich. Tak nie może być. Jeżeli to się nie zmieni, to perspektywy dla rozwoju Unii Europejskiej będą bardzo, bardzo słabe.

2-0205-0000

Moritz Körner, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Das waren lange Verhandlungen um den Haushalt. Es wurde schon gesagt: fast 22 Stunden. Ich glaube, es war 6.41 Uhr am Morgen, als wir endlich eine Einigung hatten. Und wir wussten von Anfang an, dass dieser Haushalt schwierig wird, weil es der letzte Haushalt in der mehrjährigen Finanzplanung ist. Und gleichzeitig lasten auf diesem Haushalt immer stärker die Schulden aus dem Wiederaufbaufonds, aus der Ukraine-Unterstützung, wo der Rat auch nicht bereit war, sich zu bewegen. Wir werden das auch in den nächsten Jahren sehen, dass diese Schulden mit Zinsen bezahlt werden müssen. Und es darf nicht sein, dass die Programme, die gerade die Zukunft ausmachen, darunter im EU-Haushalt leiden. Denn wir wollen den EU-Haushalt darauf fokussieren, dass er die Zukunft finanziert, statt die Vergangenheit zu subventionieren oder unsere Schulden hauptsächlich zu bezahlen.

Trotzdem konnten wir wichtige Erfolge erringen: für Horizont, das größte Forschungsprogramm der Welt, damit wirklich Zukunft gemacht wird; für Erasmus, damit noch mehr junge Menschen ins Ausland kommen; für militärische Mobilität, damit wir uns gemeinsam als Europa verteidigen

können; für Wettbewerbsfähigkeit und Digitalisierung, damit wir unsere Zukunft gemeinsam in Europa angehen und auch unsere wirtschaftliche Stärke wiedergewinnen können. Die richtigen Ausgaben, die richtigen Prioritäten, die wir setzen müssen. Gleichzeitig müssen wir verhindern, dass EU-Gelder missbräuchlich verwendet werden. Deswegen war es wichtig, dass wir in diesem Haushalt auch erneut die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft gestärkt haben. Für einen starken Haushalt, der das Geld für die richtigen Prioritäten ausgibt, der dafür sorgt, dass das EU-Geld der Steuerzahlerinnen und Steuerzahler gut ausgegeben wird.

2-0206-0000

Ignazio Roberto Marino, *a nome del gruppo Verts/ALE***.** – Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, il bilancio 2027 non è semplicemente un esercizio annuale: è l'ultimo bilancio dell'attuale quadro finanziario pluriennale e, quindi, anche l'occasione per trarre alcune lezioni importanti in vista del prossimo bilancio.

Il risultato della conciliazione è stato positivo. Nonostante margini estremamente ridotti, come Parlamento siamo riusciti a evitare ulteriori tagli a programmi fondamentali e abbiamo ottenuto 300 milioni di euro aggiuntivi. Abbiamo rafforzato alcuni investimenti che per i Verdi sono davvero essenziali, come la ricerca sanitaria, la protezione civile, il programma Life, gli aiuti umanitari e la cooperazione internazionale.

Ma questa negoziazione mette anche in luce un problema strutturale: non possiamo chiedere all'Europa di affrontare la crisi climatica, proteggere le biodiversità, rafforzare la coesione sociale, rispondere alle crisi internazionali, costringendo l'Europa a fare sempre di più, con sempre minori risorse.

Il prossimo bilancio dovrà segnare un cambio di passo. Il Consiglio deve comprendere che l'Europa non ha bisogno soltanto di nuove promesse: ha bisogno – davvero un drammatico bisogno – di avere le risorse necessarie per mantenere quelle promesse.

2-0207-0000

João Oliveira, *em nome do Grupo The Left***.** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário Serafin, o acordo para o orçamento da União Europeia de 2027 não pode ser avaliado a partir das diferentes posições entre a Comissão, o Parlamento e o Conselho Europeu. Tem de ser avaliado com o critério das necessidades e dos direitos dos povos, da resposta à necessidade do progresso, do desenvolvimento, da justiça social, da paz.

E o que constatamos com este acordo para o orçamento da União Europeia de 2027 é que a União Europeia está de costas voltadas para os povos e que constitui um projeto político orientado para a guerra, o negócio do armamento e o favorecimento das multinacionais. O acordo para o orçamento de 2027 é um exemplo flagrante de todas essas orientações políticas.

Naturalmente, sendo o último orçamento desde o atual quadro financeiro plurianual, reflete as prioridades políticas que lhe foram determinadas na sua versão original e também na revisão intercalar que teve em 2021. E a prioridade continua a ser a da militarização, da guerra, da corrida aos armamentos, da drenagem de recursos públicos para as multinacionais, da política securitária nas migrações e nas fronteiras.

Quem paga a fatura são os povos. Sacrificam-se as políticas sociais, cortam-se os recursos destinados à coesão, ao apoio aos setores produtivos, à investigação científica, às políticas sociais. A defesa, a mobilidade militar, a gestão de fronteiras e a segurança recebem novos aumentos. A componente da defesa da rubrica 5 aumenta 13,9 %, com 279 milhões de EUR a

mais. O programa para a indústria do armamento é aumentado em 35,8 %. A mobilidade militar leva mais 10 milhões de EUR. O programa para a inovação militar fica com uma dotação de 115 milhões de EUR. O empréstimo criado para financiar as multinacionais europeias do armamento e prolongar a guerra na Ucrânia vai custar, já em 2027, 650 milhões de EUR ao orçamento da União Europeia.

E ainda agora se começam a pagar os custos desse empréstimo de 90 mil milhões de EUR, já a presidente da Comissão Europeia veio anunciar a semana passada um novo empréstimo de 45 mil milhões. Desses 45 mil milhões de EUR que a presidente da Comissão Europeia anuncia, 25 mil milhões nem sequer saem das fronteiras da União Europeia, porque vão diretamente para os bolsos das multinacionais do setor do armamento.

Ainda agora tudo isto estava a acontecer e já acontecia em contraste com a desconsideração das necessidades e dos direitos dos povos, com o desprezo pelo aumento do custo de vida, com a falta de resposta ao problema da habitação.

Senhor Comissário, o custo de vida é cada vez mais insustentável para os povos dos países que integram a União Europeia. O problema da habitação é uma chaga social que atinge amplas camadas da população e que compromete as perspetivas de futuro dos jovens. Milhares de pessoas se manifestam por essa Europa afora, reclamando melhores condições de vida e o respeito pelos seus direitos, incluindo em Portugal, onde ainda no passado sábado, milhares de pessoas encheram as ruas de Lisboa, numa manifestação nacional promovida pela CGTP, em que se reivindicavam melhores salários e pensões — salários e pensões que permitam viver dignamente —, em que se reclama o direito à habitação, os serviços públicos de qualidade, respostas ao aumento do custo de vida. Qual é a resposta que a União Europeia dá a todas essas reivindicações dos povos? Desprezo, desconsideração, insistência nas mesmas políticas que infernizam a vida aos povos.

Senhor Comissário, no orçamento da União Europeia, em que se destinam 650 milhões de EUR para pagar os custos do empréstimo que serve para financiar a guerra na Ucrânia, não há 1 cêntimo que dê aos povos a perspetiva, por exemplo, de investimento na habitação, de reforço da habitação pública, de resposta ao aumento do custo de vida, de garantia de combate à pobreza.

Estas opções são opções políticas contrárias aos interesses e às necessidades dos povos.

2-0208-0000

Alexander Jungbluth, *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar! Der Haushalt ist immer auch ein Ausdruck politischer Prioritäten. Er zeigt, welche Aufgaben wir für notwendig halten und wie wir verantwortungsvoll mit dem Geld unserer Bürger umgehen wollen. Der Haushalt 2027 umfasst rund 200 Mrd. EUR.

Braucht die EU in Krisenzeiten tatsächlich immer mehr Geld? Oder brauchen wir vor allem eine bessere Prioritätensetzung und drastische Ausgabenkürzungen? Grundsätzlich gilt zunächst einmal: Die EU ist kein Staat mit einem unbegrenzten finanzpolitischen Gestaltungsauftrag. Sie ist eine Gemeinschaft souveräner Mitgliedstaaten. Ihre Aufgaben haben sich nach dem Subsidiaritätsprinzip und dem tatsächlichen Mehrwert für die Nationalstaaten zu richten.

Erstens: Schluss mit der Verschwendung von Steuergeld. Die Änderungsanträge meiner Fraktion haben gezeigt, dass erhebliche Einsparungen möglich und notwendig sind. Wir haben vorgeschlagen, die Vergütungen und Zulagen der Kommission um 500 Mio. EUR zu reduzieren. Bei der Vorbereitung möglicher EU-Beitrittskandidaten wollen wir Haushaltskürzungen um 300

bzw. 270 Mio. EUR erreichen. Wer in die EU will, soll das vor allem kostentechnisch selber tragen müssen. Weitere 100 Mio. sollen beim gemeinsamen Vorsorgefonds eingespart werden. Insgesamt belaufen sich die 77 Kürzungsanträge meiner Fraktion auf rund 1,7 Mrd. EUR. Hinzu kommen neun Anträge mit der vollständigen Streichung neuer Haushaltspositionen. Sie sehen also, wir zeigen, wo man sparen kann, wenn man es denn möchte. Und die Frage ist, warum will die politische Mehrheit in diesem Haus das nicht? Weil Sie Macht wollen, und Sie wollen Macht zulasten der Bürger der EU.

Zweitens: Schluss mit dem aufgeblähten EU-Verwaltungsapparat. Ein Vergleich von zwei Ausgabenprioritäten macht das sehr deutlich. 14 Mrd. EUR für die eigene EU-Verwaltung und Beamte, aber nur 9 Mrd. EUR für den Schutz von Außengrenzen und Sicherheit. Wir fordern deshalb eine drastische Kürzung des EU-Personalbestands. Wir brauchen nicht noch mehr EU-Bürokraten, die Bürokraten kontrollieren, die Bürokraten kontrollieren und am Ende dann Landwirte drangsalieren. Und doch will das linksgrüne Haus zahlreiche Programme weiter aufstocken. 400 Mrd. EUR für *Global Europe*, 300 Mrd. EUR für sogenannte humanitäre Hilfe. Dass jede zusätzliche Ausgabe einen nachweisbaren Mehrwert liefern muss, kommt Ihnen allen nicht in den Sinn. Während unsere Bürger sparen müssen, kennt Brüssel offenbar keine Ausgabengrenzen.

Drittens: keine europäische Schulden- und Steuerunion. Allein 650 Mio. EUR bleiben beim Steuerzahler als Finanzierungskosten des Hilfskredits für die Ukraine übrig. 350 Mio. EUR muss der Steuerzahler für den Corona-Aufbau aufbringen. Das ist in weiten Teilen nur etwas, wovon die linke Subventionsindustrie profitiert. Das sind die langfristigen Folgen einer Politik, die glaubt, immer neue Schulden machen zu können, ohne dass irgendjemand dafür einmal zahlen muss.

Viertens: Grenzschutz statt falscher migrationspolitischer Anreize. Europäische Steuerzahler müssen endlich vorrangig Schutz der Außengrenzen priorisieren, die Verhinderung illegaler Einreisen und die konsequente Rückführung ausreisepflichtiger Personen. Unser Maßstab muss am Ende also lauten: Wir brauchen so viel Europa wie notwendig; wir brauchen so viel nationale Eigenverantwortung wie möglich. Und wir brauchen vor allem eines nicht: Wir brauchen keine Steuerverschwendung dieser EU.

2-0209-0000

Siegfried Mureşan (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, through good cooperation, the European Parliament and the governments of the 27 Member States of the Union have agreed on a budget for the European Union for the next year and we are going to vote on this tomorrow with a large majority in the plenary of the European Parliament. So the message to the citizens and the message to enterprises in Europe, to beneficiaries of EU funds is clear: the projects will be funded, they will be financed. European support will be available over the course of the next year. Europe will pay its bills and it will pay its bills fast.

The second piece of good news, is that we managed to offer a bit more support to beneficiaries that really need it. Through the decisions that we have made, we are going to invest more in our research and innovation, we are going to make more scholarships available as part of the Erasmus programme to European students, we are going to invest more in our key infrastructure, in our key transport and in our key energy infrastructure, and yes, we are going to invest more in our border protection because protecting our borders as well is part of our security. We are also going to support our immediate neighbours, EU candidate countries, because the safer and the more stable they are, the better for the Union.

We are also seeing, as this is the last budget of the current multiannual financial framework, the consequences of a budget that is too tight, with not enough flexibility and with not enough

margins. This is a lesson that we have to learn for the next multiannual financial framework. It should be a budget that is sufficient, that is ambitious, and that will be flexible so that we can react over the course of the next seven years to the unexpected developments that will occur. We also thank and congratulate the Parliament's two co-rapporteurs, Nils Ušakovs and Michalis Hadjipantela, for the excellent work which they did.

2-0210-0000

Sandra Gómez López (S&D). – Señor presidente, en primer lugar, quiero felicitar al señor Ušakovs y al señor Hadjipantela por su excelente labor de negociación en la conciliación que tuvo lugar hace dos semanas.

También quiero aprovechar para hacer varias consideraciones.

La primera es que es cierto que apenas hemos podido introducir algo más de 300 millones EUR para las prioridades de este Parlamento. Los intereses de NextGenerationEU o los costes del préstamo a Ucrania prácticamente se han comido todo el margen presupuestario. Y ahora que estamos en plena negociación sobre el marco financiero, o nos tomamos bien en serio el tamaño del techo del próximo MFP o realmente apenas va a haber margen anual para que el presupuesto, tanto del Parlamento como de la propia Comisión, pueda decidir qué prioridades hay que marcar cada año.

Como ponente de otras secciones, también quería hacer una consideración, porque la verdad es que a veces me sorprendió bastante el desdén con el que se habla de la Administración europea. El Consejo hablaba de que no podíamos gastar más en despachos, en burocracia, en funcionarios... Y a mí, sinceramente, me gustaría que también nos explicaran quién va a gestionar las ayudas que hoy aprobamos, o quién va a controlar que el dinero que decidimos llegue realmente a su destino, o quién va a proteger al personal de las instituciones de la Unión Europea, ya que el Servicio de Acción Exterior ha tenido casi que rogar mejoras presupuestarias para mejorar la seguridad de la presencia física de alguna de nuestras delegaciones. O el Comité de las Regiones se ha han quedado sin ninguna mejora, por ejemplo, para algo tan esencial como la ciberseguridad. Luego nos quejaremos de que nos espíen desde otras potencias.

Mirad, tan importante es aprobar programas como contar con una Administración capaz de ejecutarlos. Una Unión fuerte necesita una Administración pública fuerte. Y, frente a quienes quieren reducirla a su mínima expresión, tenemos que realmente proclamar que la libertad y la igualdad que defendemos necesitan instituciones capaces de defenderlas.

2-0211-0000

Tomasz Buczek (PfE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Podczas gdy bankructwo zagląda w oczy europejskiego przemysłu, biznesu i rolnictwa, a nasze granice ustępują pod naporem migracyjnym, Bruksela znów świętuje. Świętuje budżet na 2027 rok, który jest kolejnym aktem ideologicznego marnotrawstwa pieniędzy europejskich podatników i kolejnym obciążeniem nas wszystkich na rzecz Ukrainy. Grupa Patriotów mówiła zawsze jasno: stop marnowaniu pieniędzy europejskiego podatnika, stop drenowaniu pieniędzy poza obszar Unii Europejskiej, stop kosztownym fanaberiom klimatystów. Trzeba wzmacniać rodzimą produkcję dającą Europie bezpieczeństwo. Europa potrzebuje więcej pieniędzy na rolnictwo, więcej na bezpieczeństwo granic, mniej na lewicowe ideologiczne projekty.

Chcieliśmy jako Patrioci dodatkowe 2,5 mld euro na wspólną politykę rolną, dla młodych rolników, sadowników, winiarzy, pszczelarzy. Chcieliśmy podwoić fundusz kryzysowy dla

rolników. Chcieliśmy obciąć 250 mln euro z funduszu dla lewicowych NGO-sów i projektu woke. Wszystko to odrzuciliście.

Proponujecie budżet, w którym koszty, odsetki od KPO sięgają nawet 10 mld euro. Dwa razy więcej niż jeszcze nie tak dawno sami szacowaliście. Proponujecie kolejne pożyczki dla Ukrainy, dziesiątki miliardów euro. Chociaż tu, na tej sali nie oszukujmy się, nie są to żadne pożyczki, a zwyczajne darowizny z naszego budżetu.

Konstrukcja instrumentu, jaką stworzyliście, oparta na rzekomych reparacjach rosyjskich jest mrzonką. Nie będzie reparacji rosyjskich i nie będzie spłaty z Ukrainy do budżetu Unii Europejskiej. Ryzyko finansowe tej pomocy i ewentualne koszty spoczywają na europejskich, w tym polskich, podatnikach. Do tego dochodzą zapowiedzi nowych unijnych podatków od ETS, CBAM, e-odpadów, tytoniu, bo Bruksela buduje sobie własny system fiskalny – system, który czyni nasze gospodarki niekonkurencyjne. Dziesiątki milionów euro z tego budżetu trafią poza granice Unii Europejskiej i nie będą pracować na rzecz Europejczyków.

Polacy płacą, a pieniądze płyną gdzie indziej: na ideologię, na dług, na pożyczki dla Ukrainy, na projekty, które nie rozwiązują problemów naszych rolników, naszych rodzin ani naszego bezpieczeństwa. Pieniądze płyną na projekty, które nie wzmacniają przemysłu i gospodarki państw członkowskich.

Nie poprzemy tego budżetu. Nie zgadzamy się na dalszą federalizację fiskalną Unii, na rzecz przerzucania kosztów na polskie rodziny i na marnotrawienie środków na prawdziwe potrzeby…

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

(Mówca zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0212-0000

Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle (Renew), *blue-card question***.** – Thank you, colleague, for accepting my blue card. I find it quite puzzling because as someone coming from Poland, which has been one of the economic miracles of the European Union, particularly also thanks to the long-term investment policy, which is regional policy and cohesion policy, to hear you say that now money is coming from the Poles and going elsewhere, which factually is not true, aside from that, why wouldn't you want to be as solidary with the rest of the European Union as the European Union has been with Poland? And I say this with love, because I am a very, very big proponent of cohesion policy.

2-0213-0000

Tomasz Buczek (PfE), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Tak, to prawda. Polska bardzo się rozwinęła. Polska rozwinęła się dlatego, że ma przedsiębiorczych, ciężko pracujących obywateli. I rozwinęła się nie tylko poprzez pomoc finansową Unii Europejskiej, poprzez wspólnotowy rynek, ale właśnie przez pomysłowość i kreatywność ludzi. Pieniądze, które trafiały do nas, oczywiście poprawiły bezpieczeństwo, infrastrukturę. Zgadzam się z tym. Ale uważam, że w obecnej rzeczywistości, kiedy mamy kryzys w postaci wojny toczącej się na Ukrainie, pieniądze kierowane na projekty lewicowe, takie jak przed chwilką mówiłem, wzmacniające politykę woke czy politykę klimatyczną Unii Europejskiej, są całkowicie nietrafione. My mamy najdroższe ceny energii w Europie. Mamy najniższą konkurencyjność. W Polsce mamy najdroższą energię w całej Unii Europejskiej. Nie możemy dłużej kontynuować tego kierunku.

2-0214-0000
Bogdan Rzońca (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Bardzo dziękuję panom sprawozdawcom za pracę. Naprawdę napracowali się i doceniam to. No ale oczywiście chcę zgłosić kilka krytycznych uwag do tego wszystkiego. No bo patrząc na fundusz globalizacji, widzimy, że firmy z Unii Europejskiej, niestety, uciekają. I to jest fakt. I w tym budżecie nie ma na to reakcji. Wiemy, że Chiny mają codziennie bardzo dodatni bilans handlowy z Unią Europejską i nie ma reakcji na to. Proszę pamiętać o tym, że jesteśmy w permanentnym kryzysie w stosunku do Chin.

Wiemy, że Zielony Ład ciągnie gospodarkę europejską w koszty i w przepaść. Ostatni COP to potwierdza. No ale nie ma na to reakcji w tym budżecie. ETO alarmuje, że nie są transparentnie pokazani beneficjenci finansów Unii Europejskiej. Nie wiadomo, kto bierze pieniądze. I są jakieś skryte listy tych beneficjentów. O tym powinniśmy mówić, kto jest tym beneficjentem, i widzieć tych beneficjentów. To są w końcu pieniądze z budżetu podatników Unii Europejskiej.

Dług Unii Europejskiej jest coraz większy. Odsetki kosztują nas bardzo dużo. My to wszystko musimy wziąć pod uwagę, bo mamy do czynienia z dobrym projektem pod nazwą Unia Europejska, tylko źle ideologicznie zarządzanym. A wydatki na projekty ideologiczne także dużo nas kosztują. Mamy, proszę państwa, czas wojny w Europie, niestety, mamy wiele konfliktów. Odpowiedź powinna być już w tym budżecie. I nie możemy się wymigiwać, że przyszłe wieloletnie ramy finansowe będą lepsze. A więc, proszę państwa, nie krępujmy działalności Unii Europejskiej mechanizmem warunkowości, bo Europejski Trybunał Obrachunkowy bardzo skrytykował to wszystko, co dzieje się z tym mechanizmem warunkowości.

Stoimy w miejscu. Świat ucieka. Tracimy rynki. Tracimy intelektualistów. Tracimy pieniądze. Tracimy rolników i inwestorów. Można powiedzieć, że finansowo Unia Europejska już nie stoi, tylko kładzie się na łopatki. Trzeba to zmienić. Trzeba temu zapobiec.

(Mówca zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0215-0000
Marta Wcisło (PPE), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Ja mam do pana pytanie w odniesieniu do tego, co pan powiedział. Powiedział pan, że nie ma reakcji na to, co dzieje się na europejskim rynku gospodarczym w związku z zalewem chińskich towarów. A czy wiedział pan, że 5 lat temu właśnie nie było reakcji waszego rządu, gdy na granicę z Polską wpływały towary z Chin, mafii importerów, która transportowała towar do Unii Europejskiej. I dzisiaj polscy przedsiębiorcy po 5 latach ponoszą odpowiedzialność za waszą nieudolność, za zalew Europy chińskimi towarami w ramach solidarności długu celnego. Czy wiedział pan o tym? I co zrobiliście w tej sprawie?

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówczyni głos)

2-0216-0000
Bogdan Rzońca (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Chciałem pani poseł Wcisło przypomnieć tylko, i powiem to powoli, chciałem pani poseł przypomnieć, pani europoseł, że Polska nie graniczy z Chinami.

2-0217-0000
Fabienne Keller (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, après une longue nuit de négociations nous sommes parvenus à un

accord sur le budget 2027. Cela clôture la dernière procédure budgétaire annuelle du cadre financier pluriannuel, mais les défis à venir ne sont pas pour autant résolus.

Nous devons évidemment intégrer le soutien indispensable à l'Ukraine dans le budget européen de long terme. Nous devons encore décider comment concilier le remboursement du plan de relance, sans impacter les programmes structurels de l'Union. Nous devons encore et toujours continuer à investir dans la recherche avec Horizon, la jeunesse avec Erasmus, le climat, la compétitivité, l'agriculture, la défense et la solidarité.

Le budget, Monsieur le Commissaire, doit continuer à être un outil pour notre autonomie stratégique. Tous les secteurs, Monsieur le représentant du Conseil, demandent des financements européens. Et nous, Parlement européen, dans notre rapport intermédiaire, nous y avons répondu.

Pour avoir un budget ambitieux, nous devons avoir des recettes et en dépit de l'accord de 2020 avec le Conseil sur les ressources propres, je déplore le manque d'avancées sur le sujet. Nous devons tous ensemble vraiment faire mieux pour le prochain CFP. Des actes, pas des mots.

2-0218-0000

Maria Ohisalo (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, Commissioner, Council and colleagues, I am very glad that we as European Parliament stood firm against the Council's cuts and that we as Greens secured real gains: more for the LIFE programme, for nature, biodiversity and clean energy, more for climate research and energy networks and more for civil protection because floods and forest fires are no longer exceptions.

But let me be clear, climate policy and social policy are not two separate files. They are one. The climate crisis hits hardest those who have the least: the pensioner who cannot afford to heat their home, the family living next to a polluted road, the worker whose industry must change. People will lose their trust in change if climate action is not just and fair.

That is why the top-ups for Erasmus, for social innovation and for workers' training matters. And that is why I regret that support for gender equality did not survive these negotiations. Over the years, I've learned one thing: people embrace change when they feel secure. A strong social Europe makes the green transition possible, and the green transition keeps Europe liveable for all of us.

We will vote for this agreement, but the next MFF must not set climate against cohesion. A Europe that protects must protect both the planet and the people. Thank you for the cooperation.

2-0219-0000

Jussi Saramo (The Left). – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa komission jäsen, tiede ja tutkimus ovat Euroopan tulevaisuuden elinehto. Ilman niitä emme ratkaise ilmastokriisiä, kehitä uusia innovaatioita, paranna kilpailukykyä, säilytä työpaikkojamme tai pärjää maailman suurimpien valtioiden uholle. Mutta samalla tieteellä on myös itseisarvo.

Uuden tiedon etsiminen ja maailman ymmärtäminen ovat arvokkaita itsessään ja osa eurooppalaista identiteettiä. Näiden syiden vuoksi EU:n tulisi merkittävästi lisätä rahoitusta tieteelle ja tutkimukselle. Valitettavasti sen sijaan EU:n jäsenvaltiot priorisoivat esimerkiksi maanomistajien tuet tieteen ja tutkimuksen edelle. Tässäkin salissa puhutaan jatkuvasti siitä, ettemme saa jäädä jälkeen Yhdysvalloista ja Kiinasta, ja heti perään EU leikkaa juuri siitä, mikä tässä globaalissa kilpailussa on ratkaisevaa. Täytyy myös ihmetellä oman kotimaani Suomen hallituksen toimia. Suomen hallitus vaatii leikkauksia, vaikka Suomessa on osoitettu, kuinka vaikuttavasti osaamme EU:n tutkimusrahoitusta käyttää.

Tieteestä on helppo leikata, jos tuntee kaiken hinnan mutta ei minkään arvoa. Tämä budjetti osoittaa, että tulevan MMF:n kokonaistason on oltava korkeampi. Meidän on kyettävä hoitamaan sekä tutkimus, kehitys, suurempi Ukrainan tuki, parempi puolustus että sosiaalinen vastuu Euroopan sisällä. Ensi vuonna emme tähän kaikkeen kykene.

2-0220-0000

Thomas Geisel (NI). – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wenn man sich die Zahlen etwas genauer anschaut, kommt man zu dem Ergebnis: Der Berg hat gekreißt und ein Mäuslein geboren. Man hat sich auf einen Haushalt verständigt, der etwa 200 Millionen Euro niedriger ist als das, was die Kommission ursprünglich vorgelegt hat, und knapp 170 Millionen Euro höher als das, worauf sich der Rat mit der Kommission verständigt hat. Bei einem Haushaltsvolumen von etwa 200 Milliarden Euro reden wir über knapp 0,1 %. Erstaunlich ist das nicht. Denn für zwei Positionen musste eben alles zusammengekratzt werden, was an Haushaltsspielräumen noch irgendwie zur Verfügung stand: für die Refinanzierung der NextGenerationEU-Darlehen und für das Unterstützungsdarlehen für die Ukraine – zusammen gut 5 Milliarden Euro. Das sollten wir uns vor Augen führen.

Durch politische Prioritätensetzung – und das ist ja eigentlich unser Job – haben wir einen niedrigen dreistelligen Millionenbetrag verschoben. An zusätzlichen Zinsen zahlen wir allein im kommenden Haushaltsjahr gut das Dreißigfache. Wenn wir unsere politischen Handlungsspielräume erhalten wollen, dürfen wir Frau von der Leyen keine weiteren Kreditermächtigungen erteilen, auch nicht für Waffenlieferungen an die Ukraine.

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ zu antworten.)

2-0221-0000

PRZEWODNICTWO: EWA KOPACZ
Wiceprzewodnicząca

2-0222-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“***.** – Wir sind noch nicht in Sachsen-Anhalt, Herr Freund, bitte. Außerdem ist er gar nicht mehr beim BSW.

Herr Geisel, ich bin sehr schlecht in Mathe gewesen. Ich habe meine Matheklausuren in der Oberstufe nicht selber geschrieben. Das haben andere Leute für mich gemacht. Aber Sie haben das Beispiel herangezogen, dass das, wo sich hier bewegt wurde, letztlich nur ein sehr kleiner Teil war. Dann haben Sie weitere Zahlen genannt. Sie haben gesagt, 5 Milliarden wurden für diese beiden Projekte ausgegeben – von 200 Milliarden. Das sind 2,5 %. Ich habe das extra nachgerechnet. Könnte man dann nicht Ihr Argument, dass das im Grunde insignifikant ist, auch dahingehend übertragen, wenn wir uns vorstellen, dass es nur 2,5 % sind, von denen Sie hier reden?

2-0223-0000

Thomas Geisel (NI), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“***.** – *(Beginn des Redebeitrags bei ausgeschaltetem Mikrofon)* ... nicht ganz verstanden, was ich gesagt habe – liegt wahrscheinlich nicht nur daran, dass Sie schlecht in Mathe sind. Ich habe gesagt, das, was wir politisch an Prioritäten verschoben haben, macht etwa 200 Millionen weniger aus, als die Kommission ursprünglich vorgelegt hat, und etwa 170 Millionen mehr als das, worauf sich Kommission und Rat verständigt haben. 170 Millionen von 200 Milliarden sind knapp 0,1 %.

Die 5 Milliarden, die wir an zusätzlichen Zinsen zahlen für das Unterstützungsdarlehen für die Ukraine und zusätzliche Zinsen für die Darlehen bei *NextGenerationEU,* das sind in der Tat 2,5 %

des Gesamtvolumens und damit das Dreißigfache dessen, was wir tatsächlich durch politische Prioritätensetzung verschoben haben. Ich glaube, ein bisschen Nachhilfe in Mathe würde nicht schaden.

2-0224-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew), *Reaktion nach dem Verfahren der "blauen Karte"***.** – Herr Geisel, Sie sind noch nicht fertig, es tut mir leid. Ich genieße die Mathestunde so sehr. Das tut mir richtig gut. Also, Herr Geisel, ich frage noch mal anders – ja, auf jeden Fall: Sie kritisieren im Grunde den gesamten Haushalt wegen 2,6 % des Haushalts. Finden Sie das nicht ein bisschen pessimistisch oder habe ich es immer noch falsch verstanden?

2-0225-0000

Thomas Geisel (NI), *Reaktion nach dem Verfahren der "blauen Karte"***.** – Ich kritisiere den Umstand, dass wir praktisch keinerlei Haushaltsspielräume mehr haben, über die wir politisch entscheiden können, weil die Schuldenlast aus diesen zwei Projekten völlig überbordend ist und eben sämtliche Haushaltsspielräume auffrisst und deswegen alles zusammengekratzt werden muss, um diese Position zu decken. Das wollte ich sagen. Alle außer Ihnen haben es verstanden.

2-0226-0000

Hélder Sousa Silva (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhor Ministro, caros colegas, face aos atuais constrangimentos orçamentais marcados por este ser também o último orçamento do atual quadro financeiro plurianual, o acordo alcançado sobre o orçamento anual da União Europeia para 2027 salvaguarda os interesses dos contribuintes europeus, reforça a capacidade de investimento, bem como garante a estabilidade e a previsibilidade orçamental.

Este não é um orçamento ideal, dado que nem todas as nossas prioridades foram alcançadas. No entanto, saúdo os relatores pelo bom acordo que alcançaram, conseguindo reverter todos os cortes propostos pelo Conselho e assegurando o financiamento adicional de 300 milhões de EUR para programas destinados a melhorar a vida dos cidadãos.

Destaco ainda o reforço das dotações de programas que são prioridades constantes do Parlamento: o Horizonte Europa, o Mecanismo Interligar a Europa, o Programa a favor do Mercado Único, o Mecanismo de Proteção Civil da UE, o Programa Erasmus+ e a Europa Criativa. Saliento também o reforço de financiamento atribuído a algumas agências descentralizadas, bem como à Procuradoria Europeia, garantindo que a União dispõe de uma administração pública capaz de implementar as políticas europeias de forma eficaz e eficiente.

É fundamental que o orçamento da União continue a responder às aspirações dos cidadãos e das empresas, bem como continue a ser um instrumento que alavanque o investimento privado.

2-0227-0000

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, bugetul Uniunii Europene pentru anul 2027 a fost aprobat. După negocieri dificile, am obținut fonduri suplimentare pentru securitatea la Marea Neagră, inclusiv hubul de securitate maritimă, resurse cruciale pentru regiunile de pe flancul estic și pentru securitatea cibernetică, inclusiv oportunități pentru Centrul european de competențe de la București, mai mulți bani pentru Republica Moldova, finanțări în plus pentru educație, sănătate, cercetare, infrastructură, energie sau protecție civilă. Îl felicit pe raportorul social-democrat Nils Ušakovs și mă bucur că am reușit să menținem unitatea politică a echipei noastre de negociere, pentru că Europa nu poate răspunde unor provocări tot mai mari cu resurse mai mici.

Viitorul buget european post-2028 nu trebuie să sacrifice capacitatea noastră de investiții. În aceste zile, România și statele europene își pregătesc propriul buget pentru anul viitor, așa că trebuie să corelăm investițiile naționale cu cele europene. Trebuie să asigurăm cofinanțare și cu siguranță trebuie să respingem o nouă politică de austeritate. Pentru că suntem la finalul actualului exercițiu financiar, trebuie să accelerăm proiectele, să folosim fiecare oportunitate și să ne asigurăm că rambursările se fac la timp, așa că fac din nou apel la instituțiile europene să simplifice procedurile, să ușureze accesarea fondurilor europene de către beneficiari și, mai ales, să ofere statelor membre mai multă flexibilitate bugetară, pentru că, oferindu-le această flexibilitate, cu siguranță putem creiona un viitor buget european care să răspundă nevoilor noastre reale.

2-0228-0000

Roman Haider (PfE). – Frau Präsidentin! Anstatt über kosmetische Details des nächsten Budgets hier zu debattieren, sollten wir einmal über zwei Zahlen sprechen, nämlich eine Billion auf der einen Seite und 100 Milliarden auf der anderen Seite. Eine Billion Euro, also 1000 Milliarden – so hoch wird der Schuldenstand der EU laut Prognose des Rechnungshofs im kommenden Jahr sein. Und das Ganze überhaupt, ohne dass in den Verträgen die Schuldenfinanzierung irgendwo erwähnt wird – das ist in den Verträgen nicht vorgesehen. Die zweite Zahl, 100 Milliarden Euro – so hoch werden die Zinskosten für den nächsten mehrjährigen Finanzrahmen sein. Allein im kommenden Jahr muss die EU 10 Milliarden Zinsen zahlen. Das ist doppelt so viel wie ursprünglich geplant.

Das ist die Rechnung für den Corona-Fonds, für *NextGenerationEU*, für eine Schuldenpolitik, deren Folgen die Bürger Europas noch lange bezahlen werden. Und was ist dann die Antwort der Kommission darauf? Etwa weniger Schulden oder mehr Haushaltsdisziplin? Nein, sicher nicht. Anstatt dass man aus den Fehlern der Vergangenheit lernt, sollen noch mehr Schulden aufgenommen werden. Und auch die Ukraine-Hilfen werden mit Schulden finanziert, die wir irgendwann einmal zurückbezahlen müssen. Und die Kommission hat bisher keine Ahnung und keine Strategie, wie sie diese Schulden bedienen soll.

Man macht Schulden in Billionenhöhe, zahlt Zinsen in Milliardenhöhe und hat keinen Plan, wie das zurückgezahlt werden soll. Das ist verantwortungslos, das ist verantwortungslos den Steuerzahlern gegenüber und das ist verantwortungslos den nächsten Generationen gegenüber. Denn eins ist klar: Diese Schulden verschwinden nicht. Irgendwer wird irgendwann dafür bezahlen müssen und das sind am Ende immer die Bürger Europas.

NextGenerationEU bekommt da gleich eine ganz andere Bedeutung. Die nächsten Generationen müssen zahlen. Die werden ausbaden müssen, was Sie in der Kommission angerichtet haben. Wer das Geld der Steuerzahler ausgibt, der muss auch erklären können, wie er die Rechnung bezahlt. Und diese Antwort bleibt Brüssel schuldig.

(Der Redner lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" von Lukas Sieper ab.)

Herr Sieper hat gerade zugegeben, dass er ein Betrüger ist, weil er seine Matheklausuren in der Schule von anderen hat schreiben lassen. Dieser Selbstdarsteller und Betrüger, der braucht mich gar nichts fragen. Und er braucht mir auch nicht...

(Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)

2-0229-0000

Przewodnicząca. – Bardzo proszę zachowywać się zgodnie z art. 10 Regulaminu Parlamentu, panie pośle.

Zwracam panu uwagę, panie Sieper: niestety, pan Haider nie przyjął pańskiego pytania.

2-0230-0000

Bert-Jan Ruissen (ECR). – Voorzitter, beste collega's, een bescheiden begroting waarbij het subsidiariteitsbeginsel leidend is. Dat is waar de EU behoefte aan heeft. Zeker, we hebben te maken met veel uitdagingen, maar die hoeven lang niet allemaal door de EU-begroting afgedekt te worden. Vaak is het veel efficiënter om uitgaven rechtstreeks uit de nationale begrotingen te financieren. Van rondpompen van geld is nog nooit iemand beter geworden.

In dat licht stelt de begroting 2027 toch wel teleur. Ze is immers verre van bescheiden. Er staan veel te veel posten in die de subsidiariteitstoets niet kunnen doorstaan. Ik denk bijvoorbeeld aan budgetten voor media en cultuur en aan de ruime budgetten voor sociaal beleid, het Europees Sociaal Fonds, waar zelfs abortussen uit worden betaald. Zeer kwalijk. Grote vraagtekens zet ik ook bij de omvangrijke budgetten voor de cohesiefondsen. De absorptie van die fondsen was de afgelopen jaren enorm laag. Nu uit alle macht proberen dit geld alsnog uit te geven, brengt enorme risico's met zich mee. Risico's op fraude en onregelmatigheden.

Er zitten zeker ook positieve punten in deze begroting. Denk aan de extra uitgaven voor jonge boeren, voor Horizon, voor bewaking van de buitengrenzen. Maar kiezen voor een bescheiden begroting vraagt om keuzes maken. Dat wordt in het voorliggende akkoord met de Raad helaas te weinig gedaan.

2-0231-0000

Joachim Streit (Renew). – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Eine Zahl kennt in diesem Finanzrahmen offenbar nur eine Richtung nach oben: Die Kosten für die EU-Verwaltung – 2021 waren es rund 10 Mrd. EUR, und fünf Jahre später sind es fast 14 Mrd. EUR. 3 Mrd. EUR mehr in fünf Jahren! Das muss man sich auf der Zunge zergehen lassen. Ich frage Sie, Frau von der Leyen: Wo ist denn der versprochene Bürokratieabbau? Wo sind denn die Einsparungen? Wenn man auf der einen Seite vorgibt, zu deregulieren, auf der anderen Seite aber Bürokratie aufbaut, dann muss ich sagen, ist das keine gute Kommissionsführung. Frau von der Leyen, das ist systematisches Versagen als Kommissionspräsidentin.

2-0232-0000

Daniel Freund (Verts/ALE). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Absicht der deutschen Bundesregierung, bei der Europäischen Union den harten Rotstift anzusetzen, alles zusammenzusparen, hat jetzt auch auf die Haushaltsverhandlungen 2027 durchgeschlagen. Und in einer Zeit, wo wir mehr Europa brauchen, wo wir mehr gemeinsame Projekte brauchen, gerade im Bereich Verteidigung zum Beispiel, wird also einfach überall der Rotstift angelegt.

Man muss sagen, das ist besonders schmerzhaft bei der Finanzierung der Europäischen Staatsanwaltschaft. Und da ist es nicht Sparen, sondern es kostet die Steuerzahlerinnen und Steuerzahler am Ende doppelt und dreifach, weil diese Institution bringt den Steuerzahlern mehr Geld von den Betrügern zurück, von den Korrupten da draußen, als dass sie kostet.

Jetzt ging es um Stellen für Polen, für Belgien – wo die EU-Institutionen sitzen – und vor allen Dingen für Ungarn, wo die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft endlich nächstes Jahr ihre Arbeit aufnehmen soll und die enorme Aufgabe hat, die letzten fünf Jahre des Orbán-Mafiastaats mit aufzuarbeiten. Da haben die in Ungarn gerade 17 Mio. EUR in Bargeld aus dem Wald raus gebuddelt, die Orbáns Minister da vergraben haben, und jetzt wollen wir ihnen die Stellen nicht geben, die die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft braucht, um diese Korruption aufzuarbeiten. Das ist

wirklich an der falschen Stelle gespart. Bei der Europäischen Staatsanwaltschaft ist jeder Euro eine Investition in noch mehr Gelder, die zurückkommen. Und es ist wirklich schmerzhaft, das zu sehen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen.

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" zu antworten.)

2-0233-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Vielen Dank, Herr Kollege, dass Sie die blaue Karte akzeptiert haben. Ich habe drei Fragen – zwei große, eine kleine.

Die erste Frage ist: Sie sprachen von Projekten der gemeinsamen europäischen Verteidigung. Was schwebt Ihnen da vor?

Die zweite Frage ist: Wenn wir die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft im Rahmen des Haushalts stärken möchten, würde dazu nicht auch gehören, Europol zu einer tatsächlichen Ermittlungsbehörde der Europäischen Staatsanwaltschaft – genauso wie es im deutschen Verhältnis zwischen Staatsanwaltschaft und Polizei besteht – umzuwandeln?

Und die dritte Frage, die eine kleine Frage ist: Haben Sie schon mal bei einer Matheklausur geschummelt?

2-0234-0000

Daniel Freund (Verts/ALE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Also ich fange mit der letzten Frage an: Ich habe nicht in der Matheklausur geschummelt.

Ich finde, wir brauchen in Europa eine wirkliche europäische Polizei. Ich könnte mir da was in Richtung eines europäischen FBI, also wirklicher europäischer Ermittlungsbehörden, vorstellen. Bei grenzüberschreitenden Verbrechen brauchen wir auch grenzüberschreitende Polizei. Nicht nur einfach, dass nationale Polizeien zusammenarbeiten. Und auch bei der Verteidigung finde ich, sollten wir nicht mehr in 27 kleinen nationalen Armeen funktionieren, sondern dahin arbeiten, dass wir eine wirkliche europäische Verteidigung hinbekommen.

2-0235-0000

Ruth Firmenich (NI). – Frau Präsidentin! Wir sprechen hier über die Veruntreuung europäischen Steuergelds – denn nichts anderes ist es, um das es geht. Statt in Infrastruktur, soziale Sicherheit und in die Zukunft zu investieren, sollen zusätzlich zu den nationalen Militärausgaben die EU-Ausgaben für Rüstung massiv steigen. Und obwohl immer mehr Menschen in Europa die Unterstützung der korrupten Ukraine ablehnen, will die EU noch mehr Milliarden in den Stellvertreterkrieg der NATO gegen Russland stecken.

Besonders unrühmlich ist dabei die Rolle der Mehrheit der Abgeordneten hier im Europaparlament. Sie sorgen dafür, dass bei diesem Wahnsinn sogar noch eine Schippe draufgelegt wird. Das ist eine Schande. Denn was in Krieg und Ukraine gesteckt wird, fehlt zu Hause bei Schulen, Rente und Pflege. Der Anspruch der Europäischen Union war einst, das Leben der Menschen zu verbessern. Doch von diesem Ziel hat man sich längst verabschiedet. Die EU macht das Leben der Menschen in Europa nicht besser, sondern gefährlicher und teurer. Dabei wollen die Menschen in Europa keinen Krieg. Sie wollen Bildung, Gesundheit und ein gutes Leben.

(Die Rednerin lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" von Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle ab.)

2-0236-0000
Monika Hohlmeier (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Ratspräsidentschaft! Zunächst einmal muss ich sagen, dass ich froh darüber bin, dass wir letztendlich eine Einigung erzielen konnten. Ich möchte auch sagen, dass es sicherlich viele richtige Schwerpunkte sind, die wir wählen. Ich möchte aber auch ein paar kritische Punkte erwähnen.

Erster kritischer Punkt: die Vorrednerin – noch peinlicher geht es nicht. Der Angriffskrieg wird von Russland geführt und nicht von der NATO oder von Europa aus. Und wenn Menschen um ihr Leben fürchten müssen, wenn Kinder in einer Brutalität umgebracht werden, entführt werden, gekidnappt werden, zu Kindersoldaten ausgebildet werden, dann empfinde ich es nur noch als peinlich, wenn sich jemand hinstellt und das Gegenteil von dem behauptet, was die Realität ist. Also Propaganda für Putin kann man anders machen, um das offen zu sagen. Es ist nur peinlich, was hier abläuft.

Ich habe aber eine Bitte, Herr Kommissar: Wir haben tatsächlich – Daniel Freund hat diesen Punkt schon ganz richtig angesprochen, auch wenn wir sicherlich eine gemeinsame komplette Verteidigung, das halte ich nicht für machbar, sämtliche Armeen zu vereinigen. Aber wichtige gemeinsame Projekte, gerade im Bereich des Weltraums, wo wir bewiesen haben, dass wir gemeinsam stärker sind als einzeln, wären sehr sinnvoll und sehr notwendig. Nicht nur gemeinsame Beschaffung, sondern auch gemeinsame Forschung und dann Realisierung und Abstimmung untereinander würde auch Geld sparen, Synergien erbringen.

Ein Punkt, der mir besonders durch den Kopf geht in diesem Zusammenhang ist: Wir haben Agenturen, in denen tatsächlich die Ressourcen fehlen. Wir wären momentan nicht einmal in der Lage, ein neues Flugzeug zu zertifizieren, weil die entsprechende Agentur das Personal dafür gar nicht hätte. Aus diesem Grund meine Bitte, sich die Dinge doch noch einmal ziemlich sorgfältig anzuschauen. Wo wir einen dringenden Bedarf haben, sollten wir den auch erfüllen.

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" zu antworten.)

2-0237-0000
Alexander Jungbluth (ESN), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Vielen Dank, Frau Kollegin. Es gibt tatsächlich eine ganz aktuelle Studie von heute, von der IW, und die sagt, dass der Nettobeitrag Deutschlands im vergangenen Jahr auf 14,9 Mrd. EUR gestiegen ist. Damit ist er dreimal so hoch wie der des Zweitplatzierten. Und viele Kollegen haben ja darüber gesprochen, dass wir eigentlich einen – oder Ihrer Kollegen –, dass sie einen höheren Haushalt haben wollen. Und es gibt ja großen Widerspruch, insbesondere aus Deutschland, insbesondere aus der CDU/CSU. Das ist ganz interessant, weil viele Kollegen der CDU/CSU hier wiederum für einen höheren Haushalt der EU plädieren. Das heißt, hier gibt es einen gewissen Widerspruch. Können Sie diesen Widerspruch aufklären?

2-0238-0000
Monika Hohlmeier (PPE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Ich brauche den Widerspruch nicht aufzuklären. Wir werden in Verhandlungen eintreten und dass man auf verschiedenen Ebenen auch unterschiedliche Positionen mit einbringen kann, das ist nun mal schlicht und einfach so, weil die nationalen Abgeordneten oftmals vor allem die nationalen Haushaltsnöte sehen. Das ist in Frankreich so, das ist in Deutschland so, das ist in Italien so, das ist in Spanien und überall so.

Unsere Aufgabe ist, den Mehrwert Europas darzustellen – und nicht in der Kurzfristigkeit nationaler Bedürfnisse. Jeder hat an seiner Stelle seinen Platz, aber um es Ihnen offen gestanden zu

sagen: Wenn ich mir ansehe, wie sehr Deutschland im Bereich der Wirtschaft vom Export und vom Binnenmarkt profitiert, dann wäre ich ganz vorsichtig mit den Zahlen.

2-0239-0000
Carla Tavares (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Ministro, Senhor Comissário, o orçamento para 2027 marca o último ano do quadro financeiro plurianual e um período profundamente marcado por crises e desafios sem precedentes.

Se é verdade que considerámos a proposta da Comissão para 2027 aquém das necessidades, não garantindo os recursos necessários para responder às nossas prioridades, às emergências e aos desafios, também é justo reconhecer que, durante o processo longo de negociação (e aproveito, uma vez mais, também, para agradecer aos meus colegas relatores), foi possível fazer importantes reforços, nomeadamente, 70 milhões de EUR para reforçar a rubrica «Vizinhança e Mundo», 40 milhões de EUR para o Instrumento Europa Global, destinados à vizinhança meridional, à vizinhança oriental e à Moldávia, e mais 30 milhões de EUR para ajuda humanitária. Reforçámos ainda o Serviço Europeu para a Ação Externa em 3,4 milhões de EUR. São reforços concretos que demonstram a importância do papel do Parlamento Europeu nas prioridades da União Europeia.

Mas este exercício deve também servir de lição para o próximo quadro financeiro plurianual. Não podemos continuar a exigir que a União Europeia faça mais, assuma mais responsabilidades e responda a mais desafios com menos recursos. Por isso, permitam-me: o tamanho do próximo quadro financeiro é, pois, determinante para o futuro e para os consensos que é esperado sejam alcançados.

Os nossos parceiros precisam da Europa, e a Europa tem de estar à altura das suas responsabilidades, dando um sinal claro aquando da discussão e da aprovação deste próximo quadro financeiro.

2-0240-0000
Valérie Deloge (PfE). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, comment nous demander de croire en l'Europe si elle ne respecte plus les engagements qui l'ont fondée? L'agriculture est l'une des premières politiques communes de notre Union. Depuis 1962, la PAC porte une promesse fondatrice: garantir un revenu équitable à nos agriculteurs, assurer l'approvisionnement alimentaire et faire vivre notre agriculture.

Le Parlement a demandé 433 milliards pour une PAC au budget propre et sanctuarisé. La Commission, elle, n'a proposé que 300 milliards pour le soutien au revenu et les crises. Pour les autres financements agricoles, nos agriculteurs, nos producteurs devront dépendre des arbitrages nationaux dans les plans PNR. Avec ces nouveaux plans PNR, vous proposez donc de diluer l'agriculture dans des grands plans, aux côtés de la cohésion, de la pêche et bien d'autres politiques diverses et variées. Est-ce cela la visibilité que l'Europe promet à nos agriculteurs et citoyens?

J'interpelle directement mes collègues du PPE et du S&D: vous faites la pluie et le beau temps dans cette assemblée. En commission AGRI vos élus interviennent comme nous sur la nécessité de garanties de sécurité pour nos agriculteurs. Alors qu'attendez-vous pour imposer une position commune, ferme et non négociable au Parlement? Pourquoi ne pas faire de cette sanctuarisation un combat commun? On ne peut pas proclamer que l'agriculture est en danger en Europe tout en la traitant comme une variable secondaire, diluable dans son budget.

2-0241-0000

Tobiasz Bocheński (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Jest to ostatni budżet wieloletniej perspektywy, która była katastrofalna dla Unii Europejskiej i Europy. I jest to kolejny zły budżet. Na naszych oczach udało się szanownym państwu, ku wielkiemu waszemu zadowoleniu, doprowadzić do sytuacji, w której wzrost gospodarczy Europy się zatrzymał, kiedy Stany Zjednoczone wyprzedzają nas nie o jedną długość, ale o kilka długości, kiedy w Niemczech zamykane są fabryki, we Francji są protesty, w Polsce likwidowane są miejsca pracy, a ceny energii są jednymi z najwyższych w Unii Europejskiej.

Wszystko to zawdzięczamy waszej polityce i waszym pomysłom. Dlaczego? Dlatego, że przedsiębiorczość i bogactwo nie biorą z regulacji i z biurokracji. W tym budżecie wzrost wydatków na biurokrację to 4,4% względem poprzedniego budżetu. To jest coś nieprawdopodobnego. Przedsiębiorczość nie bierze się z podatków, ponieważ nie ma czegoś takiego jak publiczne pieniądze. Są tylko i wyłącznie pieniądze podatników.

A wy pieniądze Europejczyków wyciągacie im z kieszeni i, jak frywolne dzieci, przerzucacie z biurka na biurko w ramach redystrybucji, która nie przyczynia się ani do wzrostu gospodarczego, ani do innowacyjności, ani do konkurencyjności. Przyczynia się tylko i wyłącznie do pogłębiania problemów i różnic, które pojawiają się na całej szerokości i długości Unii Europejskiej.

(Mówca zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0242-0000

Marta Wcisło (PPE), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Panie pośle, powiedział pan, że Unia Europejska doprowadziła do sytuacji złych, nieprawidłowych, katastrofalnych. Ja bym chciała przypomnieć panu, do czego doprowadziło 5 lat temu nieudolne państwo. Otóż doprowadziło do tego, że na granicy Unii Europejskiej w Małaszewiczach – to pytanie zadałam też panu koledze – jednym z największych portów przeładunkowych z Azji do Europy, polscy przedsiębiorcy wskutek nieudolności służb celnych i państwa, którym rządził PiS, zostali wykorzystani, zostali zmanipulowani i zostali obciążeni gigantycznym długiem celnym. Co by pan dzisiaj powiedział tym przedsiębiorcom, którzy stoją na granicy bankructwa, bo 5 lat temu służby nie zadziałały, państwo nie zadziałało?

2-0243-0000

Tobiasz Bocheński (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Bardzo dziękuję, pani poseł. Choć nie jest to pytanie w żaden sposób związane z budżetem Unii Europejskiej na 2027 rok, który został przygotowany przez pana Serafina, prawą rękę Donalda Tuska i Ursuli von der Leyen, to odpowiadając na pani pytanie: tak, Małaszewicze są bardzo istotnym punktem przeładunkowym w projekcie chińsko–europejskim „jednego pasa i jednego szlaku". I tak, w czasach rządów Prawa i Sprawiedliwości bardzo dużo towarów tamtędy płynęło. A jeżeli były jakiekolwiek nieprawidłowości, to należy je wyjaśnić. Obawiam się tylko, że służby ministra Kierwińskiego czy ministra Siemoniaka temu nie podołają.

2-0244-0000

Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle (Renew). – Madam President, it never ceases to amaze me the selective hearing and reading of the far right when it comes to the ECA: 'the European Court of Auditors, this and that and that'. But when it comes to gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the budget, which the ECA has said we have to ramp up, where are you, voting against it? So don't come here with 'advice from the ECA, A, B and C'.

On that note, one in three women in Europe experiences violence and one in five experiences sexual violence, and tomorrow this Parliament will colour orange to mark the fight against gender-based violence. And yet, despite the efforts from our Parliament's negotiating team, and I appreciate those, in the 2027 budget, we will still dedicate insufficient resources to this very important fight.

We have worked very hard on new European laws to increase women's safety and to support victims of violence, but those laws won't be effective unless we put our money where our mouths are. That is why, in the next MFF for the European Union, this Parliament will keep fighting for resources to fight against violence against more than half of Europe's inhabitants.

2-0245-0000

Cristina Guarda (Verts/ALE). – Signora Presidente, è bello gioire di piccole vittorie ma per il 2027 noi del Parlamento chiedevamo 85 milioni in più per Life e altrettanti per l'agricoltura: ne sono arrivati meno di un ottavo!

E per i prossimi sette anni il Consiglio propone altri tagli. Soldi per il riarmo, sempre! Briciole, invece, per proteggere le persone. Il bilancio europeo racconta una scelta politica e, purtroppo, quella del futuro in particolar modo rischierà di essere una scelta antieuropeista, che fa gioco a quelle destre che vogliono indebolire le politiche comuni e mettere i territori in competizione per risorse sempre più scarse: agricoltori contro lavoratori, aree interne contro città.

Così si lascia indietro chi deve affrontare la crisi climatica, la precarietà, la mancanza di servizi. Si rende più difficile vivere e lavorare scegliendo di vivere nella propria terra. Un'Europa divisa, con un bilancio che vale appena l'1% della ricchezza che produce, resterà debole, dipendente dai potenti, a favore di altri interessi.

Noi invece vogliamo un'Europa capace di investire nelle persone, nei territori. Abbiamo bisogno di nuove risorse? Benissimo, vi do un'idea: cominciamo a tassare i superricchi e gli extraprofitti e cominciamo a restituire a chi in questo momento sta dando di più.

2-0246-0000

Marta Wcisło (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Polska i pozostałe państwa wschodniej flanki bronią dziś całej Unii Europejskiej. A w stanowisku Rady dotyczącym budżetu na przyszły rok wciąż brakuje dodatkowego, specjalnego wsparcia finansowego dla regionów przygranicznych. Owszem, są środki na bezpieczeństwo i na obronę cywilną, za co dziękuję. Wschodnie regiony Unii Europejskiej mierzą się dziś z naruszeniami przestrzeni powietrznej, ograniczeniami w handlu i spadkiem inwestycji. Dlatego potrzebujemy europejskiej solidarności, większych kopert narodowych dla państw wschodniej flanki, wyższych zaliczek i dofinansowań, dodatkowych środków dla regionów przygranicznych, dla ich przedsiębiorców, rolników i samorządów.

Ale bezpieczeństwo wschodniej granicy to również bezpieczeństwo celne i gospodarcze. Na granicy Unii Europejskiej w Polsce, w Małaszewiczach, jednym z najważniejszych portów przeładunkowych na Nowym Jedwabnym Szlaku, polskie firmy logistyczne padły ofiarą międzynarodowych mafii importerów wykorzystujących luki w unijnym prawie celnym, ale także nieudolność poprzedniej władzy i nieskuteczność służb celnych.

Po 5 latach OLAF stwierdza nieprawidłowości, których konsekwencjami finansowymi obciąża się dziś firmy logistyczne. Problem dotyczy aż 14 państw członkowskich. Wielomilionowe należności celne grożą upadkiem firm, zagrażają tysiącom miejsc pracy. Ofiary mafii mają

zapłacić za działalność przestępców sprzed 5 lat w ramach odpowiedzialności solidarnościowej za dług celny. Dlatego zwracam się o pomoc i o wsparcie. Europa nie może oczekiwać od wschodnich regionów, że będą gwarantem jej bezpieczeństwa, jeśli sama nie zagwarantuje im bezpieczeństwa gospodarczego i prawnego. I bardzo o to proszę.

2-0247-0000

Nicola Zingaretti (S&D). – Signora Presidente, solo grazie all'impegno del Parlamento il bilancio dei 27 può essere giudicato migliore: abbiamo ottenuto più risorse per i giovani, l'ambiente, l'innovazione digitale e questa è la nostra agenda.

Ma non abbassiamo certo la guardia, perché sappiamo che questa non è l'agenda dei governi europei che, influenzati dal nazionalismo, vogliono invece un'Europa debole. E questo è evidente dalla proposta del bilancio settennale che ci è stata avanzata: propongono solo tagli e non propongono investimenti, tagli che significano tagli al futuro.

Ma non li vedete i giovani, mi domando? Non vedete i lavoratori che riempiono le piazze d'Europa? Quelle ragazze e quei ragazzi hanno paura e vogliono da noi risposte: chiedono ai governi e a noi di non far morire la speranza per una vita degna.

È nata per questo l'Europa unita, non dimentichiamolo mai. Per questo noi continueremo nel nostro impegno. Per questo occorre coraggio: investire su un altro domani e non fomentare le paure per distruggere questo grande sogno europeo.

Continueremo la nostra battaglia, perché su questo non abbasseremo mai l'attenzione per costruire speranza e non paure.

2-0248-0000

Angéline Furet (PfE). – Madame la Présidente, ce budget 2027, à près de 200 milliards d'euros, révèle une impasse: le coût de la dette européenne absorbe nos marges. Près de 5 milliards d'euros de plus pour les intérêts de la dette et 650 millions pour l'Ukraine. Bruxelles racle les réserves et les restes de 2026, jusqu'à faire tomber plusieurs lignes à 0 € de marge.

Pendant que le programme environnemental LIFE augmente de 10 millions, on coupe plus de 52 millions sur les aides agricoles, et près de 59 millions sur l'aide de base. Nos agriculteurs servent de variable d'ajustement. Et dans le même temps, Bruxelles continue, sans états d'âme, d'ajouter des postes et des frais pour son appareil administratif.

La solution est simple: protégeons le revenu de nos agriculteurs, défendons nos filières agricoles et exigeons la transparence sur le coût de la dette avant le prochain cadre financier.

2-0249-0000

Εμμανουήλ Φράγκος (ECR). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, ο προϋπολογισμός της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για το 2027 προβλέπει τουλάχιστον 400 εκατομμύρια ευρώ στην Τουρκία, ενώ προβλέπεται επιπλέον χρηματοδότηση μέσω προενταξιακών και άλλων προγραμμάτων. Πείτε μας αν αυτό είναι λογικό. Την ίδια ώρα, βλέπουμε και 40 εκατομμύρια στη λεγόμενη «τουρκοκυπριακή κοινότητα», ο όρος που χρησιμοποιείται ως πλέον δόκιμος αντί της πραγματικότητας του τουρκικού στρατού κατοχής.

Έπειτα έχουμε περίπου 90 δισεκατομμύρια δανεικά με μηδενικό επιτόκιο για την Ουκρανία, που όπως φαίνεται θα είναι και αγύριστα. Έτσι, αντί να αντιμετωπίζουμε το ενεργειακό κόστος, τα χρήματα των Ευρωπαίων φορολογούμενων πετιούνται στον τουρκικό και ουκρανικό αέρα.

Φτάνει πια με την ευρωπαϊκή χρηματοδότηση στον σκανδαλώδη πλουτισμό της παρέας του Zelenskyy και του Erdoğan. Προτεραιότητα για εμάς είναι οι Έλληνες ψαράδες, κτηνοτρόφοι, μελισσοκόμοι καθώς και οι νέοι που δεν μπορούν να βγάλουν το μήνα και αναγκάζονται να εγκαταλείψουν τη χώρα μας.

2-0250-0000

Ciaran Mullooly (Renew). – Madam President, Commissioner, the EU's 2027 budget is more important than ever before. Commitments of almost EUR 200 billion represent an increase of about 3 % from last year. And we need every euro.

We've worked in this Parliament to deliver for farmers and, indeed, for our regions, with EUR 75 billion allocated to agriculture along with a commitment to territorial cohesion. We've put more money into the Union's civil protection mechanism – up by over EUR 13 million – so we can support our people affected by storms when they need it most.

Now we must look forward beyond 2027 to the next seven-year budget. And let me tell it straight: reorganising existing funds to try and plug a gap of nearly EUR 100 billion simply will not wash for our farmers. I have come forward with a concrete proposal to restructure repayments of the COVID-era debt. It's a no-brainer: we have the triple-A credit rating in Europe to deliver it and put EUR 100 billion back into the budget for food security, Commissioner. Let's do it! The fight for EU funds should be at national level. We need to deliver here in Brussels for our citizens.

2-0251-0000

Danuše Nerudová (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, our room for manoeuvre was very limited, as this was the last annual budget of the current MFF, but still I believe our parliamentary rapporteurs did a really good job, especially by reversing the Council's cuts.

More than EUR 300 million in additional funding is good news for European citizens, businesses and researchers. Some might say it's too little, but what does it mean in real practice? EUR 14 million for Erasmus+ could finance around 7 000 students studying abroad for five months. EUR 21.5 million for Horizon Europe means more funding for research, including cancer treatments and new technologies. These are not just numbers; they are real opportunities for Europeans.

So, once again, thank you to everybody involved in our last conciliation for your hard work.

2-0252-0000

Giuseppe Lupo (S&D). – Signora Presidente, Commissario, colleghi, il bilancio 2027 è il risultato di una battaglia politica giusta che abbiamo portato avanti come gruppo Socialisti e Democratici, come Parlamento europeo, riuscendo a recuperare circa un miliardo di euro in più rispetto ai tagli proposti dal Consiglio e 300 milioni rispetto alla proposta iniziale della Commissione, che ha condiviso poi l'accordo finale.

Abbiamo lavorato per un bilancio che possa investire di più sulle priorità dei cittadini, sul futuro dell'Europa, destinando più risorse ai giovani (14 milioni in più per Erasmus+), una maggiore tutela per l'ambiente, sostenendo l'innovazione, la transizione digitale, il mercato unico, destinando 30 milioni di euro per gli aiuti umanitari alle popolazioni colpite dalle guerre e dalle crisi: perché il bilancio europeo deve essere innanzitutto uno strumento di solidarietà, di crescita, di giustizia sociale.

Per questo è fondamentale, per affrontare le sfide che ci attendono, che il prossimo quadro finanziario pluriennale risponda alle richieste dei giovani e degli europei.

2-0253-0000

Pierre Pimpie (PfE). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, nous avons une responsabilité, c'est de veiller à l'utilité de chaque euro dépensé dans le strict respect des traités. Ce que je vois, c'est une avalanche de dépenses dans des secteurs qui ne sont pas couverts par les traités. Nous sombrons sous les injonctions de l'UE et les normes dans tous les domaines, même ceux qui étaient censés relever des États.

L'inflation des dépenses que l'UE nous impose n'aide pas au progrès. C'est une perte sèche de compétitivité pour les entreprises. C'est une ruine financière pour les États qui s'abîment dans le puits sans fond de vos nouveaux impôts, de vos énièmes ressources propres. Il faut cesser tout cela. Nous ne voulons pas de votre dette commune.

2-0254-0000

Piotr Müller (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Prawdziwa decyzja o pieniądzach na najbliższe lata przed nami. I to nie tutaj, w tej chwili, ale na najbliższym szczycie Rady Europejskiej, a być może i na kolejnych. Mam nadzieję, że na kolejnych, ponieważ jeżeli dojdzie do tego porozumienia, które miałoby być teraz zaakceptowane, to Polska na tych rozstrzygnięciach straci. Straci dlatego, że będzie musiała część środków finansowych z podatków, które do tej pory trafiały do budżetu polskiego, oddać do Brukseli, aby to Bruksela łaskawie zdecydowała, na co je wydać.

Panie komisarzu, na to zgody ze strony Polaków nie może być. Nie może być tak, że my jeszcze więcej środków z podatków, które trafiały do tej pory do polskiego budżetu, mamy oddać do Brukseli, aby pan łaskawie ze swoimi kolegami później zdecydował, czy je oddać Polsce.

I dzisiaj rozmawiamy o budżecie na 2027 rok, ale większa batalia rozpocznie się właśnie, jeżeli chodzi o ramy wieloletnie. Panie komisarzu, jeszcze raz będę apelował po stokroć z tego miejsca: niech pan będzie bardziej odważny wobec Ursuli von der Leyen, bardziej asertywny. Ja myślę, że Polacy to docenią, jeżeli pan zawalczy o środki na rolnictwo, o środki na politykę spójności i będzie przeciwko dodatkowym podatkom i zabieraniu tych podatków z Polski, które trafiały do tej pory do polskiego budżetu.

(Mówca zgodził się na kilka pytań zasygnalizowanych przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0255-0000

Marta Wcisło (PPE), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Panie pośle, dlaczego pan wprowadza opinię publiczną w błąd? Przecież Polska jest płatnikiem netto, jeśli chodzi o budżet europejski. Dlaczego pan mówi, że więcej wpłacamy i mniej otrzymujemy? Jesteśmy absolutnie płatnikiem netto, mamy największą kopertę narodową w nowej perspektywie finansowej, mamy największe środki. Dostaliśmy najwięcej pieniędzy na SAFE. Dlaczego pan wprowadza dezinformację na forum Parlamentu Europejskiego?

2-0256-0000

Piotr Müller (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Pani poseł, niech panie zerknie na to, co proponuje w tej chwili pani kolega, pan komisarz Serafin. Komisarz Serafin proponuje, aby Polska oddawała środki między innymi z akcyzy do budżetu unijnego, częściowo z ETS-u do budżetu unijnego. Czy pani rząd, rząd Donalda Tuska, jest na tyle nieudolny, że sam nie potrafi zdecydować o tych środkach? Naprawdę musicie je oddawać tutaj, do Brukseli, aby za was decydowano o tym, na co je wydać? Bo ja wolę, żeby te środki z tych podatków, które już trafiły do polskiego budżetu, były w rękach polskiego rządu, żeby to Polacy o

nich decydowali, a nie żeby przechodziły przez jakieś gabinety brukselskie i później w części wracały do Polski.

2-0257-0000

Marta Wcisło (PPE), *reakcja na niebieską kartkę***.** – Każdy kraj członkowski płaci składkę i pan poseł doskonale o tym wie. I ja nadal apeluję do pana, aby pan nie wprowadzał dezinformacji. Jesteśmy zobligowani do wywiązywania się z traktatów, które podpisaliśmy. Jeśli wy chcecie wyprowadzić Polskę z Unii Europejskiej, bo słyszymy to w Polsce na każdym kroku, to proszę powiedzieć to wprost tutaj na forum Parlamentu Europejskiego. Skoro ta Unia Europejska taka zła i nic z niej nie mamy, to co wy macie? Wy macie uposażenie poselskie i diety poselskie. To wam nie przeszkadza? A Polaków chcecie wyprowadzić z Unii Europejskiej. Wstyd, panie pośle, naprawdę wstyd.

2-0258-0000

Piotr Müller (ECR), *reakcja na niebieską kartkę***.** – Nie usłyszała pani nigdy ode mnie słowa, że Polska ma wyjść z Unii Europejskiej. Uważam, że Unia Europejska to jest projekt, który przez lata podejmował dobre decyzje i doprowadził do rozwoju gospodarczego Europy i Polski. Ale to nie oznacza, że ja mam akceptować kolejne decyzje w Brukseli, które będą błędne i szkodliwe dla przyszłości Unii Europejskiej i szkodliwe dla naszego kraju. A takimi szkodliwymi decyzjami będzie oddanie kolejnych wpływów z budżetu krajowego do decyzji w Brukseli. Pani poseł, czy naprawdę pani nawet w swój własny rząd nie wierzy, że lepiej będzie decydować o środkach, niż żeby oddawać je Brukseli i żeby Bruksela decydowała za was? Chcecie oddać kwestię akcyzy? Chcecie oddać wpływy z ETS-u. Chcecie, żeby dodatkowe podatki trafiały do Brukseli zamiast do Polski? To jest błędna decyzja, pani poseł. Odwagi i więcej asertywności w Brukseli!

2-0259-0000

Dariusz Joński (PPE), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Szanowny panie pośle, był pan rzecznikiem rządu Jarosława Kaczyńskiego, dokładnie Mateusza Morawieckiego. To państwo – i pan to akceptował również jako poseł – zablokowaliście pieniądze dla Polski z KPO. To pan to później tłumaczył. To pan obiecywał, że pieniądze zostaną odblokowane. Nigdy nie zostały. Dzisiaj pieniądze już pracują. Mało tego, dzisiaj pan komisarz przedstawił, ile poszczególne kraje Unii Europejskiej dostaną pieniędzy. Polska ma największą kopertę. 123 miliardy to jest propozycja komisji dla Polski, najwięcej w historii. Czy panu nie wstyd tutaj wstać i w ten sposób się wypowiadać jak przed chwilą?

2-0260-0000

Piotr Müller (ECR), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – To, że pana koledzy proponują, aby przekazać środki, które wpływały do tej pory do budżetu polskiego, do Brukseli, żeby to Bruksela decydowała, jak mają być wydane pieniądze z akcyzy czy programu ETS, to się panu dziwię. Bo myślałem, że pan jednak broni polskiego interesu w tym wypadku, żebyśmy sami decydowali o tych środkach finansowych. A jeżeli chodzi o blokady środków z KPO, to najlepiej to wytłumaczył z dumą i chwalił się tym prezydent Warszawy Rafał Trzaskowski, wiceprzewodniczący Platformy Obywatelskiej, który z dumą mówił, że blokowaliście te środki, żeby nie trafiły do Polski. To jest najlepsze podsumowanie.

2-0261-0000

Dariusz Joński (PPE), *reakcja na niebieską kartkę***.** – Szanowny panie pośle, byliście przeciwko KPO, byliście przeciwko SAFE w polskim parlamencie, a te pieniądze są na uzbrojenie Polski i ochronę granic w Polsce, a teraz jeszcze występujecie przeciwko Unii Europejskiej i budżetowi. Po prostu wstyd.

2-0262-0000
Piotr Müller (ECR), *reakcja na niebieską kartkę***.** – Panie pośle, przypomnę, że środki z KPO, rekordowe środki dla Polski, wynegocjował Mateusz Morawiecki. A to, że wy je zablokowaliście później, to jest zupełnie inna kwestia, bo na szczycie Rady Europejskiej wtedy był Mateusz Morawiecki, a nie Donald Tusk. Więc cieszę się, że pan chwali, że te duże środki były wynegocjowane przez nasz rząd. To jest pierwsza rzecz. Druga rzecz, jeżeli chodzi o program SAFE, to niech pan zerknie w tej chwili, jak wygląda ryzyko kursowe, które spowodowało, że opłacalność tych środków jest mniejsza. Ale my mieliśmy alternatywę w postaci środków krajowych. I pan doskonale o tym wie. Ten projekt leży nadal w polskim Sejmie, zagłosujcie za nim. Myślę, że te środki też się przydadzą dla Polski.

2-0263-0000
Kinga Kollár (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az európai költségvetés a gazdákról szól, akik munkájukkal nap mint nap biztosítják élelmiszer-ellátásunkat. A vállalkozásokról, amelyek fejlődni akarnak, és a családokról, akik egy biztonságosabb, kiszámíthatóbb jövőben reménykednek. A magyarok is pont ezt a támogatást várják és várták Európától. Az Orbán-kormánynak köszönhető öt sanyarú év után 2027 lesz az az év, amikor a magyarok is újra teljes joggal hozzáférnek a nekik járó uniós forrásokhoz. Számomra ez a legfontosabb ebben a költségvetésben: hogy végre a magyar települések fejlődését, a magyar diákok jövőjét és a magyar innováció ösztönzését is jelenti a mostani megállapodás.

A kevésbé jó hír, hogy a 2027-es költségvetésről rendkívül szűkös keretek között tárgyaltunk. Az Európai Parlamentnek így is sikerült több mint 300 millió eurónyi többletforrást biztosítani a közös prioritásainkra: az Erasmusra, hogy a fiatalok tanulhassanak, a régiókra, hogy könnyebben elérhetőek legyenek, és a határokra, hogy erősebben védjük őket. Európa előtt ma olyan kihívások állnak, amelyeket egyetlen tagállam sem tud egyedül megoldani. Ha közös céljaink vannak, azokhoz közös forrásokat is biztosítanunk kell. A források mellett pedig arról is gondoskodnunk kell, hogy azokat hatékonyan használjuk fel, így azok eredményei minden tagállamban, köztük Magyarországon is kézzelfoghatóak lesznek.

2-0264-0000
Νικόλας Φαραντούρης (S&D). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, οι δρόμοι της Ευρώπης βράζουν από τις συσσωρευμένες κοινωνικές ανάγκες. Ωστόσο, το Συμβούλιο Υπουργών ζητούσε περικοπές ύψους ενός δισεκατομμυρίου ευρώ στον προϋπολογισμό του 2027. Αντισταθήκαμε και καταφέραμε αυξήσεις 300 εκατομμυρίων ευρώ. Όμως οι κοινωνικές ανάγκες, οι ανάγκες των αγροτών, των εργαζομένων, των νέων ανθρώπων απαιτούν περισσότερα.

Γι' αυτό και στο Πολυετές Δημοσιονομικό Πλαίσιο, δηλαδή τον προϋπολογισμό της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης που διαπραγματευόμαστε τώρα για το 2028-2034, δεν χωρούν περικοπές ούτε για τον πρωτογενή τομέα ούτε για την κοινωνική και περιφερειακή συνοχή. Αντιθέτως, χρειάζονται γενναίες πρωτοβουλίες για τη στέγαση των νέων ανθρώπων.

Καλώ όλες τις προοδευτικές και δημοκρατικές δυνάμεις να ενώσουν τη φωνή τους.

2-0265-0000
Nina Carberry (PPE). – Madam President, a budget is about priorities; it's about turning ambition into investment in what truly matters to our citizens. And an agreement on the 2027 EU budget shows what ambition can achieve. Parliament secured over EUR 300 million beyond the Commission's original proposal: additional funding for Erasmus+, humanitarian aid, young

farmers and agricultural promotion. Real investment with real impact. I acknowledge all colleagues involved in these successful negotiations, which went long into the night and particularly the Tánaiste, Irish Minister for Finance Simon Harris, for chairing the negotiations.

But if we show this ambition for our annual budget, why not also in our long-term EU budget? In 2025, we heard about cuts from the Commission; again in June from the Council; and again in October. And just last Saturday, further cuts were proposed. How can we build the Europe we need if we keep cutting the budget to deliver it? How can we ask Europe to do more with less?

I have been travelling across my constituency, listening to farmers, students, small businesses and local communities, and I've heard first-hand the need for investment, opportunities and a Europe that delivers for them. We want a Europe that is food-secure and competitive, and where young people have opportunities and our older generations can thrive. We are almost in December now and we are working against the clock on an agreement. We call on the Council and the Commission to match Parliament's ambition and deliver for our citizens.

2-0266-0000

Alex Agius Saliba (S&D). – Sinjura President, bil-baġit Ewropew, l-Unjoni Ewropea tista' tagħmel differenza konkreta fil-ħajja taċ-ċittadini tagħna. Il-prezzijiet qed jerġgħu jogħlew minħabba l-kriżi tal-enerġija u ċ-ċittadini tagħna qed iħossu l-pressjoni dejjem tikber fuq l-għoli tal-ħajja. Għall-grupp tagħna, l-affordabilità trid tkun fil-qalba tal-baġit Ewropew. Kemm għal dik ta' din is sena u kif ukoll għal dik li ġejja, b'mod partikolari wkoll għall-baġits illi ġejjin. Il-prijoritajiet tagħna huma ċari daqs il-kristall: neħtieġu aktar investiment soċjali, speċjalment biex nieħdu ħsieb lil dawk l-aktar vulnerabbli fis-soċjetà tagħna, ma nistgħux naċċettaw li t-tfal jikbru fil-faqar u liż-żgħażagħ Ewropej ikunu f'riskju ta' esklużjoni soċjali. Huwa għalhekk li l-Grupp tas-Soċjalisti qed jitlob Garanzija Ewropea speċifika għat-tfal, b'baġit ta' għoxrin biljun, sabiex il-faqar fost it-tfal fl-Ewropa jiġi eradikat b'mod effettiv. U għalhekk ukoll li għandna bżonn il-Fond Soċjali Ewropew, indipendenti u awtonomu, fil-qafas finanzjarju u anke wara l-2027. Baġit Ewropew b'dimensjoni soċjali jagħti lill-Istati Membri l-għodod u r-riżorsi meħtieġa sabiex jindirizzaw l-isfidi soċjali u jtaffu l-kriżi tal-għoli tal-ħajja.

2-0267-0000

Jüri Ratas (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, I welcome the compromise on the 2027 budget. I also welcome the fact that Parliament succeeded in securing additional funding for our priorities, including Horizon Europe, Erasmus+ and military mobility. These are investments in Europe's future competitiveness and our security.

But the additional cost of servicing the EU recovery debt is almost EUR 5 billion above the regional forecast. This puts pressure on our ability to invest in Europe's future. I also regret that we did not manage to secure the full mobilisation of the Ukraine support loan instrument. Supporting Ukraine is an investment in our own security. And my question: will the Commission commit to acting without delay if an additional EU budget supporting Ukraine becomes necessary?

2-0268-0000

Lina Gálvez (S&D). – Señora presidenta, un presupuesto siempre tiene que reflejar las prioridades políticas y, al mismo tiempo, debería reflejar también los intereses de la ciudadanía.

Por eso, que lo hagamos con mirada social y de género es esencial, como ha sido, por ejemplo, el caso de uno de los países europeos que más ha crecido gracias a las políticas y los presupuestos del Gobierno de Pedro Sánchez. Se ha crecido, al mismo tiempo se ha generado empleo, se han

aumentado los salarios y así se han reducido las desigualdades. Esa ha sido la línea que hemos tomado los socialistas en las negociaciones aquí en el Parlamento Europeo: intentar hacer un presupuesto realmente social. Hemos negociado la posición del Parlamento y la hemos mejorado.

Pero no nos engañemos, ahora hay que seguir luchando y peleando para que los recortes que se proponen desde el Consejo —desde un Consejo escorado a la derecha y la extrema derecha— no afecten al bienestar de la ciudadanía, porque esa austeridad va en contra de los intereses de la ciudadanía y también va en contra de la democracia y del propio proyecto europeo.

2-0269-0000

Gabriel Mato (PPE). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, celebro el acuerdo alcanzado sobre el presupuesto para 2027 y que siga contemplando como una de sus prioridades la agricultura y las necesidades específicas de las regiones ultraperiféricas.

Nuestros agricultores se enfrentan a limitaciones estructurales permanentes; de ahí el POSEI, que es una expresión concreta de solidaridad europea y que cada año destina 653 millones de euros a apoyar la agricultura de las regiones ultraperiféricas. Pero no basta: en el próximo marco financiero plurianual el POSEI tiene que mantenerse como un programa independiente dotado de un presupuesto suficiente y reforzado.

El Parlamento ha hecho su parte, así lo hemos acordado: 7 330 millones de euros y un POSEI fuera de los planes nacionales. Ahora le corresponde al Gobierno de España —y en particular al presidente Pedro Sánchez en el próximo Consejo Europeo de pasado mañana— defender este compromiso y garantizar el futuro del POSEI. Espero que haga este último servicio para Canarias y España antes de las elecciones del día 29.

2-0270-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, domnule ministru, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, sigur, cine a lucrat cu bugete știe că niciodată nu ajunge bugetul. Important este să vedem cum îl repartizăm și dacă prin cheltuirea acestui buget putem să ne atingem obiectivele, pentru că degeaba punem, domnule comisar, reindustrializare, accelerator industrial, susținerea IMM-urilor, susținerea fermierilor, dacă nu avem suficient buget. Și nu putem să avem suficient buget și nu este suficient bugetul pe 2027, pentru că nu ați ținut cont de propunerea Parlamentului, care de ani de zile spune: haideți să impozităm profiturile uriașe, haideți să impozităm jocurile de noroc, haideți să vedem accizele pentru anumite produse, ca să avem surse suplimentare.

Sigur că trebuie să vedem și cum se cheltuiesc acești bani, dar pe mine bugetul pe 2027 sigur mă duce cu gândul la ceea ce vom face pe următorul exercițiu, 2028-2034, pentru că, dacă nu susținem agricultura, dacă nu susținem fermierii, dacă nu susținem IMM-urile și securitatea – eu trăiesc în România, flancul de est –, știți bine cât au pierdut și fermierii, și IMM-urile, cât este pericolul de mare. Trebuie să ne asigurăm și securitatea alimentară, și o viață mai bună pentru cetățeni. Ce facem cu tinerii? Vorbim că e criza locuințelor. Nu putem să mergem mai departe fără a avea venituri suplimentare.

(Vorbitoarea a acceptat să răspundă la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”)

2-0271-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki.* – Pani jest z Rumunii. Ja jestem z Polski. I chciałem zapytać panią o nakłady, które nasze kraje wydają na bezpieczeństwo całej Europy, bo można odnieść wrażenie, że te blisko 5%, które wydaje Polska,

ale też kraje bałtyckie, Rumunia, one nie znajdują pełnego zrozumienia w polityce Unii Europejskiej, bo przecież tak naprawdę wschodnia flanka Unii Europejskiej daje bezpieczeństwo całej Unii Europejskiej. I mam do pani pytanie: jak pani ocenia dzisiaj politykę Unii Europejskiej właśnie w tym zakresie?

2-0272-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D), *răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”***.** – În scurtul timp pe care l-am avut, am atins și acest subiect. Da, aveți dreptate. Uniunea Europeană trebuie să înțeleagă că pe flancul de est – România, Polonia, cei care au graniță cu conflictul – avem nevoie de susținere, de bugete, pentru că nu ne apărăm numai pe noi. Apărăm Uniunea Europeană. Nu sunt mulțumită, dacă acesta este răspunsul foarte sumar, de ceea ce se întâmplă acum cu bugetul Uniunii Europene pentru apărarea flancului de est și pentru susținere. Nu sunt mulțumită nici de faptul că, după 20 de ani, România nu are la fermieri aceeași subvenție ca pentru fermierii din Vest.

2-0273-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR), *reakcja na niebieską kartkę***.** – Oczywiście zgadzam się, że nie znajdujemy w polityce Unii Europejskiej właściwego zrozumienia, bo przecież rządy naszych krajów, obecny rząd czy też poprzednie rządy, wydają znaczne środki na uzbrojenie, co też wiąże się z wyższym deficytem finansów publicznych. I w mojej ocenie – myślę, że również w pani – Unia Europejska powinna znacznie więcej środków przyznawać na zwiększenie odporności bezpieczeństwa właśnie wschodniej flanki NATO, która jest wschodnią i centralną częścią Unii Europejskiej.

2-0274-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D), *replică în procedura „cartonașului albastru”***.** – Răspunsul este foarte scurt: da, sunt de acord, cu un amendament – cheltuielile pentru apărare nu intră la deficit. Cred însă că, de exemplu, în România, toți banii pe care i-a primit pentru apărare se întorc în Germania, pentru că nu am dezvoltat o industrie de apărare în România, ci dăm banii înapoi în altă țară din Uniunea Europeană.

2-0275-0000

Gheorghe Falcă (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, dragi colegi, vă rog să priviți spre Marea Neagră. Acolo se vede clar de ce bugetul Uniunii reprezintă o chestiune urgentă de securitate comună. Portul Constanța, Dunărea, legăturile cu Bulgaria și Grecia, coridoarele spre Ucraina și Republica Moldova sunt esențiale pentru economia europeană, iar în situație de criză, aceeași infrastructură devine esențială pentru apărarea europeană.

Ca raportor alternativ, am susținut finanțarea acestei conexiuni și mă bucur că am reușit să obținem fonduri suplimentare pentru transporturi și mobilitate militară, dar acesta este ultimul buget din actualul cadru financiar, iar pentru următorul buget, Consiliul discută reduceri tocmai la infrastructura strategică. Mi se pare o direcție foarte greșită, chiar periculoasă. Un pod lipsă, o cale ferată blocată sau un port insuficient conectat nu pot fi reparate în ziua conflictului. Europa trebuie să investească acum pentru ca europenii să trăiască în siguranță mâine.

2-0276-0000

Karlo Ressler (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, after weeks of intense negotiations, we reached an agreement on the EU budget for the next year. I would like to thank, first of all, the rapporteurs and everyone, really, who was involved in the negotiations for the dedication and constructive approach throughout the quite demanding process. Parliament has

secured over EUR 300 million in additional funding for important European priorities, including competitiveness, research, infrastructure, education and security. This is definitely a valuable achievement in a particularly challenging budgetary context, with quite limited financial margins and increasing demands on the other side, on European resources.

These negotiations, once again, have also highlighted the financial constraints that we are facing as we negotiate the next long-term EU budget. We have opened the issues that we will have to solve also in the context of these negotiations, and I think that we all now understand even better that it is really essential that the new financial framework provides sufficient resources to address European growing challenges and priorities, from cohesion and agriculture on one side, but also to the new priorities of competitiveness, of security. This is something that we, together with the Commission, together with the Member States, intend to do.

2-0277-0000
Zgłoszenia z sali

2-0278-0000
Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Szanowna Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! To jest jednak dzień dobrych wiadomości, bo w tym znowelizowanym budżecie na rok 2027 mamy dobrą zapowiedź tego, co czeka nas w kolejnych ramach finansowych.

Przede wszystkim myślę o mobilności wojskowej, o instrumencie „Łącząc Europę". W tej perspektywie to było raptem 1 miliard 800 milionów, ale według propozycji Komisji ta kwota może wzrosnąć nawet dziesięciokrotnie. Ale nawet jeżeli w wyniku NegoBoxu ta kwota nie zostanie w pełni utrzymana, to mamy ważną deklarację przewodniczącego Rady Europejskiej. A mianowicie: priorytetowo będą traktowane korytarze mobilności wojskowej i jeszcze bardziej priorytetowo będą traktowane korytarze na wschodniej flance Unii Europejskiej. To są dobre wiadomości i bardzo oczekujemy tych decyzji. Trzymamy kciuki, panie komisarzu, za twarde negocjacje polskiej koperty, jak i środków na mobilność wojskową.

2-0279-0000
Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario Serafin, el debate de la conciliación no es otra cosa que la superación del desacuerdo entre el Parlamento Europeo y el Consejo como colegisladores. ¿Y qué ha hecho el Parlamento Europeo? Incrementar en 300 millones de euros la oferta del Consejo en el presupuesto del 2027, lo que es particularmente relevante en programas sensibles para la solidaridad, como es el caso del Mecanismo de Protección Civil de la Unión —13,5 millones de euros—, el Fondo de Asilo y Migración, que sube en 5 millones de euros, el Fondo de Seguridad Interior, que sube en 10 millones de euros, y la ayuda humanitaria, que sube en 30 millones de euros, además del programa Ciudadanos, Igualdad, Derechos y Valores, que sube en 1 millón de euros.

Pero, ¿qué sucede? Que, a pesar de todo, el presupuesto sigue rebajando la ambición por debajo del 1 % del producto interior bruto de la Unión Europea, lo que significa que empeora lo que teníamos, que estaba al menos en el 1,27 %. Y lo mismo sobre el marco financiero plurianual, donde es inaceptable que desaparezca la política regional de la que dependen las regiones menos favorecidas y las ultraperiféricas. Hace falta que el POSEI aparezca por su nombre en el marco financiero plurianual.

2-0280-0000
Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, vuonna 2020 meille vakuuteltiin, että 750 miljardin jättimäisen elpymispaketin yhteinen EU-velka on kertaluontoinen. Kertaluontoinen,

mutta velkataakkaa maksetaan takaisin joka vuosi aina vuoteen 2058 saakka. Minulla on erilainen käsitys kertaluontoisuudesta.

Tuolloin meille myös vakuuteltiin, että tämä viritelmä olisi tarkkarajainen. Ensi vuonna sen korot kuitenkin ylittävät suunnitelman lähes viidellä miljardilla eurolla. Minulla on erilainen käsitys tarkkarajaisuudesta.

Vuonna 2020 komission pomo Ursula von der Leyen jyrisi, että elpymispaketti suojataan kaikenlaisilta petoksilta ja korruptiolta, eikä tästä jousteta. Muutama vuosi myöhemmin todettiinkin jo tilintarkastajien suunnasta, että komissiolla ei ole tarkkaa tilannekuvaa siitä, minne jo maksetut varat ovat päätyneet. Elpymispaketti on elävä katastrofi veronmaksajille.

2-0281-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Madam President, dear people of Europe, you cannot study abroad on a promise, you cannot fund research with applause and you cannot help people in crisis with a press release. That is why this Parliament fought for an additional EUR 300 million in the 2027 EU budget. And I would like to congratulate the rapporteurs and all MEPs involved, because you won! You won for Erasmus, for research, for civil protection and for humanitarian aid.

Dear Commissioner, these are not just budget lines: they are opportunities, discoveries and help when it matters most for human beings. Because here in Parliament, we count euros, but in Europe they count on us.

2-0282-0000

Petras Gražulis (ESN). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, gerbiami Europos Parlamento nariai. Europos Sąjungoje, lyginant su kitomis pasaulio šalimis, biurokratijai išleidžiama didžiausia suma lėšų. Ir kad yra milžiniška biurokratija – tai akivaizdu. Ir ji nuolat plečiasi, ta biurokratija. Kalbant apie biudžetą, aš negirdėjau nei vieno europarlamentaro, kuris kalbėtų, kad gal mes pradėkime taupyti, mažinti biurokratiją, kuri taip pat tikrai „ryja“ pinigus. Man labai gaila, kad visos šalys, tame tarpe ir Lietuva, negali išgyventi be skolų. Lietuva vien tik šiais metais skolinosi apie 10 mlrd. – tai deficitui padengti, tai ir krašto apsaugai, ir kitiems dalykams. Jeigu mes eisime vien tik skolinimo keliu, tai ateitis tikrai liūdna. Man atrodo, mes patys turime susiveržti diržus ir ieškoti rimtos išeities.

2-0283-0000

Michalis Hadjipantela (PPE). – Madam President, yes, I have requested to speak because I thought I was going to make a speech again.

In my final speech, I was going to thank my co-rapporteur, Nils, for all the work. Nils, thank you very much. I was also going to thank the Chair of the BUDG Committee, Johan – thank you for your support, and I thank the Commissioner, the President of Parliament – Roberta Metsola, along with Simon Harris, and all of my colleagues, Members of Parliament, that worked on this difficult assignment. Thank you, and apologies that there was this misunderstanding with my party and I didn't have the chance to thank them in my original speech.

2-0284-0000

Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, visų pirma, tikrai noriu pasveikinti mūsų Parlamento atstovus, kurie taikinimo procedūroje sugebėjo padidinti 300 mln. EUR 2027 m. biudžeto projektą. Tačiau šis biudžeto projektas neatitinka Europos Lisabonos sutarties reikalavimo, kad biudžetas būtų 1 proc. nuo BVP, jis yra mažesnis nei 1 proc. Tai pirma didžiulė mūsų iššūkio dalis. Antra – daugiametė finansinė programa 2020–2027 m.

prarado 10 proc. perkamojo pajėgumo. Tai projektuojant kitą daugiametę finansinę programą ir perspektyvą, mes nebegalime toliau būti tokioje padėtyje. Europai per daug iššūkių, kad mes galėtume sutikti, kad kitoje daugiametėje programoje mes turėtume tokį rezultatą, kokį dabar turime paskutiniajame perspektyvos biudžete.

2-0285-0000

Dariusz Joński (PPE). – Szanowna Pani Przewodnicząca! Europa jest pod presją. Rosja chce podzielić naszą jedność, chce podzielić również Unię Europejską. Słyszymy niektóre głosy, również na tej sali, jak głosy z Kremla. Ale używa do tego i cyberataków, i dezinformacji, ale nie tylko. Również w ostatni piątek w Polsce spadły trzy rakiety. Takie incydenty miały miejsce wcześniej w Rumunii, Litwie, Łotwie, Estonii.

Dlaczego o tym mówię? Dlatego, że jeśli rozmawiamy o budżecie na 2027 rok, to nie może zabraknąć na środków bezpieczeństwo. I chcę podziękować komisarzowi Serafinowi za to, że robi wszystko, aby właśnie tak było. Bo w imieniu polskiego rządu mogę powiedzieć, że wykorzystujemy każde, każde euro na polskie bezpieczeństwo. Właśnie kupujemy systemy obrony m.in. przeciwdronowej, przeciwrakietowej, żeby żadna rakieta, żaden dron nie przekroczyły granicy Unii Europejskiej, bo polskie bezpieczeństwo to bezpieczeństwo całej Unii Europejskiej.

2-0286-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu Serafin! Jak pan dobrze wie, Unia Europejska udziela wielomiliardowych pożyczek dla Ukrainy. Udzieliła już 90 miliardów euro, planowane jest kolejne 45 miliardów euro. I zakłada się, że pożyczki te będą spłacone z przyszłych reparacji wojennych dla Ukrainy od Rosji. Natomiast proszę spojrzeć, panie komisarzu, na doświadczenia na przykład Polski i Grecji, krajów Unii Europejskiej, które od 80 lat nie otrzymały wciąż reparacji wojennych od Niemiec. A premier rządu, który pana tu wysłał do Brukseli, pan Donald Tusk nie tak dawno powiedział, że Polska nie będzie dochodziła reparacji wojennych od Niemiec. Co się zatem stanie, panie komisarzu, gdy przyszły premier, prezydent Ukrainy powie, że nie będzie dochodził reparacji wojennych od Rosji? A zatem kto zapłaci te wielomiliardowe rachunki za wojnę na Ukrainie? I czy Komisja ma jakiekolwiek gwarancje, że rachunek za rosyjską agresję nie będzie zapłacony z kieszeni europejskich podatników?

2-0287-0000

(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)

2-0288-0000

Piotr Serafin, *Member of the Commission***.** – Madam President, honourable Members, dear Minister, yes, I have listened very carefully to the debate and the priorities and views expressed in this House with respect to the 2027 budget. There are some issues, and I will try to refer to a few points, but I think that, in principle, it's clear that the support is rather large for the overall outcome of these intensive negotiations. There were some comments on the common agricultural policy, and I would like to reassure everyone that we have enough resources in next year's budget to meet all the commitments that we have made vis-à-vis European farmers.

A total of EUR 57.1 billion out of EUR 200 billion next year will go to the common agricultural policy. There are also resources for young European farmers and, by the way – and this is one of the results of the conciliation – they have been increased to EUR 723 million for the next year.

There were also concerns in relation to migration and the protection of our external border. Here again, I would like to assure you that in terms of the commitments that we are going to make next year, we will see an increase from EUR 5 billion to EUR 5.8 billion. That covers also the question of military mobility that was mentioned in that debate.

I would also like to clarify the situation with administrative spending. In the Commission, we are working on the basis of the principle of stable staffing, which means that there are no increases in employment in the Commission. When you look at the data, the level of employment in the Commission this year is actually 3 % lower than it was 10 years ago. But it's true that the administrative budget is growing, in particular if you make a comparison between 2021 and 2027. Why is that? You cannot forget about inflation. Inflation is reflected in the budgetary lines that you see for administration.

And if you allow me, Madam President, I will say the last few words in Polish in response to comments by the honourable Member Mr Müller.

Pan poseł mówił głównie o wieloletnich ram finansowych. Chciałbym mu przypomnieć, że debata w tej sprawie odbędzie się w dniu jutrzejszym, ale już dziś mogę mu przypomnieć o tym, że doskonale pamiętał, będąc członkiem rządu, że budżet europejski ma nie tylko stronę wydatkową, ale także stronę dochodową. Że jeżeli chcemy mieć budżet europejski, to musimy znaleźć sposób na to, żeby go finansować.

Pan poseł o tym doskonale pamiętał w czasie, kiedy rząd premiera Morawieckiego zgodził się na wprowadzenie opłaty od plastiku. Ta opłata będzie finansowała budżet europejski już w przyszłym roku. Pan poseł doskonale o tym pamiętał wtedy, kiedy rząd pana Morawieckiego wraz z innymi rządami wzywał Komisję Europejską do przedłożenia propozycji ETS 1 i ETS 2 jako sposób na finansowanie budżetu Unii Europejskiej. I te propozycje zostały na stole położone. Mam informację: ETS 2 budżetu Unii Europejskiej finansować nie będzie, bo Komisja, której jestem członkiem, wycofała tę propozycję.

2-0290-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, I want to thank you very much for this exchange of views. It has shown that we are united in our commitment to build a better Europe, to the benefit of all our citizens. The agreement reached on the budget for 2027 is a sensible compromise, allowing the Union to adequately finance its different priorities and fulfil its legal obligations. I want to thank all of you for your efforts in relation to it.

2-0291-0000

Johan Van Overtveldt, *voorzitter van de commissie BUDG.* – Voorzitter, bij het begin van deze afsluitende redevoering wil ik de twee rapporteurs, de heren Ušakovs en Hadjipantela, commissaris Serafin en uiteraard ook de Raad bedanken voor de goede samenwerking en het goede resultaat. Voor mij was dit de zevende begrotingsbespreking die ik heb mogen meemaken en één conclusie dringt zich alvast op: Europa moet de moed hebben om zijn begrotingsprioriteiten grondig te herzien. Huidige en toekomstige uitdagingen kunnen niet worden aangepakt door eenvoudigweg steeds meer middelen uit te trekken voor beleidskeuzes uit het verleden.

Elke zichzelf respecterende budgettaire oefening begint met een grondige doorlichting van de bestaande uitgaven. Welke programma's leveren aantoonbare meerwaarde? Waar bestaan overlappingen en waar kunnen we met dezelfde middelen betere resultaten behalen? Dit zijn

vragen die we ons voortdurend zouden moeten stellen. We moeten de middelen nadrukkelijker richten op onze toekomstige welvaart, veiligheid en concurrentiekracht. Onderzoek, ontwikkeling en innovatie moeten daarbij centraal staan. Europa moet veel ambitieuzer durven investeren in artificiële intelligentie, cyberbeveiliging, geavanceerde technologie, defensieonderzoek en grensoverschrijdende energie-infrastructuur. Want zonder innovatie geen duurzame productiviteitsgroei, zonder productiviteitsgroei geen blijvende welvaart en zonder economische slagkracht kunnen we onze sociale bescherming, onze veiligheid en onze strategische autonomie niet garanderen.

Maar collega's, we kunnen niet alles oplossen met geld. Verre van zelfs. Structurele economische hervormingen zijn minstens even belangrijk. We moeten eindelijk werk maken van een echte voltooiing van de interne markt. We moeten een echte kapitaalmarktenunie creëren in het belang van ondernemingen en innovatieve projecten. En er moet een regelgevende en administratieve lastenvermindering komen om ondernemerschap, investeringen en innovatie meer ruimte te geven. Want wat heeft het voor zin om innovatieve ondernemingen met Europees geld te ondersteunen wanneer vervolgens diezelfde ondernemingen vanwege een versnipperde markt en een overdaad aan regulering niet kunnen uitgroeien tot wereldspelers? Dat is de fundamentele discussie die we moeten voeren bij de voorbereiding van het volgende meerjarig financieel kader.

Collega's, laten we de bestaande middelen efficiënter besteden, vervolgens gerichter investeren en bovenal structureel hervormen.

2-0292-0000
Przewodnicząca. – Zamykam debatę.

Głosowanie nad tym punktem porządku obrad odbędzie się jutro, w środę 25 listopada 2026 r.

2-0293-0000
(Posiedzenie zostało na chwilę zawieszone)

2-0294-0000
IN THE CHAIR: CHRISTEL SCHALDEMOSE
Vice-President

9. Resumption of the sitting

2-0297-0000
(The sitting resumed at 15:01)

10. Approval of the minutes of the previous sitting

2-0299-0000
President. – The minutes of yesterday's sitting and the texts adopted are available. Are there any comments? No.

The minutes are approved.

11. Presentation of the European Semester autumn package (debate)

2-0301-0000

President. – The next item is the scrutiny session on the presentation of the European Semester autumn package (2026/2982(RSP)).

2-0302-0000

Valdis Dombrovskis, *Member of the Commission***.** – Madam President, honourable Members, thank you for this opportunity to join you today to present the main elements of the European Semester autumn package adopted by the College a few minutes ago. It follows on from last week's autumn economic forecast, which confirmed that the EU economy remains resilient. It has once again proven its capacity to absorb shocks and overcome a crisis. But Europe's economy must move beyond resilience towards real dynamism. That is essential to secure our long-term prosperity and preserve our social model in a changing and challenging world.

The European Semester is a framework to deliver the coordinated and sustained policy action required to achieve that dynamism. The euro area recommendation presented by the Commission helps to set policy agenda to move us towards that goal. This year's edition rests on three main pillars: competitiveness and innovation; macro-financial stability; and resilience.

On competitiveness, the focus is on boosting investment and innovation, including in relation to artificial intelligence. It also calls for deepening the single market, advancing the savings and investment union and making the banking sector more competitive and better integrated across borders. On resilience, the emphasis is on boosting skills and improving job quality. And on macro-financial stability, the priority is to safeguard fiscal sustainability, while improving the composition and effectiveness of public spending. Overall, we recommend a mildly contractionary fiscal stance for the euro area next year.

That brings me to the fiscal elements of this year's autumn package. Specifically, the Commission's assessment of Member States' compliance with our fiscal rules. Ten Member States are currently subject to the excessive deficit procedure. For these Member States, we assessed compliance against the corrective net expenditure path established by the Council. They are also taking into account the flexibility granted by national escape clauses. So six Member States – Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Poland and Slovakia – are compliant. And Italy is currently projected to correct the excessive deficit in 2026. This is good news.

Two Member States subject to the EDP – Finland and Romania – are at risk of non-compliance next year. And two – Bulgaria and Hungary – are at risk of material non-compliance already this year. For these two Member States, we find that the responses to the EDP recommendations have been insufficient and constitute particularly serious cases of non-compliance. This warrants a stepping-up of the procedure for both Member States. The Commission is therefore recommending the Council to adopt the decision under Article 126(8) of the Treaty that establishes that no effective action has been taken. This would also lead to the first steps in a process of macroeconomic conditionality, and, for Bulgaria, as a euro area member, will trigger a fine of up to 0.02 % of GDP.

For Member States which are not subject to the EDP, we based our assessment on whether net expenditure is projected to grow within the ceilings recommended by the Council. Again, we take into account the national escape clause, where applicable. Eight of these Member States are compliant. These are Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Sweden, Latvia and Portugal.

Two – Czechia and Germany – are at risk of non-compliance. And seven – Croatia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain – are at risk of material non-compliance next year.

For Slovenia and Spain, with debt above 60 % of GDP, we project material non-compliance already this year. If this is confirmed based on the outturn data in spring next year, the Commission will prepare a report under Article 126(3) of the Treaty assessing compliance with the debt criterion. This may lead to the opening of an excessive deficit procedure. Member States at risk of non-compliance should take necessary measures in their 2027 budgets.

To conclude on the fiscal part of the package, we also prepared the report under Article 126(3) of the Treaty to assess compliance with the Treaty's deficit criterion for two Member States: Germany and Lithuania. In both cases, we consider that the opening of an EDP is not warranted at this stage.

Moving beyond the fiscal elements of the autumn package, the Commission is proposing a recommendation on human capital that calls for urgent action to tackle structural challenges and increase investment in people's education and skills. This will help the EU to stay competitive and strengthen its strategic autonomy and support sustainable prosperity. The proposal asks Member States to address acute skills shortages in key sectors of the EU economy, especially as industries are changing quickly. The focus is on energy, digital and defence sectors. It also encourages support for workers moving from declining industries to new, high-quality jobs.

The Commission's proposal for a Joint Employment Report 2027 provides an annual overview of key employment and social developments in the Union. This year, our proposal confirms that the labour market remains resilient, although job growth has slowed because of energy shocks and the uncertain economic outlook. At the same time, structural problems, such as weak productivity growth, continue to create risks for the EU's competitiveness and social cohesion. The draft report also includes the first stage of the social convergence framework. The analysis identifies potential risks to upward social convergence in nine Member States, which will be examined in more detail in spring 2027.

Finally, to the alert mechanism report, our screening device to identify countries where an in-depth review is needed to assess potential macroeconomic imbalances. This year's alert mechanism report calls for in-depth reviews for five Member States. Four – Hungary, Italy, Slovakia and Romania – which are already identified in the previous cycles as experiencing imbalances or excessive imbalances, and, for the first time, Bulgaria. The Commission will present the outcome of these in-depth reviews in the spring.

Honourable Members, we are at the start of the European Semester cycle. We have outlined our economic and social policy priorities. We have provided detailed analyses of Member States' fiscal situations, and we will now work together with Member States to deliver, to ensure fiscal sustainability, to move our economies from resilience to dynamism, and to bolster the prosperity of our current and future generations. I look forward for our exchange today.

2-0303-0000

Markus Ferber, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion***.** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Herbstprognose und das Semesterpaket zeichnen dasselbe Bild: Das Wachstum bleibt schwach, die Staatsfinanzen werden zum immer größeren Risiko, Defizite und Schulden steigen weiter an, die Anleihenmärkte reagieren zunehmend nervös, die Finanzierungskosten ziehen an. In den öffentlichen Haushalten wächst der Anteil für die Zinsausgaben, und jeder Euro, der für den Schuldendienst benutzt wird, fehlt natürlich für

Bildung, für Sicherheit, für Investitionen, für Innovationen. Und das ist auch eine Frage der Generationengerechtigkeit. Wir können nicht heute zulasten der nächsten Generation leben.

Die Verantwortung liegt natürlich zunächst bei den Mitgliedstaaten, Herr Kommissar. Aber die Kommission ist auch verpflichtet, das gemeinsame Regelwerk durchzusetzen, und zwar für alle. Wie wenig das bisher gelingt, zeigt das Beispiel Frankreich. Das Land steckt im Defizitverfahren, und in Paris gibt es nicht einmal eine Mehrheit im Parlament für einen Haushalt, der auch nur annähernd die europäischen Vorgaben erfüllt. Ich glaube, hier hat die Kommission viel zu lange zugesehen. Wer bei den Großen beide Augen zudrückt, der darf sich nicht beschweren, wenn die Glaubwürdigkeit des Regelwerks an Bedeutung verliert.

Aber auch Deutschland ist längst kein Musterschüler mehr. Ein Defizitverfahren ist in diesem Jahr nur knapp vermieden worden. Und für die kommenden Jahre sieht es keineswegs rosig aus. Dass die Bundesregierung massiv in Verteidigung und Infrastruktur investiert, ist richtig. Doch der Bundesfinanzminister muss auch sicherstellen, dass dieses Geld tatsächlich zusätzlich investiert wird. Die Sondervermögen dürfen kein Verschiebebahnhof werden, über den Löcher im Kernhaushalt gestopft werden und am Ende doch wieder konsumtive Ausgaben finanziert werden.

Schulden für Sicherheit, für Investitionen? Ja. Schulden für den Konsum? Nein. Herr Kommissar, noch können wir das Ganze sanieren. Aber die Zeit läuft uns davon. Und was Brüssel nicht durchsetzt, was Sie nicht durchsetzen, setzen die Märkte um. Und die zeigen keine Gelbe Karte, sondern verlangen höhere Finanzierungskosten. Wir müssen handeln.

2-0304-0000

Jonás Fernández, *en nombre del Grupo S&D***.** – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, quisiera iniciar esta conversación —o este debate— con algunos apuntes sobre cómo diseñamos el Semestre Europeo, porque, en mi opinión, seguimos afrontando o discutiendo las políticas económicas europeas desde un punto fragmentado: analizamos realmente qué hace cada país, qué recomendaciones tenemos para cada uno de los Estados miembros, pero nuestros informes siguen adoleciendo de una perspectiva netamente europea.

Es cierto que en los últimos años se ha avanzado en este camino de europeizar el análisis del Semestre Europeo, pero, en mi opinión, centralizar la discusión sobre el impacto en el conjunto de la política económica en la Unión Europea, y no solo en cada uno de los Estados miembros, nos haría tener una visión más certera de cuál es la posición fiscal consolidada, especialmente en la zona del euro, y cuál debiéramos tener. Yo creo que hay una conversación que tenemos que tener en las instituciones comunitarias sobre este asunto y tenemos que orientar la política económica de la Comisión en debates europeos y, en este caso, en debates vinculados al mercado único, como ha dicho el comisario. Necesitamos seguir fortaleciendo este Semestre Europeo para supervisar el conjunto de la economía europea.

Sobre el informe concreto —sobre los análisis y recomendaciones de cada uno de los países—, en mi opinión la aplicación de la cláusula de escape en el cumplimiento de las reglas fiscales probablemente esté yendo demasiado lejos para financiar defensa. Creemos que hay que financiar defensa, pero creemos que posponer la orientación y los procesos de consolidación fiscal tampoco es una buena noticia para la Unión Europea.

2-0305-0000

Enikő Győri, *a PfE képviselőcsoport nevében***.** – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! A Bizottság előrejelzése egyértelmű: marad az alacsony növekedés, miközben nő a hiány és az adósság. Az energiaárak

21%-kal emelkedtek egy év alatt. Miközben az európai családok és vállalkozások a megugró energiaárakkal küzdenek, a brüsszeli többség továbbra is ideológiai alapon akarja alakítani a gazdaságpolitikát.

Sőt, a Bizottság elhallgatja, hogy a szomszédban dúló háború milyen hatással van az európai gazdaságra. Kellemetlen, tudom, de hadd segítsek. A múlt héten bejelentett 45 milliárd eurós támogatással együtt az Ukrajna finanszírozására felvett hiteleknek csak a kamatterhe 40 milliárd eurójába fog kerülni az adófizetőknek. Arra, hogy ezt miből finanszírozzuk, nincs nagyon válasz. Önök ilyenkor két dolgot szoktak javasolni: újabb hitelt vagy európai szintű adókat.

Nos, mi, Patrióták, ebből nem kérünk. Helyette konkrét intézkedéseket követelünk az energiaárak csökkentésére és a versenyképesség növelésére. Az országspecifikus ajánlások megfogalmazásakor jövő tavasz pedig, ha kérhetem, biztos úr, csak a saját hatáskörükbe eső kérdésekbe szorítkozzanak, úgy fogalmazzanak meg elvárásokat. Bár biztosak lehetnek abban, hogy bármit kérnek, Magyar Péter kormánya Magyarországról azt támogatni fogja és teljesíti.

2-0306-0000

Francesco Ventola, *a nome del gruppo ECR.* – Signora Presidente, Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, dalle previsioni del pacchetto autunnale emerge un quadro a due facce: se, da un lato, l'economia europea dimostra una resilienza superiore alle attese, dall'altro permangono preoccupazioni legate all'inflazione e all'andamento dei conti pubblici.

In questo contesto, positivo è il giudizio della Commissione sul documento programmatico di bilancio italiano, che conferma il rispetto delle regole fiscali europee e prospetta la chiusura della procedura per disavanzo eccessivo nella primavera del 2027: un risultato che testimonia la serietà e la responsabilità dell'azione del governo italiano.

Altrettanto positivo ritengo sia il maggiore riconoscimento della dimensione regionale e territoriale nell'ambito del semestre europeo. Ritengo fondamentale, dunque, rafforzare il coinvolgimento delle autorità regionali, riconoscendo nella politica di coesione, uno strumento imprescindibile per la crescita, la competitività e la riduzione dei divari territoriali.

È necessario, dunque, garantire il rispetto delle regole di bilancio e la sostenibilità del debito, senza però sacrificare gli investimenti strategici. Il semestre europeo deve rappresentare una vera bussola politica per sostenere la crescita, l'occupazione, il potere d'acquisto dei cittadini e lo sviluppo dei nostri territori.

2-0307-0000

Ľudovít Ódor, *on behalf of the Renew Group.* – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues, I have just one point, which is that Europe needs a lot of investment, but I do not see the change in finances to finance those investments.

If we look at the landscape, we have three tools, basically – the budget deficits at the national level, but these have been extremely high, and the SGP was toothless in helping to achieve sustainability in many of those finances, and also the European budget is squeezed. The priorities and the new challenges are not there. We are not talking about those enough. Even if we are looking outside public finances and look at private investment, we are going quite slowly with the savings and investments union and also with some of the burden reduction and simplification.

So, Europe really needs a change and this change must be much higher investment, much less interest costs, and restructuring of our economy.

2-0308-0000
Catarina Martins, *em nome do Grupo The Left***.** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, a Comissão não aprendeu com o que correu mal, nem sequer com o que aprendeu bem.

Com apenas 1,2 % de crescimento na área do euro e a inflação a acelerar para 3,2 %, está a insistir em regras que amarram a política orçamental, comprimem os salários e cortam no investimento, exceto na despesa militar. Ressuscitar a austeridade em plena crise energética, geopolítica e de habitação trava o consumo e agrava a estagnação e o desespero.

O grupo dos Verdes, que eu saiba, ainda não apareceu neste debate, mas eu pergunto a socialistas, a liberais e a populares: o vosso plano é fazer crescer as forças fascistas na Europa? Porque vai ser esse o resultado. Ignorar as necessidades de quem trabalha desacredita a democracia e a Europa; fazê-lo em pico de crise e às portas do ciclo eleitoral de 2027 é um bónus à extrema-direita.

A nossa esperança, a esperança da democracia, está nas lutas populares que estão nas ruas em toda a Europa, e, aqui dentro, cabe-nos travar a Comissão e pôr a economia ao serviço de quem trabalha.

2-0309-0000
Dirk Gotink (PPE). – Voorzitter, op dit moment is geld lenen voor Frankrijk duurder dan voor Griekenland of Italië. Kijk eens naar de Franse pensioenen. Daar gaat vanuit de Franse begroting meer geld naartoe dan naar onderwijs, huisvesting, politie, infrastructuur en defensie samen. En dat op kosten van de volgende generaties. Het verklaart waarom Frankrijk gezamenlijke Europese leningen wil en met "Made in Europe"-eisen via subsidies de eigen bedrijven wil ondersteunen.

En wat willen de belangrijkste presidentskandidaten? Die willen de pensioenleeftijd omlaag in plaats van omhoog. Dat is ronduit gevaarlijk. Hiermee zetten ze een stap richting een nieuwe schuldencrisis, waar de rest van de EU de dupe van zal worden. Het zal een hoge rekening worden, want op dit moment is de staatsschuld van Frankrijk tien keer zo hoog als die van Griekenland in 2010. Het is dan ook onbegrijpelijk om te zien dat de Commissie Frankrijk classificeert als "conform" in het Europese Semester.

Dat is de papieren werkelijkheid van de Europese regels. Want de financiële markten vertellen echt een ander verhaal. Deze tegenstelling tast de geloofwaardigheid van de Europese regels aan. Waarom durft de Europese Commissie deze olifant in de kamer niet te benoemen? Het is onmisbaar om te spreken over hervormingen in plaats van alleen maar over consumptieve investeringen. Ik verwacht van de Commissie dat ze werkt aan de schuldhoudbaarheid, een diepere crisis voorkomt en onze kinderen niet opzadelt met een grotere schuldenlast.

2-0310-0000
Idoia Mendia (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, las previsiones nos muestran una Europa que resiste pese a las tensiones geopolíticas y la crisis energética, pero el aumento del coste de la vida sigue restando poder adquisitivo a las familias.

Es ya el segundo año consecutivo que la Brújula para la Competitividad marca el rumbo del Semestre Europeo, y volvemos a recordar que la competitividad no puede reducirse a productividad, simplificación y disciplina fiscal. La competitividad debe ir de la mano del progreso social y de un crecimiento sostenible e inclusivo.

Necesitamos una gobernanza económica basada en la justicia social, la igualdad y el desarrollo sostenible. Trabajar debe permitir vivir dignamente y construir un proyecto de futuro.

Valoramos positivamente la mayor atención a la calidad del empleo, pero no se confundan: la escasez de trabajadores exige combatir los bajos salarios y la precariedad, sin olvidar a las mujeres que siguen en contratos a tiempo parcial sin desearlo ni a los jóvenes que cada vez enfrentan más dificultades en el acceso al empleo.

Queremos más transparencia y control democrático del presupuesto. La inversión social y los servicios públicos son garantía de igualdad y de cohesión, no gastos que debamos recortar. En 2027, celebraremos el 10.º aniversario del pilar europeo de derechos sociales. Sus principios sí que deben ser la brújula de nuestras reformas e inversiones.

2-0311-0000

Alexandr Vondra (ECR). – Paní předsedající, dámy a pánové, Komise staví vedle sebe dvě věci: urychlení dekarbonizace a snižování cen energií. Chci se zeptat, jak to jde dohromady? Pokud půjdeme tempem, na které nemáme dostatek levné, stabilní a dostupné energie, zaplatí to průmysl i domácnosti. Konkurenceschopnost v energetice se nedá vyhlásit v dokumentu, musí se vyrobit v elektrárně. Mimořádné vyjednávací schopnosti komisaře Hoekstry minulý týden v turecké Antalyi demonstrovaly, že urychlené nastolení globální bezuhlíkové ekonomiky je jen chiméra. Proto potřebujeme po roce 2030 jasný rámec pro čistou energii, ne pouze pro nestabilní obnovitelné zdroje, ale pro všechny bezuhlíkové technologie nebo nízkouhlíkové. Jaderná energie dává stabilní, předvídatelný a bezemisní výkon po celý rok. Několik členských států na ní staví svou bezpečnost. Rámec, který ji opomíjí, je rámec, který nejen zvyšuje cenu dekarbonizace, ale ve výsledku ji také oddaluje.

2-0312-0000

Hristo Petrov (Renew). – Madam President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, the European Semester cycle beginning today is the first since the publication of the anti-poverty strategy and the strengthening of the child guarantee. This, then, is the first test. The Commission has set a goal of eradicating poverty by 2050. We should consistently pursue this goal in coordinating our social policies. We must permanently integrate the anti-poverty strategy and the child guarantee into European semester cycles.

The most recent cycle was encouraging. Our country reports included an analysis on the child guarantee, but it's even more important that this leads to country-specific recommendations when the situation deteriorates, particularly when the social convergence framework identifies child poverty as a risk.

Finally, effective monitoring requires robust indicators. How can we track progress in tackling child poverty if our indicators exclude children living in institutions? Collecting data on certain populations is challenging, but the first step is to try.

2-0313-0000

Regina Doherty (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues, if you're anything like me, the first draft of your Christmas list is always a little ambitious, and then you add it all up and you look at the total cost in euros, and you think: what has to come off the list? And, colleagues, in our deliberations between the Commission, the Council and Parliament here, I sometimes wonder when we're going to get to that second part of the list and start removing things – because every time the EU adds something to the list, the people back home in Ireland keep asking me who's going to pay for it?

Twelve EU countries are forecast to run deficits of over 3 % of GDP this year. By 2028, that's going to be up to 16. I don't know about you, but for me that should be ringing alarm bells. The more governments spend on interest, the less we have to spend on the services the people we all serve rely on. We are lucky that Ireland is forecast to run a surplus this year, and that does give us a bit of room to invest, but a strong economy means very little if the people can't feel it in their own lives at the end of the week.

Every time we put off a hard decision, we mortgage a little bit more of our children's future. And that's why the warnings from Draghi absolutely matter. Every European country needs a credible plan to grow its economy and the nerve to follow through on the difficult decisions. But Commissioner, we were elected to make these choices. The longer we put them off, the fewer choices our children are going to have.

Tá obair le déanamh againn agus tá sé in am tosú.

(Dhiúltaigh an cainteoir do cheisteanna cárta ghoirm ó Petras Gražulis agus Lukas Sieper)

2-0315-0000

Angelika Winzig (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin! Ja, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wenn wir auf das Herbstpaket schauen, sehen wir zwei zentrale Herausforderungen: Hohe Energiekosten sowie steigende Zinslasten treffen unsere Betriebe, aber natürlich auch unsere Haushalte. Deshalb braucht es jetzt Unabhängigkeit bei der Energieversorgung und verantwortungsvolle Haushaltsdisziplin.

In Österreich wird derzeit konsequent gespart, um die öffentlichen Finanzen nach der COVID-Krise wieder so halbwegs ins Lot zu bringen. Diese Zurückhaltung erwarten aber unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger auch beim nächsten EU-Finanzrahmen. Jedoch, wenn der Staat spart, muss privates Kapital einspringen. Und dafür braucht es eine funktionierende Spar- und Investitionsunion. Ein konkretes Beispiel dafür ist die heute beschlossene Small-Mid-Cap-Regelung. Sie hilft genau jenen Betrieben, die jetzt wachsen wollen, einfach an Kapital zu kommen, und schafft somit Spielraum für Investitionen und neue Arbeitsplätze.

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" zu antworten.)

2-0316-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Vielen Dank, Frau Kollegin, dass Sie die blaue Karte akzeptiert haben. Sie sprachen über die Notwendigkeit von Spardisziplin und die Möglichkeit, Einsparungen auf staatlicher Ebene durch die Förderung privater Investitionen auszugleichen. Nun gehen derzeit gerade junge Menschen in Europa aus mehreren Gründen auf die Straße und demonstrieren. Einige davon kann man sicherlich mit privaten Investitionen ausgleichen, einen aber nicht: Das ist die Bildung. Es sei denn, wir geben die Bildung auf und geben die Bildung wie in den USA in private Hände.

Würden Sie mir zustimmen, dass wir bei der Bildung auf gar keinen Fall sparen sollten und auch die Staatsausgaben da wo nötig erhöhen sollten, auch durch neue Schulden, wenn es nicht anders geht?

2-0317-0000

Angelika Winzig (PPE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Ich würde gerade bei der Bildung überhaupt nicht sparen. Das ist das Wichtigste, was wir haben. Und unsere

Jugendlichen sind auch vor allem das Wichtigste. Und die Ausbildung ist das Höchste, was wir unseren Jugendlichen bieten können. Und darum würde ich auf keinen Fall bei der Bildung sparen, ganz im Gegenteil. Wir haben so viele Möglichkeiten, wo wir noch sparen können, aber mit Sicherheit nicht bei der Bildung.

2-0318-0000
Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0319-0000
Romana Jerković (S&D). – Madam President, when we discuss Europe's competitiveness and productivity, we must not forget the people behind those economic indicators. Because across Europe, workers are struggling with rising living costs and affordable housing and growing insecurity. We often talk about labour shortages and skills gaps, but no amount of training will solve these challenges if we continue to ignore low wages, poor working conditions and the lack of quality jobs.

We also look at artificial intelligence – you mentioned that – to boost productivity. And while it offers enormous opportunities, yes, it also raises concerns about job security. And that is why the European Semester must go beyond economic indicators and put social progress at the heart of our economic policies. Europe's competitiveness cannot be built on insecure jobs and declining living standards.

2-0320-0000
Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Gerbiama posėdžio Pirmininke, gerbiamas komisare. Jūs teisingai išvardinote šalis nares, kurioms gali – patvirtinus joms savo biudžetus – kitais metais ryškėti ryški perviršio biudžetinio deficito procedūros strategija. Bet mano klausimai taip pat susiję su tuo, kad teikiant Europos semestro rekomendacijas vis tik tenka pasakyti, kad būtina atsižvelgti ir į ypatingas sąlygas, kurios priverčia šalis nares patekti į nestandartinių sprendimų priėmimo situaciją. Lietuva padidino 5 proc. nuo BVP finansavimą gynybai, kadangi neišpasakytai sudėtinga gynybinė situacija, žinant, kad turime didžiulę sieną tiek su Rusija, tiek su Baltarusija. Tenka žiūrėti, kaip atremti socialinius iššūkius – mes turime milžinišką skurdą, mes turime didžiulę socialinę neteisybę. Tai mano būtų vis tik klausimas, ar negalima būtų vertinant ieškoti kelių, kaip ...

(posėdžio pirmininkė iš kalbėtojo atima žodį)

2-0321-0000
Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, Eurooppa velkaantuu holtittomasti. Suurmaa Ranska ei ole vuosikymmeniin ollut näin velkaantunut, ja tilanne näyttää todella pahalta. EU-sääntöjen mukaan valtion velka saisi olla enintään 60 prosenttia maan talouden kokoon nähden. Ranskassa ollaan jo kaksinkertaisissa lukemissa, liki 120 prosentissa. Euroissa mitattuna pommin koko valkenee: se on noin 3 600 miljardia euroa velkaa.

Maan presidenttikilvassa kärkikahinoissa oleva äärivasemmistolainen ehdokas on esittänyt järjetöntä ratkaisua tilanteeseen – velkojen mitätöintiä. Missä maailmassa nämä vasemmistolaiset elävät? Vastaavasti Suomessa laitavasemmisto jättäytyy kokonaan ulkopuolelle laajasta sovusta, jossa sitouduttiin saattamaan Suomen valtion velkaantuminen takaisin kestävälle tolalle. Kysyisin komission edustajalta: pidättekö näitä Euroopassa leviäviä äärivasemmistolaisia talousoppeja riskinä Euroopan vakaudelle?

2-0322-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Madam President, Commissioner, I have spoken in this Parliament 574 times, and I cannot know everything about all topics, of course. By the way, Mr Tynkkynen, you are second: you have spoken in this House 418 times.

As I said, I do not know all about all topics, so I do my research and I try to read what the debate is about and what the topics are about. My team assists me and AI assists me, and sometimes I stumble over something where I think: how can we expect the citizens to understand this? I think the topic of the debate, the European Semester, is exactly like this. If you are a regular citizen and you look at the documents, you look at the graphs, you look at the statistics, you have no idea what is actually happening there.

So I'm not here to ask you about a policy change; I'm here today to ask you about a design change. I am here to ask you that in the future, in the European Semester, there should be explicit descriptions of what budgetary policy increases the quality of living, in which area and for which citizens.

2-0323-0000
Petras Gražulis (ESN). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, gerbiami europarlamentarai. Lietuva, atgavusi nepriklausomybę 1989 m., skolos neturėjo. Per 35–36 metus ji jau skolinga 36 mlrd. Europos Sąjungos skola per penkerius metus išaugo aštuonis kartus. Aš noriu paklausti, kas šitas skolas padengs ir kas laukia mūsų jaunimo? Ar nemanote, kad labai neatsakinga yra Europos Sąjungos politika, kur ta skola nuolat ir nuolat nevaldomai auga? Ir ar jūs pajėgūs subalansuoti Europos Sąjungos biudžetą, kad ta skola neaugtų?

2-0324-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0325-0000
Valdis Dombrovskis, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, first of all, thank you for a substantial debate. The Commission presents this year's autumn package at a demanding moment. The geopolitical and economic environment is growing more complex. Fiscal pressures are mounting, and growth, though resilient, remains low.

The European Semester gives us the coordination framework we need to steer through those choppy waters. More than that, it can help us finally move our economy beyond mere resilience and towards real dynamism. It is dynamism that will help us secure long-term prosperity and preserve our social model. This is why we call on euro area members to act on the euro area recommendation. It sets a path to a more dynamic European economy, built on three priorities: competitiveness and innovation, macro financial stability and resilience. The EU's fiscal framework helps safeguard the sustainability of public finances and support competitiveness. Respecting its rules is the surest way to keep public finances sound and to reap the benefits that follow: lower borrowing costs, more room to invest in our shared priorities and greater resilience to future shocks. We invite the Member States projected to be at risk of non-compliance to take necessary measures in the national budgetary processes, so that their fiscal policy towards 2027 is in line with the Council recommendations.

Coming back to some of the questions raised, some Members are asking specific questions on the fiscal situation in France, which certainly warrants attention – because this has to be said that France has submitted an ambitious budget for 2027 that, if adopted and properly implemented,

would ensure that France is in line with the requirements of its corrective trajectory under the excessive deficit procedure.

Taking the question on specific circumstances and need to increase defence expenditure, there we have provided additional fiscal flexibility of up to 1.5 % of GDP for a period of 2025 to 2028, so that Member States can increase their defence spending. But also Member States need to use that period to restructure their budgets, making sure that those budgets are adjusted to the situation where defence spending will have to remain high for the foreseeable future.

On the complexity of the rules, indeed, the rules are complex. It was one of the aims, when we were putting forward the review of EU's fiscal governance framework several years ago, also to simplify this framework. Well, not all of those simplification proposals were taken on board because Member States obviously want to reflect on their specific situations, and that obviously adds to complexity. So, it's a point taken that obviously we need to think on the presentation, because that is indeed something which requires some preparation and knowledge to navigate those very complex rules.

Then, the Commission stands ready to work with every Member State and to support their efforts to comply with the fiscal rules, and in spring, we will provide an updated assessment of compliance.

Finally, a word on human capital. Some of you were raising this. Investing in people's skills is not just a social priority; it is an economic necessity. The responsibility for this is shared between public and private sectors. Through the European Semester recommendation, we will guide the structural reforms and investments needed to make education and training systems future-proofed and responsive to the needs of labour markets. Its strategic priorities will also feed into country reports and country-specific recommendations that will be issued next spring.

Honourable Members, I look forward for a continued close cooperation throughout the new European Semester cycle.

2-0326-0000
President. – That concludes the item.

2-0327-0000
(The sitting was briefly suspended)

12. Resumption of the sitting

2-0330-0000
(The sitting resumed at 15:45)

13. The illegal Türkiye–Libya Memorandum of Understanding and infringement of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (debate)

2-0332-0000

President. – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on the illegal Türkiye–Libya Memorandum of Understanding and infringement of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (2026/2981(RSP)).

2-0333-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, we welcome the opportunity to address the House on a matter of clear importance for the European Union – respect for international law, protection of the sovereign rights of Member States, and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean. The European Union has been clear and consistent in its position regarding the maritime Memorandum of Understanding concluded between Türkiye and Libya in 2019. As reiterated by the Council on several occasions, the memorandum infringes upon the sovereign rights of third states, is not in conformity with the law of the sea, and as such cannot produce any legal consequences for third states. This is not a technical disagreement; it is a matter of principle. The European Union stands firmly for a rules-based international legal order, with the United Nations Charter and international law at its core.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea provides the legal framework within which all activities in the oceans and the seas must be carried out. Respect for that framework is essential for peaceful coexistence, legal certainty and regional stability. The Council has repeatedly underlined its full solidarity with Greece and Cyprus. The sovereign rights of all members must be respected. Maritime delimitation must be addressed through dialogue and negotiation in good faith, in full respect of international law, and not through unilateral acts that disregard the rights of others. This position has been reflected in the work of the Foreign Affairs Council and in European Council conclusions over several years.

Ministers have discussed developments in the Eastern Mediterranean regularly, including in the context of broader relations with Türkiye, and have consistently stressed the need for de-escalation, respect for sovereignty and sovereign rights, and commitment to good neighbourly relations. At the same time, the Council has maintained that the European Union has a strategic interest in a stable and cooperative relationship with Türkiye. This requires restraint, dialogue and a genuine commitment to resolving disputes peacefully. De-escalation cannot be selective; it must be sustained and credible, and it must include respect for the rights of EU Member States.

The Libyan dimension is equally important here. Libya's stability, unity and sovereignty remain a priority for the European Union. The Council supports a Libyan-led, Libyan-owned political process under UN auspices. Any bilateral arrangements concluded in the Libyan context must respect international law, avoiding undermining regional stability, and refrain from prejudicing the rights of third states. Libya's institutional situation makes respect for international legitimacy and transparency all the more necessary.

The European Union will continue to act in unity. The Council will remain seized of developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and stands ready to address actions that undermine the sovereignty, sovereign rights or jurisdiction of Member States or which violate international law. Our message remains unchanged: disputes must be settled peacefully in accordance with international law, unilateral actions that raise tensions must cease, and all actors must contribute to a stable Eastern

Mediterranean based on cooperation rather than confrontation. In defending these principles, we defend not only the rights of Greece and Cyprus, but also the credibility of the international legal order itself.

2-0334-0000

Dubravka Šuica, *Member of the Commission***.** – Madam President, dear Members, thank you for this important debate concerning the so-called Türkiye–Libya Memorandum of Understanding and respect for the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Let me begin by recalling the European Union's long-standing position: this memorandum on maritime delimitation, signed between Türkiye and Libya in 2019, does not comply with the Law of the Sea. It infringes upon the sovereign rights of third states, it is null and void and cannot produce legal consequences for third states.

In this respect, the Commission reiterates the Union's full solidarity with Greece and Cyprus. This issue is part of a broader and fundamental concern: the need to uphold international law, preserve stability in the Eastern Mediterranean and ensure respect for the sovereign rights of the Member States. The European Union has consistently reflected these concerns in its dialogue with Türkiye. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is a cornerstone of the international legal order governing the seas and oceans. Its principles are central to predictability, peaceful dispute resolution, and regional cooperation.

In the context of the enlargement package and the annual country reporting process, including the Türkiye report, we have underlined the importance of good neighbourly relations, respect for sovereignty and sovereign rights, alignment with international law, and commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Relations with candidate countries are not judged only by internal reforms, but also by their external conduct. We remain attentive to any action or statement that could create new tensions in the region or undermine de-escalation efforts. At the same time, the Union needs to have a constructive and cooperative relationship with Türkiye. But, such a relationship must be grounded in mutual respect, in commitment to international law, and in good neighbourly relations.

As regards Libya, the European Union remains committed to the country's unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and stability. We support the UN-led process and the efforts to restore fully functioning unified institutions. Libya's transition must not be undermined by arrangements that deepen division, create legal uncertainty or affect the rights of third states, such as the one with Türkiye. Stability in Libya and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean are closely linked, and Libya is also an important EU partner on migration management.

Honourable Members, the European Union's message is straightforward: maritime claims and delimitation issues must be handled through dialogue and negotiation in good faith. Where necessary, appropriate peaceful dispute settlement mechanisms and international law should be used. Unilateral acts that disregard the rights of others are not acceptable. The Union will continue to stand firmly with Greece and Cyprus. We will continue to reflect this issue in our work with Türkiye, and we will continue to defend the international legal order, including UNCLOS (the Law of the Sea), as an essential foundation for peace, legal certainty and cooperation in our shared region.

2-0335-0000

Εμμανουήλ Κεφαλογιάννης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας PPE***.** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο αποτελεί μια κατάφωρη παραβίαση του Διεθνούς Δικαίου της Θάλασσας του Οργανισμού των

Ηνωμένων Εθνών και μια απόπειρα να επιβληθούν τετελεσμένα στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Το τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο είναι παράνομο και δεν παράγει έννομα αποτελέσματα.

Τα 27 κράτη μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης το καταδικάζουν. Η Αίγυπτος, τα Εμιράτα, το Μπαχρέιν, η Κύπρος, η Ελλάδα κατέθεσαν κοινή δήλωση αποδοκιμασίας στον Οργανισμό των Ηνωμένων Εθνών. Με κοινή τους δήλωση, η πρόεδρος της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής και ο πρόεδρος του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου αποδοκίμασαν με τον πιο κατηγορηματικό τρόπο το ψευδο-τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο. Οι Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες Αμερικής το αποκαλούν προκλητικό.

Η Σύμβαση του ΟΗΕ για το Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας είναι σαφής. Στο άρθρο 3 αναφέρει ότι κάθε κράτος έχει δικαίωμα να επεκτείνει τα χωρικά του ύδατα στα 12 μίλια. Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 121, τα νησιά έχουν τη δική τους Αποκλειστική Οικονομική Ζώνη. Το Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας το έχουν επικυρώσει παραπάνω από 160 κράτη. Αποτελεί πλέον εθιμικό δίκαιο —customary law— που είναι υποχρεωτικό να εφαρμόζεται από όλους, ακόμα και από την Τουρκία. Όμως η Τουρκία εξακολουθεί να απειλεί την Ελλάδα με πόλεμο —casus belli— από το 1996. Η «Γαλάζια Πατρίδα» είναι εξωτερική πολιτική της Τουρκίας αλά τούρκα.

Κυρίες και κύριοι, η αμφισβήτηση των κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων κράτους μέλους της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης είναι αμφισβήτηση της ίδιας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης στο σύνολό της. Το σημερινό ψήφισμα, αυτό που θα ψηφίσουμε την Πέμπτη, θα δώσει μια ηχηρή απάντηση στην Τουρκία και την επιθετικότητα της.

2-0336-0000

Γιάννης Μανιάτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας S&D***.** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο για τις θαλάσσιες ζώνες παραβιάζει κατάφωρα το Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας και τα κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα της Ελλάδας. Η πρόσφατη κύρωση του από τη λιβυκή Βουλή των Αντιπροσώπων απαιτεί αποφασιστική ευρωπαϊκή απάντηση.

Η Ελλάδα, όπως κάθε κράτος μέλος της Ένωσης, δικαιούται πλήρη σεβασμό της κυριαρχίας και των κυριαρχικών της δικαιωμάτων. Η προστασία τους, εκτός από εθνική, αποτελεί και κοινή ευρωπαϊκή ευθύνη, θεμέλιο της ειρήνης και της συνεργασίας στη Μεσόγειο. Η καταδίκη του μνημονίου από τον πρόεδρο του Συμβουλίου António Costa και από την πρόεδρο της Επιτροπής Ursula von der Leyen ήταν ένα χρήσιμο —πρώτο όμως— βήμα.

Οφείλουμε τώρα να περάσουμε από τα λόγια στις πράξεις. Έχουμε στηρίξει ως Ένωση τη σταθερότητα και τη δημοκρατική μετάβαση της Λιβύης. Η συνεργασία που επιδιώκουμε προϋποθέτει αμοιβαίο σεβασμό του διεθνούς δικαίου, του δικαίου της θάλασσας και των κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων των κρατών μελών. Με την πρόταση ψηφίσματος των Σοσιαλιστών και Δημοκρατών, ζητούμε την ανανέωση και την επέκταση του πλαισίου κυρώσεων που υπάρχει ήδη για την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο σε παράνομες δραστηριότητες που στηρίζονται στο —επαναλαμβάνω— παράνομο αυτό μνημόνιο.

Ζητούμε επίσης ο σεβασμός του διεθνούς δικαίου να αποτελεί ουσιαστική προϋπόθεση κάθε μελλοντικής συνεργασίας Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης-Λιβύης και Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης-Τουρκίας, ενώ παράλληλα η Ένωση να προστατεύσει την ηλεκτρική διασύνδεση Ελλάδας-Κύπρου, GSI.

Η Ένωση είναι ένα μοναδικό πείραμα ειρήνης. Οφείλει όμως να διαθέτει ισχύ ώστε να μπορεί να υπερασπίζεται τις αρχές της και να προστατεύει εξίσου όλα τα κράτη μέλη της. Εμείς ως Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο πρέπει να δώσουμε ένα ισχυρό μήνυμα αλληλεγγύης και υποστήριξης.

2-0337-0000

Αφροδίτη Λατινοπούλου, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας PfE.* – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η Τουρκία δεν έχει ιστορία, έχει ποινικό μητρώο. Και θα σας το θυμίζω αυτό όσο βρίσκομαι εδώ μέσα. Γιατί ακόμη αρνείται να αναγνωρίσει πεισματικά τις γενοκτονίες των Ασσυρίων, των Αρμενίων αλλά φυσικά και των Ελλήνων του Πόντου. Γιατί συνεχίζει να κατέχει παράνομα τη μισή Κύπρο μας, ενώ απειλεί με casus belli την Ελλάδα. Γιατί φτιάχνει επικίνδυνα ψεύτικα αφηγήματα για γαλάζιες πατρίδες και δήθεν δικαιώματα στο Αιγαίο. Γιατί η Τουρκία είναι το κράτος που προωθεί ορδές ισλαμιστών λαθρομεταναστών στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση για την άλωση της εκ των έσω.

Αυτό λοιπόν το κράτος-δολοφόνος, το κράτος-τρομοκράτης, το κράτος-νταβατζής, το κράτος – παραχαράκτης και αναθεωρητής της ιστορίας, έρχεται πάλι να μας υπενθυμίσει τον βρώμικο ρόλο του, αυτή τη φορά με το να συνάψει ένα τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο που όχι μόνο είναι καταφανώς παράνομο αλλά και παράλογο, υποστηρίζοντας πως η Τουρκία έχει αντικείμενες ακτές με τη Λιβύη, λες και δεν υπάρχουν ελληνικά νησιά, δεν υπάρχει η Κρήτη, η Ρόδος, το Καστελόριζο και τα νησιά αυτά δεν έχουν υφαλοκρηπίδα και ΑΟΖ. Μα είμαστε με τα καλά μας και το συζητάμε σοβαρά τώρα; Αλλά αυτά συμβαίνουν όταν τα μισά κράτη εδώ μέσα κάνουν δουλειές με την Τουρκία, δεν της βάζουν όρια και ουσιαστικά όχι μόνο την αφήνουν ατιμώρητη, αλλά την επιβραβεύουν για τα εγκλήματά της.

Η μόνη λύση; Κόψτε κάθε πάρε-δώσε με την Τουρκία και στείλτε της σαφές μήνυμα πως είναι εχθρός όχι μόνο της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου μας, αλλά και όλης της Ευρώπης και του ευρωπαϊκού πολιτισμού. Ως εδώ.

2-0338-0000

IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTS ZĪLE

Vice-President

2-0339-0000

Γεάδης Γεάδη, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας ECR.* – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, το πρόβλημα για πολλοστή φορά έχει όνομα. Είναι η Τουρκία. Όσο η Επιτροπή και το Συμβούλιο συνεχίζουν προκλητικά να την αποκαλούν εταίρο, άλλο τόσο αυτή επιχειρεί να κάνει την αυθαιρεσία κανόνα και την παρανομία πραγματικότητα.

Με το παράνομο και ανυπόστατο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο, η Άγκυρα επιχειρεί να αμφισβητήσει τα κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου και να διαγράψει την επήρεια των νησιών.

Η ευρωπαϊκή αλληλεγγύη δοκιμάζεται. Γι' αυτό δεν χωρούν υπεκφυγές, αλλά ξεκάθαρη ευρωπαϊκή απάντηση. Να καταστήσουμε σαφές ότι το Αιγαίο και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος δεν είναι τσιφλίκι ούτε της Άγκυρας ούτε της Τρίπολης. Η αναθεωρητική πολιτική της Τουρκίας πρέπει επιτέλους να έχει συνέπειες και ουσιαστικό κόστος. Διότι δεν είναι το διεθνές δίκαιο που οφείλει να προσαρμοστεί στην πολιτική της Τουρκίας, αλλά είναι η Τουρκία που οφείλει να συμμορφωθεί με το διεθνές δίκαιο. *Thank you and free Cyprus!*

2-0340-0000

Jan-Christoph Oetjen, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Internationales Seerecht gilt überall und ist Fundament für eine funktionierende internationale Ordnung. Bilaterale Abmachungen, wie die zwischen der Türkei und Libyen, die dieses internationale Seerecht nicht beachten, sind inakzeptabel. Und sie sind inakzeptabel nicht nur für Griechenland und Zypern, sondern für die gesamte Europäische Union. Wer mit einer solchen Abmachung dann auch noch versucht, die Rechte von Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union zu verletzen, der wird den Widerstand der gesamten Europäischen Union – meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren – entgegengesetzt bekommen. Zur Rechtsstaatlichkeit – und die Europäische Union ist der Hort der Rechtsstaatlichkeit auf diesem Kontinent – zur

Rechtsstaatlichkeit gehört eben auch, dass Libyen und die Türkei internationales Recht beachten müssen, wenn sie ein Partner für die EU sein wollen.

2-0341-0000

Vladimir Prebilič, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group***.** – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, we will not stabilise the Eastern Mediterranean with new gas deals. Just days after the COP31 climate talks in Antalya collapsed over a failure to commit to phasing out fossil fuels, our message must be clear: doubling down on fossils is a dead end. Türkiye needs to diversify its energy mix and move away from fossil fuels. The region needs more active diplomacy and energy transition – not more drilling.

But let's be honest about the root cause: the Erdoğan regime that undermines democracy at home will never respect international law abroad. As long as opposition leaders like Ekrem İmamoğlu sit behind bars and critical voices are silenced, Ankara's foreign policy will remain a tool for authoritarian survival. Consistent support for human rights and democratic institutions in Türkiye therefore remains essential.

2-0342-0000

Γιώργος Γεωργίου, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left***.** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, το τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο παραβιάζει το Διεθνές Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας, αγνοεί τα κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα της Κύπρου και της Ελλάδας, και παραγνωρίζει τα δικαιώματα των νησιών στις θαλάσσιες ζώνες. Η πρόσφατη έγκρισή του από τη λιβυκή Βουλή δεν το νομιμοποιεί. Καμία διμερής συμφωνία δεν μπορεί να επιβάλει τετελεσμένα σε βάρος τρίτων κρατών.

Κυρία Επίτροπε, χορτάσαμε από αλληλεγγύη. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση οφείλει να περάσει από τις διακηρύξεις στις πράξεις, να αξιοποιήσει τα πολιτικά και διπλωματικά της εργαλεία, να επανεξετάσει το πλαίσιο περιοριστικών, στοχευμένων, αναλογικών και αναστρέψιμων μέτρων σε βάρος της Τουρκίας, να συνδέσει την εμβάθυνση των ευρωτουρκικών σχέσεων με τον σεβασμό του διεθνούς δικαίου και να στηρίξει έμπρακτα τις προσπάθειες επίλυσης του Κυπριακού στη βάση της διζωνικής δικοινοτικής ομοσπονδίας με πολιτική ισότητα.

Η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος χρειάζεται ειρήνη και συνεργασία, όχι απειλές, επεκτατισμό και μονομερή τετελεσμένα. Η αξιοπιστία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης κρίνεται από τη συνέπεια λόγων και έργων.

2-0343-0000

Alexander Sell, *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion***.** – Herr Präsident! Am Sonntag ist in der Türkei die Weltklimakonferenz gescheitert. Ursula von der Leyen war extra nach Antalya geflogen, um für ihren *Green Deal* zu werben – vergeblich. Der Rest der Welt will davon nichts wissen. Europa dient heute als abschreckendes Beispiel, als Warnung, wie man mit Klimapolitik seine Industrie abwürgt, Arbeitsplätze vernichtet und Millionen von Menschen in die Armut stürzt. Die ganze Welt hat mittlerweile verstanden: Notwendige Voraussetzung für Wohlstand und Sicherheit ist eine zuverlässige und preisgünstige Energieversorgung. In Deutschland kostet Strom aktuell 0,35 EUR pro Kilowattstunde, in den USA 0,17 EUR, in China 0,07 EUR. Unsere Industrie ist nicht mehr wettbewerbsfähig – die Produktion geht ins Ausland.

Im ersten Quartal 2026 haben wir fast eine halbe Million Arbeitsplätze verloren. Das ist das Ergebnis der deutschen Energiewende: Deindustrialisierung, Massenarbeitslosigkeit, Armut. Die ganze Welt sieht das, nur die CDU nicht. Während Brüssel und Berlin den Verzicht auf fossile Energieträger predigen, erschließen Türken und Libyer neue Gasvorkommen im Mittelmeer, und zwar direkt vor unserer Haustür. Die Gasfelder vor Zypern sind nach aktuellen Marktpreisen mindestens 300 Milliarden EUR wert. Natürlich wollen sich Türken und Libyer einen Anteil daran

sichern. Der türkische Präsident Erdoğan lässt sogar in griechischen Hoheitsgewässern nach Erdgas bohren, weil er ganz genau weiß, dass es keine Konsequenzen haben wird. Selbst ein Land wie Libyen pfeift auf Resolutionen aus Brüssel. Die ganze Welt lacht über das Gerede von Ursula von der Leyen, wie wir gerade auch in Antalya sehen konnten.

Das Abkommen zwischen der Türkei und Libyen sollte uns deshalb eine Warnung sein. Europa wird zum Spielball fremder Interessen, weil diese Kommission die Interessen der Europäer nicht vertritt. Wer hier im Parlament stolz erklärt, auf fossile Energien verzichten zu wollen, braucht sich nicht wundern, wenn fremde Mächte unsere Bodenschätze erschließen wollen. Deshalb: Wenn wir Europäer wieder ernst genommen werden wollen, müssen wir zuerst den europäischen *Green Deal* von Ursula von der Leyen rückabwickeln. Wir müssen Ursula von der Leyen und ihre Kollegen in Rente schicken. Souveränität erlangt man nicht mit großen Reden, sondern durch wirtschaftliche und politische und militärische Stärke.

2-0344-0000

David McAllister (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the so-called Memorandum of Understanding on the delimitation of maritime jurisdictions in the Mediterranean Sea between Türkiye and Libya is an infringement of international law. I welcome that the European Union took a crystal clear and unanimous position right from the beginning. Already with its statement on 12 December 2019, the European Council clarified that the memorandum 'infringes upon the sovereign rights of third states and does not comply with the Law of the Sea ... and cannot produce any legal consequences for third states'.

Against this backdrop of the recent ratification of the memorandum by Libya's House of Representatives last month, it was indeed a timely signal by President Ursula von der Leyen and President Antonio Costa to reiterate our EU position and to call the memorandum exactly what it is: null and void. Today's message of the European Parliament is clear: we will continue to uphold international law and we stand in solidarity with our Member States Greece and Cyprus.

2-0345-0000

Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, tienen razón Grecia, Chipre, la Comisión, el Consejo y el Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior al criticar a este acuerdo, razón política y sólidas razones jurídicas.

Hemos insistido tanto a Turquía con la necesidad de tener buenas relaciones de vecindad que, a falta de otros vecinos —puesto que casi todos los de Turquía tienen tensiones, incluido Azerbaiyán—, digamos que Turquía se ha puesto a buscar vecinos geográficamente improbables y ha construido una imaginativa teoría jurídica —tanto como la de la *Blue Homeland*— que desafía no solo las leyes internacionales, desafía las puras leyes de la geometría. Turquía es un vecino de la Unión, Libia es un vecino de la Unión, pero no sospechábamos que fueran vecinos entre sí, porque no lo son. Por ello, la justificación del memorándum es puramente política y no legal.

El único éxito diplomático de Turquía en el Mediterráneo es haber puesto de acuerdo coyunturalmente a las dos Libias, comprándose un cachito de Mediterráneo a cambio de armas.

2-0346-0000

Pierre-Romain Thionnet (PfE). – Monsieur le Président, l'extension du conflit ukrainien en Méditerranée orientale nous confirme toute l'importance stratégique de cette région. Or, c'est ici que la Turquie contrevient à la souveraineté territoriale d'États membres et d'États partenaires: la Grèce, Chypre et l'Égypte notamment.

Précisons-le d'emblée: il ne s'agit pas de désigner Ankara comme un adversaire systématique – nous connaissons son rôle incontournable sur certains dossiers, en particulier dans la résolution de la guerre d'Ukraine – mais de réaffirmer notre solidarité indéfectible à nos alliés grecs, dont la souveraineté est violée par le pseudo-accord entre la Turquie et la Libye, ainsi qu'à l'Égypte, partenaire précieux dont les droits sont également bafoués.

Et nous le disons clairement, les intimidations turques n'empêcheront pas le projet «Great Sea Interconnector» d'être mené à son terme – permettez-moi de souligner ici le rôle de la France dans ce dossier.

L'Union européenne possède des leviers de riposte: fin des aides de préadhésion bien sûr, mais aussi envoyer une fin de non-recevoir à la Turquie quant à l'accès aux programmes européens de soutien à l'industrie de défense.

2-0347-0000

Εμμανουήλ Φράγκος (ECR). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, καλές οι δηλώσεις καταδίκης για το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο και πρέπει να γίνονται. Και ευχαριστώ όσους συνέβαλαν στην επερχόμενη καταδίκη. Αλλά οι καταδίκες από μόνες τους δεν αρκούν. Φανταστείτε αντ' αυτών να είχαν τερματιστεί όλα τα συμβόλαια αγοράς τουρκικών αμυντικών προϊόντων από ευρωπαϊκές κυβερνήσεις. Φανταστείτε να ήξερε η Άγκυρα ότι μόλις παραβιάζει τα νόμιμα δικαιώματά μας, μόνη ή με τις μαριονέτες της, θα είχε εμπορικές κυρώσεις. Αντ' αυτού, είδαμε νέες ευρωτουρκικές συναντήσεις, συζητήσεις για αμυντική συνεργασία και επιχειρηματικές επαφές για ακόμη μεγαλύτερες συμφωνίες.

Γελάνε οι Τούρκοι με την «γκιαούρ αουρόπα» και η ελλαδική κυβέρνηση χαίρεται με τις δηλώσεις καταδίκης στο χέρι. Βέλγοι, Ιταλοί και Ισπανοί ελέγχουν τα δίκτυα του αερίου μας. Ιταλοί τους σιδηροδρόμους. Γερμανοί τις τηλεπικοινωνίες και τα αεροδρόμιά μας. Είναι οι ίδιες χώρες που σπεύδουν να κάνουν μπίζνες στον αμυντικό τομέα με την Τουρκία. Ας μας απαντήσουν σε αυτό λοιπόν οι φεντεραλιστές.

Η ευρωπαϊκή αλληλεγγύη δεν αποδεικνύεται με λόγια. Εφαρμόζεται.

2-0348-0000

Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, για άλλη μια φορά η Ευρωπαϊκή ηγεσία οφείλει να τοποθετηθεί καθαρά και χωρίς περιστροφές σε ό,τι αφορά την προστασία των μελών από εξωτερικούς κινδύνους, για τα περιβόητα αυτά ευρωπαϊκά σύνορα.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ορθώς καταδίκασε, βεβαίως, με τον πιο έμπρακτο τρόπο τη ρωσική εισβολή στην Ουκρανία. Εκεί δεν είπατε ότι «λυπάστε», «πονάτε», «στεναχωριέστε». Τι έκφραση είναι αυτή; Εδώ λοιπόν, για τις συνεχιζόμενες προκλήσεις της Τουρκίας κατά της πατρίδας μου, ποια είναι τα μέτρα που λάβατε; Να θεωρείτε με απόφαση του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου ότι η Ελλάδα είναι προνομιακός στρατηγικός εταίρος της Ένωσης; Αυτή είναι η απάντηση; Με μία Τουρκία που κατέχει από το 1974 —παρανόμως— με στρατό κατοχής το 37 % κράτους μέλους της Ένωσής μας στην Κύπρο; Η θέση για το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο είναι απλά να οριοθετείτε μια έκφραση λύπης και ανησυχίας; Εμάς λυπάστε; Εσάς λυπάστε; Τη συνείδησή σας λυπάστε;

Εδώ λοιπόν καταδικάστε απερίφραστα το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο, χωρίς αστερίσκους και γενικές ανησυχίες.

2-0349-0000

Νικόλαος Αναδιώτης (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, η πρόσφατη επικύρωση του παράνομου τουρκολιβυκού μνημονίου από τη Βουλή της Λιβύης δημιουργεί νέα δεδομένα στην

Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Η Τουρκία χαράσσει θαλάσσια σύνορα με τη Λιβύη αγνοώντας την Κρήτη, τη Ρόδο, την Κάρπαθο, την Κάσο, νησιά που αποτελούν αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της ελληνικής, συνεπώς και της ευρωπαϊκής επικράτειας. Σαν να μην κατοικούνται από Ευρωπαίους πολίτες, σαν αυτοί να μην έχουν δικαιώματα από το διεθνές δίκαιο.

Η αμφισβήτηση των κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων ενός κράτους μέλους αφορά ολόκληρη την Ευρώπη. Η Τουρκία απειλεί την Ελλάδα με πόλεμο. Κατέχει παράνομα τμήμα της Κύπρου και εργαλειοποιεί τις μεταναστευτικές ροές.

Δεν αρκούν πλέον οι καταδικαστικές ανακοινώσεις. Ζητώ την επιβολή κυρώσεων και το άμεσο πάγωμα κάθε μορφής χρηματοδότησης από την Ευρώπη προς την Τουρκία. Η ευρωπαϊκή αλληλεγγύη δεν μπορεί να εξαντλείται στα λόγια. Οφείλει να αποδεικνύεται στην πράξη.

2-0350-0000

Ελισσάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρυωνίδη (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, η αναθεωρητική πολιτική της Τουρκίας επιβεβαιώνεται καθημερινά. Μόλις χθες, ανώτατος Τούρκος αξιωματούχος αμφισβήτησε την κυριαρχία 500 νησιών και νησίδων στο Αιγαίο. Οι συνεχείς παραβιάσεις εναέριου χώρου στην Ελλάδα μόνο φέτος υπερέβησαν τις 3 000. Το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο, που ομόθυμα καταδικάστηκε από την Ένωση, εξακολουθεί να υφίσταται, όπως και η απειλή πολέμου κατά της Ελλάδος εδώ και 35 χρόνια και τα στρατεύματα κατοχής εδώ και 52 χρόνια στην Κύπρο, ενώ ετοιμάζεται άμεσα προς ψήφιση σχέδιο νόμου για την παράνομη «Γαλάζια Πατρίδα». Όλα εναντίον της κυριαρχίας όμορων κρατών, όλα κατά παραβίαση του διεθνούς δικαίου, όλα σε αντίθεση με τις συστάσεις της Ένωσης.

Η Τουρκία έχει διαχωρίσει τη θέση της από κάθε έννοια δικαίου. Απειλές κατά της Ελλάδος και της Κύπρου πρέπει να απαντώνται άμεσα και αυστηρά από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Την Πέμπτη, με την ψήφο μας, το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο στέλνει ξεκάθαρο ηχηρό μήνυμα. Καταδικάζουμε κάθε προσπάθεια επιβολής παράνομων τετελεσμένων από την Τουρκία. Η περιφρόνηση των ευρωπαϊκών αξιών δεν θα μένει αναπάντητη.

2-0351-0000

Matjaž Nemec (S&D). – Gospod predsednik! Sporazum o pomorski razveljavitvi na vzhodnem Sredozemlju med Libijo in Turčijo je za Evropo ničen in neveljaven. Je v nasprotju z mednarodnim pomorskim pravom in krši suverene pravice tretjih držav. Takšne enostranske izjave ne morejo niti spremeniti prava niti geografije.

S tega mesta izražam polno solidarnost z Grčijo in Ciprom. Evropa se mora enotno odzvati in zaščititi svoj interes v vzhodnem Sredozemlju. Konvencija Združenih narodov o pomorskem mednarodnem pravu je jasna: otoki imajo enake pravice kot celina, vključno s pripadajočo ekonomsko cono.

Ne moremo dovoliti, da se države selektivno sklicujejo na mednarodno pravo zgolj, ko jim to koristi. Na drugi strani pa to isto mednarodno pravo kršijo, ko prevladata bodisi ekonomska ali pa politična korist. To velja enako za Turčijo, Libijo, Ameriko, Rusijo, Izrael in Evropo.

Spoštovanje – spoštovani – mednarodnega prava ne sme in ne more biti stvar izbire. Je temelj svetovnega miru, stabilnosti in zaupanja med državami v Sredozemlju in po svetu. Spoštovanje namreč vodi v razkroj mednarodnega sistema institucij in norm, ceno pa bomo na koncu plačali vsi.

2-0352-0000

Jaroslav Knot (PfE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, the illegal maritime agreement between Türkiye and Libya is not merely a bilateral dispute; it is a direct challenge to international law, European sovereignty and stability in the Mediterranean. Türkiye cannot simply redraw maritime boundaries, ignore the legitimate rights of Greek islands, and pretend that international law does not exist. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is not a menu from which Ankara can pick and choose.

What is even more disturbing is the European Union's persistent reluctance to confront such violations with sufficient determination. We cannot demand respect for international law from some countries while tolerating its disregard by others. Greece and Cyprus are not isolated states. Their sovereignty and legitimate maritime rights are a matter of European solidarity.

The message of this Parliament must be absolutely clear: the Türkiye–Libya memorandum has no legal consequences for third countries. Europe must reject its unlawful claims and defend international law without double standards.

2-0353-0000

Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, με το ανυπόστατο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο αναδεικνύονται οι επικίνδυνες επιδιώξεις της Τουρκίας, οι ευθύνες της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης που καλλιέργησε εφησυχασμό, όπως και ο ρόλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, που δήλωσε πως «λυπάται» και δεν καταδίκασε την πρόσφατη έγκρισή του από τη Βουλή της Ανατολικής Λιβύης.

Πολεμικοί ανταγωνισμοί και ενεργειακά παζάρια αστικών τάξεων οδηγούν σε καταπάτηση κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων, όπως και το καλώδιο Ελλάδας-Κύπρου-Ισραήλ προς όφελος ενεργειακών ομίλων, διαιωνίζοντας την ενεργειακή φτώχεια των λαών, οξύνοντας ανταγωνισμούς.

Η Γαλλία, για τις μπίζνες των ομίλων της με την Τουρκία, και με τη συμμετοχή της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης, απέστειλε ρηματική διακοίνωση στο τουρκικό κράτος, για την οποία δεν λέτε κουβέντα εδώ μέσα, δίνοντας του τη δυνατότητα να διεκδικεί δικαιοδοσία σε ελληνική υφαλοκρηπίδα, ενθαρρύνοντας απαράδεκτες αμφισβητήσεις, όπως και χθες, με την απαράδεκτη NAVTEX για το Καστελόριζο. Εγκαινιάζεται επικίνδυνη πρακτική: κράτη και μονοπώλια να χρίζονται πληρεξούσιοι κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων χωρών, ανοίγοντας δρόμο στη συνδιαχείριση.

Κανένας εφησυχασμός, καμία εμπιστοσύνη σε Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και αστική τάξη. Οδηγούν σε περιπέτειες τους λαούς. Η υπόθεση των λαών είναι με τη δική τους εξουσία να ασκήσουν τα κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα της χώρας προς όφελός τους.

2-0354-0000

Μιχάλης Χατζηπαντέλα (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, για ακόμα μια φορά συζητούμε τις προκλητικές ενέργειες της Τουρκίας στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Η έγκριση του παράνομου τουρκολιβυκού μνημονίου από τη Βουλή της Λιβύης εντάσσεται σε μια συστηματική προσπάθεια αμφισβήτησης των κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων και του διεθνούς δικαίου. Η θέση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης είναι ξεκάθαρη. Το Μνημόνιο παραβιάζει δικαιώματα τρίτων κρατών και δεν συνάδει με το Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας. Αυτή η αντίδραση θα πρέπει επιτέλους να οδηγήσει σε δράση.

Την ώρα που η Κύπρος επιχειρεί να τερματίσει την ενεργειακή της απομόνωση μέσω του Great Sea Interconnector, οι τουρκικές αμφισβητήσεις εξακολουθούν να υπονομεύουν την ενεργειακή συνεργασία στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Στην Κύπρο γνωρίζουμε πολύ καλά τι σημαίνει τουρκικός επεκτατισμός. Εδώ και 52 χρόνια βιώνουμε τις συνέπειές του. Πόσο ακόμη θα ανεχόμαστε αυτή τη συμπεριφορά; Η Ευρώπη δεν μπορεί να μένει θεατής.

Καλώ την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση να υπερασπιστεί εμπράκτως το διεθνές δίκαιο και τα κυριαρχικά δικαιώματα των κρατών μελών της. Δεν νοείται να αποδέχεται τετελεσμένα και προκλήσεις στον θαλάσσιο χώρο της.

2-0355-0000

Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, povjerenice. Nedavnu ratifikaciju memoranduma između Turske i Libije moramo promatrati u jednom širem geopolitičkom kontekstu. Moramo to promatrati kao dio primjene turske doktrine "plave domovine" o kojoj smo više puta govorili i u ovom parlamentu, a koja je povezana s neootomanskim ambicijama širenja utjecaja na prostoru bivšeg Otomanskog carstva. No, jedna stvar su geopolitičke ambicije, a nešto drugo je međunarodno pravo. Stajalište Europske unije je jasno, povjerenica je to i ovdje još jednom istaknula. Memorandum krši suverena prava trećih država. Nije stoga u skladu s pravom mora i nema pravnih učinaka prema trećim državama. Jasno je, Turska je važan čimbenik. Ne želimo neprijateljstvo s njom. Moramo biti pragmatični, ali pragmatična suradnja mora poštovati prava naših država članica i međunarodno pravo jer ovo nije samo pitanje Grčke i Cipra, nego pitanje europske i međunarodne sigurnosti.

2-0356-0000

Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0357-0000

Δημήτρης Τσιόδρας (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, το παράνομο τουρκολιβυκό μνημόνιο δεν είναι μια μεμονωμένη κίνηση. Αποτελεί συνέχεια της αναθεωρητικής πολιτικής της Τουρκίας. Συνέχεια της αμφισβήτησης της κυριαρχίας και των κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων της Ελλάδας. Συνέχεια της παράνομης κατοχής μέρους της Κύπρου. Και αυτό πρέπει να έχει συνέπειες όχι μόνο σε επίπεδο πολιτικής καταδίκης, αλλά και στις σχέσεις της Τουρκίας με την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να συζητούν κάποιοι για συμμετοχή της Τουρκίας σε ευρωπαϊκά αμυντικά προγράμματα, τη στιγμή που απειλεί κράτη μέλη της Ένωσής μας, άρα στρέφεται κατά της ευρωπαϊκής ασφάλειας. Ούτε μπορεί κράτη μέλη να αγνοούν αυτή την πραγματικότητα επειδή έχουν οικονομικά συμφέροντα στην Τουρκία.

Τα σύνορα των κρατών μελών πρέπει να θεωρούνται ευρωπαϊκά σύνορα. Οποιαδήποτε αμφισβήτησή τους πρέπει να βρίσκει αντιμέτωπη ολόκληρη την Ένωση. Μόνο τότε θα μπορούμε να μιλάμε για πραγματική Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση που έχει ενιαία πολιτική και δεν μένει μόνο σε διακηρύξεις.

2-0358-0000

Νικόλας Φαραντούρης (S&D). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, πώς είναι δυνατόν να ανεχόμαστε δύο χώρες να μικραίνουν την Ευρώπη; Πώς είναι δυνατόν να ανεχόμαστε η Λιβύη και η Τουρκία να μικραίνουν την Ένωσή μας; Διότι αυτό προκύπτει από τις παράνομες, αναθεωρητικές και αντίθετες στο διεθνές δίκαιο και σε κάθε έννοια καλής γειτονίας ενέργειές τους.

Θα δεχθούμε ένα τέτοιο απαράδεκτο προηγούμενο; Πώς θα μας φαινόταν αν αύριο μια άλλη χώρα της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης επιχειρούσε κάτι ανάλογο; Πώς θα μας φαινόταν αν μια άλλη χώρα της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης προχωρούσε σε απειλητικές, παράνομες και αναθεωρητικές ενέργειες κατά άλλων κρατών μελών;

Σας ζητώ λοιπόν να προχωρήσουμε στην υπερψήφιση του καταδικαστικού αυτού ψηφίσματος και να μην μείνουμε μόνο εκεί. Κυρώσεις και πάλι κυρώσεις σε όσους παραβιάζουν το διεθνές δίκαιο.

2-0359-0000
Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Mr President, when do we say to Türkiye that enough is enough? For years, Türkiye has pursued an aggressive policy towards Greece and Cyprus. The illegal Türkiye–Libya maritime agreement is yet another example. Türkiye is trying to steal areas of the Mediterranean that belong to others. Needless to say, this is against international law.

What Türkiye is trying to do at sea now, it has already been doing on land for decades. Türkiye has occupied vast areas of Cyprus for over 50 years. To me, Türkiye's behaviour resembles that of Russia. Neither Türkiye nor Russia seem to understand what belongs to them and what belongs to others. The difference is that Türkiye is still an EU candidate country. It's time to end this candidacy. Free Cyprus!

2-0360-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Liebe Menschen Europas! Das Mittelmeer sollte Länder verbinden. Es sollte sie nicht trennen. Doch das Seegrenzen-Abkommen zwischen der Türkei und Libyen birgt neue Konflikte. Zwei Regierungen dürfen die Rechte ihrer Nachbarn nicht ignorieren und können nicht einfach so neue Grenzen ziehen. Griechenland und Zypern verdienen unsere Solidarität und Europa muss das internationale Seerecht verteidigen. Europa muss das Völkerrecht generell verteidigen. Zugleich brauchen wir aber eine friedliche und diplomatische Lösung. Ich glaube, da sind Sie genau die richtige, Frau Kommissarin. Die Türkei bleibt ein wichtiger Partner, ein zweifelhafter Beitrittskandidat. Aber Dialog ist wichtig. Unsere Partnerschaft darf indes niemals auf Kosten des Rechts gehen. Stabilität beginnt mit Respekt vor unseren Nachbarn und mit Respekt vor internationalen Gesetzen.

2-0361-0000
Costas Mavrides (S&D). – Mr President, the illegal Türkiye–Libya memorandum, signed in 2019 initially, has since been condemned by the heads of the EU. Now we are in 2026. The EU institutions, including the Council, the Commission, the European Parliament and the High Representative have again condemned the Türkiye–Libya memorandum as legally null and void because it does not comply with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

What should we do when a country such as Türkiye, for such an extended time, refuses to comply with international law, infringes upon the rights of Member States, occupies part of EU territory in Cyprus and has a war threat against another Member State, namely Greece. What should we do? Another condemnation? Well, the answer is very clear: we need an EU response, including a new EU maritime operation aimed at safeguarding maritime security, and sanctions – that is solidarity beyond words – to protect, and freedom to Cyprus.

2-0362-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0363-0000
Dubravka Šuica, *Member of the Commission.* – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for this important and timely debate. From what I heard, the message of this Parliament is clear. I haven't heard any differences among the political groups; I haven't seen any differences between our institutions – the Council, the Commission and Parliament. So allow me to underline four elements.

First, once again, on the legal and political substance, the Union's position is firm and clear. The Türkiye–Libya maritime memorandum is contrary to the law of the sea, infringes the sovereign rights of third states, and cannot have legal consequences for them.

Second, this issue remains relevant in the Commission's assessment of Türkiye. Respect for good neighbourly relations, peaceful settlement of disputes and alignment with international law are important elements in our reporting and in the broader framework of EU–Türkiye relations. Solidarity with Greece and Cyprus is full and unwavering.

Third, the Union remains committed to de-escalation and regional cooperation. The Eastern Mediterranean should be a space for dialogue, lawful maritime governance, energy cooperation and stability. That requires all partners to refrain from actions that create tensions or challenge the right of others.

Fourth, development in Libya and the Eastern Mediterranean also matter in the wider context of migration management. The Commission remains engaged with partners on migration along the Eastern Mediterranean route and in relation to Libya, with the objective of addressing illegal migration, fighting smuggling networks and preventing loss of life, and supporting protection and stability. This engagement can only be sustainable if it is anchored in international law, predictable regional cooperation and respect for the rights and interests of the Member States.

To conclude, we will therefore continue to work with Member States and with international partners to uphold international law and support a stable Eastern Mediterranean and a stable Libya. Thank you.

2-0364-0000

Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you for this debate. Let me focus on three points in my concluding remarks.

Firstly, the Council's position is unambiguous. The Türkiye–Libya memorandum has been assessed politically and legally by the European Union in clear terms. It does not comply with the Law of the Sea, it infringes the sovereign rights of third states and it cannot have legal consequences for them.

Secondly, EU solidarity with Greece and Cyprus is strong. The rights and interests of Member States are European rights and interests. That is why the Council has consistently insisted on respect for sovereignty, sovereign rights, jurisdiction and good neighbourly relations in the eastern Mediterranean.

Thirdly, the European Union continues to favour dialogue, diplomacy, peaceful settlement and de-escalation. We seek a stable region in which the disputes are addressed through legal and diplomatic means, in accordance with international law. The Council will therefore continue to support efforts that reduce tensions, uphold UNCLOS and preserve regional stability, while remaining vigilant regarding any actions that run counter to these objectives.

Recent developments are indeed of concern, particularly against the background of the complex mix of geopolitical challenges we face. Greece and Cyprus have our full solidarity in this regard.

2-0365-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Debašu noslēgumā esmu saņēmis septiņus rezolūciju priekšlikumus, kas iesniegti saskaņā ar Reglamenta 136. panta 2. punktu.

Debates ir slēgtas.

Balsošana notiks ceturtdien.

Colleagues, we are working so well so that we will now suspend the sitting for about ten minutes.

2-0367-0000
(The sitting was suspended at 16:34)

14. Resumption of the sitting

2-0370-0000
(The sitting resumed at 16:43)

15. Humanitarian situation in Gaza (debate)

2-0372-0000
Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par Padomes un Komisijas paziņojumiem par humanitāro situāciju Gazā (2026/2983(RSP)).

2-0373-0000
Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the situation in Gaza remains dire. Severe flooding has further aggravated an already devastating humanitarian crisis, increasing the suffering of a population that has already endured far too much.

Since October 2023, the situation in Israel and Palestine has remained a standing item at every Foreign Affairs Council, reflecting the importance the EU attaches to the Middle East. The EU is also the largest humanitarian donor to the Palestinian people, with over EUR 738 million in humanitarian assistance since October 2023. But humanitarian assistance must be able to reach those in need. We therefore continue to call on Israel to allow immediate and unhindered access for humanitarian aid, to enable its sustained delivery at scale, and to reopen all Gaza border crossings.

It is equally essential that the UN and its agencies, including UNRWA, NGOs and other humanitarian organisations, are able to operate effectively and safely. Let me also mention the recent air strike on Nasser Hospital, which is deeply alarming. Respect for international law – that Israel must comply with – includes the protection of civilians and civilian infrastructure.

We are now one year after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2803, endorsing the Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict. The EU remains concerned by the lack of progress in implementing the ceasefire and all other provisions of the Resolution. Military strikes continue, while shortages of essential items – including adequate shelter, medicine and medical equipment – persist due to ongoing access restrictions.

The EU therefore calls on all actors to fully implement the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 2803 without delay. This includes the permanent decommissioning of weapons from Hamas and other non-State armed groups, the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza, and the civilian transition in Gaza.

As the EU, we are driving concrete security and stabilisation efforts on the ground through our CSDP missions: EUBAM Rafah redeployed to the Rafah Crossing Point supports Palestinian border

management, and EUPOL COPPS supports the Palestinian civil police and wider justice institutions.

Yet our contribution goes beyond security. The EU is engaged in early recovery efforts and is mobilising partners through the Team Gaza Initiative. We also continue to support the Palestinian Authority and its reform programme in view of its return to Gaza, as outlined in the peace plan and UN Security Council Resolution 2803.

Across all these efforts, we must never lose sight of our overarching goal: a clear and credible political horizon that leads to the implementation of the two-state solution, where two democratic states – Israel and Palestine – live side by side in peace, within secure and recognised borders, as reaffirmed in the New York Declaration and the relevant UN security resolutions.

2-0374-0000

Hadja Lahbib, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, I would like, first of all, to thank you for convening this important debate. And allow me also to start by paying tribute to the humanitarian workers, UN agencies, international NGOs and local organisations who continue to deliver assistance under extraordinarily difficult conditions. Today, an UNRWA staff member was killed and three others injured following an Israeli strike. Gaza is the deadliest place for a UN aid worker since the creation of the United Nations. Gaza is not recovering. Gaza is surviving.

Gaza ne se remet pas. Gaza survit. Un cessez-le-feu a bel et bien été mis en place depuis octobre dernier. Mais pour la population, ce cessez-le-feu n'en est pas un, tout simplement. Depuis son annonce, plus de 1 600 personnes ont été tuées à Gaza. Des frappes continuent de s'abattre sur des zones peuplées, les familles continuent de perdre des proches et les enfants continuent d'être tués, blessés et traumatisés.

Nous ne devons pas laisser le mot «rétablissement» créer l'illusion que la crise humanitaire est terminée. Les conditions de vie à Gaza restent épouvantables, dangereuses et indignes. Le déplacement de population se poursuit de façon massive. La famine déclarée l'an dernier a peut-être été levée, mais ces progrès sont extrêmement précaires, instables et dépendent entièrement de l'aide humanitaire.

Le fardeau le plus lourd pèse sur les épaules des plus fragiles: enfants, femmes et filles, personnes âgées et personnes handicapées. Les habitations, les hôpitaux, les écoles, les réseaux d'eau et d'assainissement ainsi que les réseaux électriques ont été détruits ou sont gravement endommagés. Les conditions de santé publique se détériorent et l'accès aux services essentiels reste extrêmement limité.

Crossings remain restricted, humanitarian personnel face obstacles to entering and moving within Gaza. At present, critical humanitarian items can enter only one day per week due to their dual-use classification. This classification is arbitrary and should be based on clear and predictable criteria. Let me make this clear: the world doesn't lack humanitarian funding or supplies. Gaza lacks access to them.

The onset of winter makes access particularly urgent. The first storm flooded over 70 000 tents, damaged shelters and disrupted essential services affecting over 220 000 people. Many displaced families remain unprepared for winter and people, including children, have died from hypothermia. And this was only the first storm. Over 150 000 tents purchased by humanitarian partners and Member States are waiting outside Gaza. Shelter exists, the resources have been

mobilised and humanitarian organisations are ready to deliver. Yet, families who desperately need protection cannot access it.

This is not a question of humanitarian capacity; it is clearly a political choice. There can be no meaningful humanitarian surge without a change in policy by the Israeli Government. This is a clear obligation under international humanitarian law. Ensuring humanitarian access and the delivery of aid at scale into Gaza was the common demand of 53 states and international organisations, released some days ago, and of all 27 Member States.

Israel must open all crossings, remove restrictions on essential supplies, including dual-use items, allow humanitarian organisations to operate safely and effectively, protect civilians and respect the ceasefire and international humanitarian law.

Turning to Europe, we have tools to help. The EU CSDP mission at the Rafah border crossing stands ready to facilitate access to humanitarian aid, if requested. The Commission has also confirmed more than EUR 217 million in humanitarian assistance for Palestine in 2026. We also continue to facilitate medical evacuation to EU Member States and assist our partners transporting humanitarian items under ReliefEU.

These efforts matter, they save lives. But let's be honest: funding alone cannot save lives if humanitarian assistance is prevented from reaching those who need it. Europe must speak with one voice, and our message to the Israeli authorities must be consistent: open humanitarian access, protect civilians and respect international humanitarian law.

Honourable Members, behind every statistic there is a human being, a child waiting for food, a mother searching for medical care, a family waiting for a tent that is sitting just across the border. We cannot claim to stand with people while the assistance they desperately need remains beyond their reach. Our responsibility is not simply to alleviate suffering, it is to insist that the conditions perpetrating that suffering must change.

2-0377-0000

Lukas Mandl, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion***.** – Herr Präsident! Frau Kommissarin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wie die Frau Kommissarin gerade gesagt hat: Kein Kind soll hungern. Und jeder Mensch, der ein Herz hat, wird helfen wollen. Und wir helfen. Die Europäische Union hilft. Und auch der am 7. Oktober 2023 durch die Hamas aus dem Gazastreifen angegriffene Staat Israel hilft. Ich glaube daher, dass es unpassend ist, wenn Sie, Frau Kommissarin – und ich schätze Ihre Arbeit in all den anderen Bereichen –, Israel erwähnen und sogar sagen, es müsste sich auf israelischer Seite etwas ändern, wenn der angegriffene Staat und seine Bürgerinnen und Bürger selbst Teil der Lösung sind und selbst helfen. Wir müssen überlegen, wie ist es geschehen, dass jahrzehntelang die Welt Entwicklungshilfe in den Gazastreifen geschickt hat, jahrzehntelang, ohne Verbesserung.

Und warum ist es so, dass die Hamas noch immer nicht überwunden ist? Warum ist es so, dass wir humanitäre Hilfe schicken müssen? Aber der Weg, der für eine Zweistaatenlösung in 10 oder 20 Jahren möglicherweise unbedingt beschritten werden müsste, nämlich die Entmilitarisierung des Gazastreifens, die Entwaffnung der Hamas, die Überwindung des Antisemitismus, die Einführung von ziviler Bildung für den Arbeitsmarkt, für ökonomische Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit, dass alle diese Schritte noch nicht unternommen werden und wir daher weiterhin von einer humanitären Krise sprechen müssen. Unterstützen wir die, die wirklich helfen. Ohne Ideologie. Und stellen wir sicher, dass die Hamas weder materiell noch immateriell sich dieser Güter, mit denen wir helfen wollen, bereichern kann.

2-0378-0000

Leire Pajín, *en nombre del Grupo S&D***.** – Señor presidente, señorías, hoy no vamos a centrar el debate en el justo derecho del pueblo palestino a tener su propio Estado, a vivir económicamente y políticamente en un Estado viable o a vivir en paz de una vez por todas. También, por supuesto, el pueblo judío.

Hoy no vamos a volver a centrar el debate en la necesidad de la suspensión del acuerdo comercial con Israel, que vergonzosamente no llega nunca, y tampoco en que no dejemos entrar productos de los países ocupados ilegalmente, aunque deberíamos hacerlo, no.

Hoy vamos a centrar el debate en algo más primario y que debería tener el consenso de todo el mundo en esta Cámara. Debería ser el sentimiento más esencial de cualquier dirigente político: la humanidad. Impedir que las lluvias hagan morir de frío y subestimen más todavía el sufrimiento del pueblo palestino. En Gaza, hemos visto sufrir a seres humanos. Hemos visto cómo se traficaba con la ayuda humanitaria. Hemos visto asesinar a trabajadores humanitarios y, lo que es peor, no hemos visto a la Unión Europea alzar la voz.

Señorías, ¿dónde está la voz de la Unión Europea? ¿Dónde está su diplomacia humanitaria para garantizar que esas tiendas lleguen al pueblo de Gaza? Necesitamos una Unión Europea que ejerza en el mundo los valores que jamás debió dejar de ejercer. Por eso, basta de excusas. Exigimos el acceso a la ayuda humanitaria. Exigimos el acceso a las tiendas y decimos que la ayuda humanitaria nunca puede ser negociable.

2-0379-0000

António Tânger Corrêa, *em nome do Grupo PfE***.** – Senhor Presidente, o que se passa em Gaza não se resolve perpetuando as condições que o provocaram.

A ajuda humanitária pode salvar vidas, mas não constrói a paz. Conheço suficientemente a região para saber que não há paz enquanto subsistirem as estruturas que alimentam a guerra.

A Resolução 2803 do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas estabelece um caminho: a administração transitória internacional, força de estabilização, desarmamento verificável do Hamas e exclusão dos terroristas da governação.

E a ajuda europeia exige fiscalização independente e rastreabilidade. Nem um euro para as estruturas terroristas. Também não pode haver transferência de poder sem instituições independentes, rejeição do terrorismo e reconhecimento do direito de Israel a existir em segurança. Não se admite, também, que milhares e milhares de caixas estejam retidas pelo Hamas em Gaza, para não serem distribuídas pela população.

Senhor Presidente, quem se limita a gerir as consequências da guerra não está a construir a paz, está a preparar a próxima guerra.

2-0380-0000

Bert-Jan Ruissen, *namens de ECR-Fractie***.** – Voorzitter, beste collega's, eigenlijk zouden we vandaag willen debatteren over de wederopbouw van Gaza. Maar helaas, dat is nog helemaal niet aan de orde. En waarom niet? Eenvoudigweg omdat Hamas nog steeds niet ontwapend is en er nog steeds de lakens uitdeelt.

Dat betekent dat we ons in deze fase noodgedwongen hebben te concentreren op de humanitaire hulp. Inderdaad, Israël moet er alles aan doen wat het kan om de doorgang ervan te faciliteren. En wij moeten het zo regelen dat de hulp op de juiste plek terechtkomt en dus niet weer verdwijnt in de diepe zakken van Hamas.

Ondertussen mogen we ons zeker niet neerleggen bij de huidige situatie. Het door de VN goedgekeurde vredesplan voor Gaza is helder. Het biedt een routekaart om uit de huidige misère te komen. Maar dan moeten we daar inderdaad wel invulling aan gaan geven. Te beginnen met de ontwapening van Hamas.

2-0381-0000

IN THE CHAIR: SABINE VERHEYEN

Vice-President

2-0382-0000

Hilde Vautmans, *on behalf of the Renew Group***.** – Madam President, Commissioner Lahbib, colleagues, in Europe, children are dreaming of the toys they will receive for Christmas. But you know what? In Gaza, a little girl says she is afraid of toys because they might contain explosives. Can you imagine a child afraid of toys? No safe homes, no safe toys.

And then the recent floods have damaged over 40 000 shelters in Gaza, and that family stays in the cold and the tents stay outside. They cannot enter. You know that the UN stated this week that much of the suffering could have been prevented.

Commissioner, as a fellow Liberal, I appreciate your efforts to open up the borders so that help can enter, because I know you're fighting for it. But tell us, what more can we do? For me, because the colleagues here also mentioned it, to prevent the humanitarian situation, we also have to combat the terrorist organisation Hamas.

2-0383-0000

Villy Søvndal, *for Verts/ALE-Gruppen***.** – Fru formand! Enhver tale om Gaza handler om ordet fordømmelse. Fordømmelse af Israels krigsforbrydelser, fordømmelse af Hamas' terrorangreb og fordømmelse af den katastrofale humanitære situation, befolkningen lever under. Årene er gået, kritikken er blevet gentaget, og vi er for længst nået over det punkt, hvor fordømmelsens ord virker. Det skal erstattes af handling.

I Gaza lever mennesker lige nu i ødelagte telte efter de store oversvømmelser af deres få ejendele, madrasser og tæpper gennemblødte. De fryser og mangler stort set alt. Men Israel lader ikke den humanitære hjælp, der er nødvendig og aftalt, komme ind. Derfor skal Europa presse med mere end ord. Vi skal tvinge Israel til at leve op til våbenhvilens krav om fri adgang for nødhjælp, om genopbygning af Gaza, om tilbagetrækning af den israelske hær og adgang for journalister. Fordømmelser er ikke nok. Vi skal suspendere associeringsaftalen, og de ekstreme ministre og bosættelser skal sættes under sanktioner. For Gazas skyld, men også for Europas skyld. Tak.

2-0384-0000

Lynn Boylan, *on behalf of The Left Group***.** – Madam President, apparently the European Union is gravely concerned about the humanitarian situation in Gaza and urges Israel to comply with its international law obligations. But if I could offer some advice to the Commission and to the Member States: if you are so concerned and genuinely want the horrors in Gaza to stop, then do something!

Israel is still murdering Palestinians. Yesterday, an UNRWA worker was killed in an air strike in Jabalia in Gaza. Oxfam and the Conflict and Environment Observatory have published a new report detailing how Israel's genocide has turned Gaza into a toxic wasteland that threatens human survival.

Over one year ago, the ICJ issued an advisory opinion declaring that Israel is in breach of international law for blocking aid, and is under an obligation to provide adequate aid to Palestinians in the illegally occupied territories. But since then, Europe has stood on the sidelines, and has watched as Palestinians are ethnically cleansed in both the West Bank and Gaza.

And yes, the Commission gives humanitarian aid. But Palestinians are not experiencing a natural disaster. They are subject to a genocidal apartheid state that's determined to remove them from their homeland – and humanitarian aid cannot fix this.

The only thing that can fix this is sanctions, arms embargoes, ending the Association Agreement, banning settlement trade and demanding the compensation for the EU-funded infrastructure that was deliberately destroyed. That's what puts pressure on Israel. So save the statements of concern and do something!

2-0385-0000

Alice Teodorescu Måwe (PPE). – Fru talman! Hamas behåller järngreppet om Gazas befolkning, trots att demilitariseringen var ett uttryckligt villkor för fjolårets vapenvila, och trots omfattande förändringar av sina maktstrukturer utgör terrororganisationen fortsatt ett militärt existentiellt hot mot Israel. Genom kontroll av bistånd, skolor, myndigheter och ekonomiska nätverk upprätthåller Hamas dessutom ett system av beroende och förtryck av palestinierna.

Så länge terroristerna behåller sitt inflytande saknas förutsättningar för alternativa demokratiska samhällsstrukturer att växa fram. Infiltration av internationella institutioner, däribland av Hamasgeneraler som vid upprepade tillfällen innehaft ledande positioner som lärare och rektorer via Unrwa, väcker fundamentala frågor om FN:s kontrollmekanismer.

Det ligger ytterst på oss, som de största biståndsgivarna, att säkerställa att inte en skattekrona går till att finansiera terror, förtryck eller islamistisk indoktrinering.

Hamas försvagning kan inte mätas i den formella makten eller antalet positioner som terroristerna tvingats lämna, utan det är om de faktiskt förlorar förmågan att förtrycka Gazas befolkning och terrorisera israelerna.

Hamas upplösning av den formella regeringen är en chimär, och utan en verklig avtrappning av våldet och ett avvecklande av Hamas maktstrukturer saknas förutsättningar för en tvåstatslösning.

2-0386-0000

Evin Incir (S&D). – Madam President, colleagues, soon we will be celebrating Christmas, the birth of a child. Yet in the land where Jesus was born, Palestinian children are denied their most basic rights. It is a contradiction. While we prepare for Christmas, a mother in Gaza watches her baby starve. Another one holds her injured child. No food, no shelter, no safety. We demand immediate humanitarian access and arms embargo sanctions against the Israeli Government, a ban on settlement, product and suspension of the association agreement.

To the EPP I want to say, you hold enormous political power in this Parliament and across Europe. Where is your will to act? We agree on Hamas being a terrorist organisation, but why should the

children and innocent people be suffering? And why are you so keen on always serving Israel with impunity, regardless of what they are doing? Have you listened to ICC? Have you listened to ICJ? Come on, for God's sake! See the situation for what it is.

(Addressing another Member) You on the far right, you might think this is funny, but I don't believe the mothers who see their children starve or die thinking this is funny. It's time to act for the Palestinian children.

2-0387-0000

György Hölvényi (PfE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, I stand here now as Standing Rapporteur for Education, quoting the facts. Gaza is a place where, for more than two years, over 600 000 children have had no access to formal education. After more than three years of war, 93 % of the schools in Gaza have been destroyed. An entire generation is being deprived of an education – a generation being exposed to radicalisation. Gaza is a place where recent floods damaged 40 000 shelters, a place where the floods, and I quote, 'displaced almost one million people, including 400 000 children'.

Gaza is entering its fourth winter at war. Yet humanitarian assistance, much needed materials for shelters and 100 000 tents are still being prevented from entering the territory. Gaza is a place where nearly a million children are being raised. They will judge the people responsible for the destruction of today, and they will also judge the people who were reluctant to act. We cannot stand by while one million children suffer in Gaza.

2-0388-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR). – Signora Presidente, la situazione umanitaria a Gaza e le violenze in Cisgiordania sono inaccettabili: nel solo 2026 ci sono stati oltre 2000 attacchi di coloni israeliani contro i palestinesi. A Taybeh, l'ultimo villaggio interamente cristiano della Palestina, hanno aggredito anche dei diplomatici europei.

Ed è qui, nell'antica Efraim nel Vangelo, dove Cristo si ritirò, che ho avuto l'onore di camminare insieme ad Abouna Bashar e agli abitanti; ho parlato insieme a loro, ho ascoltato le paure e le preoccupazioni, ho visto le loro lacrime, toccato con mano una situazione di paura e assedio in cui vivono da anni, minacciati dall'aggressività dei coloni, abbandonati dalle autorità e, infine, ignorati anche da noi europei.

Non possiamo però permetterci di abbandonare i cristiani di Taybeh e tutti gli abitanti, indiscriminatamente, di quelle terre. Non possiamo girare le spalle di fronte a ciò che è accaduto e accade ogni giorno a Gaza.

L'Europa ha il dovere di porsi come ponte, di farsi strumento di pace, abbandonando quella tifoseria ideologica che tanto sta facendo male, soprattutto là, ma anche qui a noi, in Europa.

Abbandoniamo gli estremismi pro-Pal o pro-Israele e cerchiamo insieme ai cristiani della Terra Santa di aprire finalmente un ponte di dialogo che possa portare alla pace.

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu")

2-0389-0000

Benedetta Scuderi (Verts/ALE), *domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Onorevole Inselvini, lei ha parlato delle sofferenze a Gaza, ha parlato della violenza dei coloni e l'ha condannata. Ha detto che è inaccettabile quello che è successo a Gaza e dice che l'Europa deve creare ponti. Però l'Europa ha

anche una grande forza, che è il diritto. Noi abbiamo il diritto internazionale e interno da poter applicare.

Allora io le chiedo: perché il governo italiano, di cui lei è parte del partito di maggioranza, non vota per interrompere l'accordo di associazione o per sospendere l'accordo di commercio? Perché il suo ministro degli Esteri si è rifiutato di condannare i coloni? Perché il suo Primo ministro non fa niente di ciò che il diritto ci permetterebbe di fare, per aiutare i palestinesi a Gaza?

2-0390-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR), *risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"***.** – Grazie collega, io ho sempre condannato, dall'inizio fino a oggi, quello che è accaduto a Gaza, quello che succede in Palestina, che succede per mano dei coloni e degli estremisti.

E devo dire che anche il nostro Presidente del Consiglio ha sempre condannato ciò che in maniera indiscriminata ha fatto Israele a Gaza e ciò che viene fatto dai coloni.

È chiaro che per raggiungere soluzioni dal punto di vista anche del diritto, in modo concreto, credo che si debba però – come ho detto prima – lasciare da parte ogni tipo di provocazione politica, ogni tipo di rivendicazione ideologica o di parte e provare insieme, ma dico davvero insieme, a trovare soluzioni di pace.

2-0391-0000

Benedetta Scuderi (Verts/ALE), *reazione "cartellino blu"***.** – La ringrazio, ma la condanna non serve a niente se non facciamo qualcosa. Lei ha sempre condannato, il Primo ministro italiano ha sempre condannato. Avete la possibilità di fare qualcosa: si chiama sospensione dell'accordo di associazione! E state votando contro.

C'è una cosa che si chiama diritto, che può essere applicato; le sanzioni possono essere applicate. Delle condanne i palestinesi non se ne fanno niente, neanche la giustizia internazionale. E voi non state facendo assolutamente nulla, mi dice il perché?

2-0392-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR), *reazione "cartellino blu"***.** – Noi abbiamo condannato, io condanno, ma io faccio anche tanto ogni giorno per quei popoli, quindi io credo di essere a posto con la mia coscienza. Ma anche l'Italia ha fatto tanto per quei popoli, visto che siamo il primo Paese a livello europeo per aiuti umanitari, in generale, in Cisgiordania e, in particolare, anche a Gaza.

Ma oltre a questo io credo – ma lo dico sinceramente senza polemica – credo che il clima che porta a non arrivare a delle soluzioni anche rispetto a quello di cui tu parlavi, è il fatto che abbiamo radicalizzato l'opinione pubblica su questo tema.

Se noi invece abbassiamo i toni e cerchiamo insieme di raggiungere soluzioni – e lo dico davvero col cuore, con sincerità – possiamo arrivare a delle soluzioni comuni e condivise.

2-0393-0000

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Madam President, Commissioner and colleagues, we've been here so many times, but sometimes the detail takes your breath away. This morning I heard on Irish radio a spokesperson for Oxfam point out that the bombardment of Gaza is equivalent to 1 3 Hiroshima bombs, and it made me reflect on the aftermath of Hiroshima itself, which created a global push for arms control and humanitarian law. By contrast, what's happened in Gaza has elicited nothing more than the globalisation of indifference, as the Pope referred to.

We can discuss all day trying to reconcile the legitimate aspirations of Palestinians for self-determination with the equally legitimate aspiration of Israelis for their security, but what we have to accept as a fact – there is no evidence whatsoever of aid diversion for purposes for which it was not intended in Gaza, there is no evidence whatsoever of aid being diverted to Hamas, directly or indirectly, and there is equally no excuse for denying aid – humanitarian aid, lifesaving aid – for the people who need it today.

2-0394-0000

Catarina Vieira (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, another winter in Gaza, still the same makeshift tents flooded by heavy rains, still the knowledge that lifesaving aid is blocked just a few kilometres away. More disease, more hypothermia, more deaths. This is the everyday reality of Palestinians. We've normalised genocide, and now we normalise this. One year after the ceasefire, Israeli strikes still kill civilians and humanitarian workers. Just yesterday, another UNRWA worker was killed. We must ask ourselves: was this ceasefire a path to peace or simply a reason to allow us to look away?

Gaza is destroyed; 150 million euros of EU-funded infrastructure in ruins. Experts talk about destruction so vast that the toxic contamination will be a threat to public health for generations to come, and some say 'wait, give it time', as if a new government will magically fix the current situation. Gaza needs urgent and unimpeded access to humanitarian aid and medical aid, and the Commissioner said it herself. This is not a lack of it; this is a lack of political will. So let's make more of it. Also, with political choices here in Europe. Suspend the EU–Israeli Association Agreement, defend the ICC, enforce its warrants, sanction the ministers and, while we're at it, let's also stop the trade with illegal settlements.

2-0395-0000

Rima Hassan (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, après la décision de la Cour internationale de justice reconnaissant le génocide des Rohingyas, de nombreux experts estiment qu'il est très probable qu'Israël soit condamné pour génocide à Gaza.

Depuis trois ans, plus de 50 organisations d'experts, parmi lesquelles des instances des Nations Unies, alertent sur le génocide en cours. L'Europe continue de détourner le regard. Cette inaction révèle surtout une complicité institutionnelle, politique, diplomatique et idéologique qui est à l'œuvre tous les jours ici.

Derrière les condamnations de façade, l'Union européenne reste le premier partenaire commercial d'Israël. La réalité est là. Près de 20 % des produits israéliens importés proviennent des colonies. Les livraisons d'armes se poursuivent et nos dirigeants présentent comme une avancée un cessez-le-feu dont les insuffisances sont dénoncées, y compris par le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies.

Gaza révèle au monde, dans toute son horreur, la réalité du colonialisme israélien. Mais elle révèle aussi une autre vérité, celle d'une Europe qui n'a jamais rompu avec son propre passé colonial.

2-0396-0000

Ľuboš Blaha (NI). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, keby existovala fyzikálna jednotka pokrytectva, bola by to určite jedna Ursula. Na Rusko ste už uvalili 21 sankčných balíkov, pretože na Ukrajine prebieha konvenčná vojna. No na Izrael ste uvalili nula sankčných balíkov, aj keď vedie nie konvenčnú, ale vyhladzovaciu vojnu v Gaze. Na Ukrajinu ste naliali štvrť bilióna eur na zbrane. Kým Palestíne ste poslali len minimum humanitárnej pomoci, ktorú izraelský fašistický režim aj tak blokuje. Nemecký kancelár Mert dokonca arogantne vydiera Slovensko a ďalšie štáty, že

zablokuje rozpočet, ak nenalejeme na Ukrajinu ďalšie miliardy. V prípade Gazy však nemecký *Führer* blokuje akékoľvek sankcie proti Izraelu a otvorene kolaboruje s genocidálnym režimom. Keď Rusi evakuujú deti z bojových zón, nazývate to genocídou ako úplní šialenci. Ale keď Izrael povraždil vyše 20 tisíc detí, tak je to vraj právo na obranu. Vy, farizeji. Vašou jedinou agendou pani Leyenová a Callasová je vyvolať vojnu proti Rusku a proti genocíde v Gaze... ste hanbou Európy.

2-0397-0000

Udo Bullmann (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Hunderttausende leiden in Gaza, und die Kinder sterben zuerst. Ich habe die Grenze in Rafah besucht. Ich weiß, wo die Orte sind, wo die Hilfsgüter verrotten. Und ich sage das als deutscher Sozialdemokrat, der niemals auch nur eine Sekunde Zweifel dafür aufkommen lässt, dass wir das Existenzrecht Israels verteidigen und den Schutz aller Menschen.

Aber es gibt keine Rechtfertigung dafür, Hilfsgüter verrotten zu lassen, den Menschen nicht zu helfen und dieses Leiden nicht zu beenden! Ich weiß, Frau Kommissarin, Sie setzen sich ein. Ich kenne, Herr Ratspräsident, die Position Ihrer Regierung, und die ist hilfreich. Aber gehen Sie zu Ihren Kollegen und fragen die: Wieviele Zelte sind reingekommen seit dem 13. November? Und wer blockiert Sanktionen? Das ist nicht mehr hinzunehmen.

2-0398-0000

Sebastian Kruis (PfE). – Madam President, thank you very much. Today we talk about the humanitarian situation in Gaza, but foreign policy is not a competence of the European Union. Yet Ms Kallas behaves as the queen of the world. But she was nothing, she is nothing and she will become nothing, because she has zero relevance.

Last week again, we also heard from Ms Kallas – and from many people also here in this room – the cries of alarm about the situation in Gaza. Supposedly people are suffering because of the winter conditions and the cold. But just take a look at the weather forecast for the Gaza Strip then and now, and you will see a very different picture: it is bloody hot and people are sitting there perfectly warm.

Ms Kallas is a notorious liar, a political Pinocchio. In the morning, she opens the eye and starts to lie, and then she calls on Israel to open ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0399-0000

President. – Sorry, you cannot say that someone is a liar. It's in the rules. And please don't do that.

2-0400-0000

Sebastian Kruis (PfE). – I can say it. It's not a lie to say that it's not cold in Gaza.

2-0401-0000

President. – You can say it's a lie, but you cannot say she is a liar. Sorry. Those are our rules. No personal attacks.

2-0402-0000
Sebastian Kruis (PfE). – Oh yes. Nonsense, because if you say something which is not the truth and you say a lie, then normally you call that person a liar. But maybe that's just common sense, which few people in this room seem to have – except for me, of course. I will continue with my ...

(In response to comments from a Member) No it's not – what are you talking about? It's more than 20 degrees in Gaza. What fake news do you take? I will continue.

Stop spreading fake news! Stop lying, and don't care too much about people who hate us. And once again, it's bloody hot in Gaza. So don't come to me with this fake news ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0403-0000
President. – Even if I take the time that was lost, your speaking time is over. But you have two blue cards. Do you accept the blue cards?

2-0404-0000
Sebastian Kruis (PfE). – Yes. It is a debate. It is a parliament.

(The speaker agreed to take several blue-card questions)

2-0405-0000
Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew), *blue-card question***.** – Madam President, I would like to have a follow-up question after that. What did you just do when you took the microphone?

(Making a crying gesture) Did you do that to us?

I'm done with that question. Let him answer. I would like to hear this.

2-0406-0000
Sebastian Kruis (PfE), *blue-card answer***.** – I was in tears because of all your interventions. Full of tears, left-wing tears, yes, and fake news, by the way. That's why I did the symbol to wipe my tears – which is not forbidden, by the way. Because if I have tears in the eyes, and that was the result of your tear-breaking interventions, I really had to remove my tears. I'm sorry that I'm a human.

2-0407-0000
Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew), *blue-card reaction***.** – You are wiping up your tears because of fake news. Apparently, you live in a different planet under a different dimension, and nowhere in hell are you human. Because the victims, the situation – everybody can see that live-streamed on their phones. And saying that it is not minus four in Gaza, where the weather forecast is showing that, let me just ask you: where exactly are you a human? Where?

2-0408-0000
Sebastian Kruis (PfE), *blue-card reaction***.** – Well, that was more in the past, your applause. But let me be very clear: when you look at just the weather forecast on all the normal regular phone apps, then you see it's bloody hot in Gaza, just like me! So yeah, don't come to me with 'It's cold there'.

And then you talk about the victims in Gaza. Those were the perpetrators of the 7 October pogrom you might have forgotten about. And now you are checking on your weather app to see the weather in Gaza. Please, maybe we can wait a while and then she can give us the answer.

It's good to clarify this thing – that it's hot in Gaza. Warm. People are suffering from the heat.

2-0409-0000
President. – As we have now have cleared up the weather forecast for everywhere in the world, I give the floor to Ms Incir.

2-0410-0000
Evin Incir (S&D), *blue-card question***.** – Thank you very much, colleague, for taking the question. You repeating a truth being a lie doesn't make the truth a lie.

Children are living without shelter, no food, no hospitals, and you are talking about a few degrees of heat. Do you know what it means to be a child or have you forgotten about it?

How many children in Gaza must lose their life or be killed – because that's what we are talking about – before your heart starts to function?

2-0411-0000
Sebastian Kruis (PfE), *blue-card answer***.** – If you want to ask those questions, ask them to Hamas, who started 7 October. They got what they deserved: revenge.

And if you complain about that, then complain about how much everybody in this room from the left side is blaming Israel for fighting a war which is just.

2-0412-0000
President. – Sorry, I want to stop this debate now. Nobody deserves to die. Nobody deserves to die.

(In response to comments off mic by Mr Kruis) I would like to stop that now. I would like to stop that now because it's going in a direction I think we cannot accept.

(In response to comments off mic by Ms Incir) Yes, exactly. And that is the reason why I stop it now. Sorry, stop! Sorry, Ms Incir. We will stop this now. Please!

2-0413-0000
Nicolas Bay (ECR). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, personne dans cet hémicycle ne peut fermer les yeux devant les images de Gaza ravagée. Gaza où les habitations sont inondées, où l'aide humanitaire est honteusement entravée, où des femmes, des enfants et des familles entières sont dans une détresse absolue.

Aujourd'hui, les chrétiens, par exemple, n'y sont plus que 539. Avant le 7 octobre 2023, ils étaient plus de 1 000. Près de la moitié de cette communauté bimillénaire a donc disparu en trois ans. Je veux dire au peuple palestinien que nous ne l'oublions pas. J'étais auprès d'eux à la Toussaint, dans le village chrétien de Taybeh, en Palestine. J'ai entendu leur inquiétude, leur attachement à leur terre et leur volonté d'y demeurer. Rien ne justifie que le peuple palestinien soit sacrifié.

Le combat légitime contre les islamistes du Hamas ne peut être le prétexte aux atteintes aveugles contre les civils, ni aux colonies installées illégalement en Cisjordanie. L'Europe ne peut pas y être indifférente. Nous devons et pouvons contribuer à la stabilité et à la paix. Nous devons protéger les populations civiles et permettre aux communautés historiques de Palestine, en particulier

chrétiennes, de continuer à vivre en Terre Sainte. Bien sûr, il faut garantir la sécurité d'Israël, mais il faut aussi assurer un État et la sécurité aux populations palestiniennes.

2-0414-0000
Alexander Jungbluth (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! Ich beziehe mich auf Artikel 10 Absatz 4 unserer Geschäftsordnung. Sie haben bei dem Vorredner moniert, dass er eine beleidigende Sprache gegenüber der Kommissarin gewählt hat. Ich möchte Sie darauf hinweisen, dass Frau Al-Sahlani ihm das Menschsein in ihrem Redebeitrag abgesprochen hat. Das ist ebenfalls mindestens eine beleidigende Sprache. Insofern möchte ich das Präsidium dazu auffordern, den Redebeitrag von Frau Al-Sahlani anzusehen und Maßnahmen gegen Frau Al-Sahlani einzuleiten.

2-0415-0000
Die Präsidentin. – So wie ich das hier vorne auch aus der Übersetzung gehört habe, hat Frau Al-Sahlani lediglich gefragt, wo er Mensch ist. Sie hat nicht gesagt, er ist kein Mensch.

Das kann man hinterfragen, wir werden das auch entsprechend prüfen. Das nehmen wir hier auf und wir werden den Redebeitrag überprüfen und dann entsprechend Stellung dazu nehmen.

2-0416-0000
Evin Incir (S&D). – So they're questioning what Abir was saying.

Dear colleague, it's a point of order because the colleague Sebastian ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0417-0000
President. – No, sorry. Stop! This is not how we do the debate. We have rules. So please, the point of order. No reply on his point of order; you have to make a point of order.

(In response to comments off mic by Ms Incir) No. Stop, stop, stop! Where is the point of order, please?

(In response to comments off mic by Ms Incir) Sorry, let's please come back to a debate that is a debate that is in the orders of our House. And that means that everyone has speaking time, that everyone can speak respectfully to each other, but not in the way we have it now. Sorry.

2-0418-0000
Catarina Vieira (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, I would like to use Rule 10(3) of the Rules of Procedure to address the disrespect that I saw in this House while the colleague Sebastian Kruis was sitting on that side and our colleague was speaking. During her speech, I saw him repeatedly shush her with his finger and his mouth, trying to silence her during her speaking time. This is an unacceptable way to treat people who were elected here, who are saying important things and have the right to say it.

2-0419-0000
President. – We will check that, too.

Now I pass the floor to Abir Al-Sahlani.

I really beg you: it is an important issue and it is a very sensitive issue. I can understand your emotions, but please stay in a way that is with respect to each other and have a debate that deserves the issue we are discussing about.

2-0420-0000

Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew). – Madam President, a father in Gaza said to the UN: there is not a single thing I can think of to ensure my children will survive from one minute to the next. Daily air strikes continue to kill children, women, young, old, men, sick, disabled people every day – even a year after the so-called ceasefire.

On top of that, the exhausted people of Gaza lack clean water and shelter. Israel still restricts humanitarian aid and has stopped aid organisations from operating, not to mention the fact that neither EU personnel nor media are allowed into Gaza.

Gaza is the deadliest place on earth for UN aid workers since the creation of the United Nations. And winter is coming. Not dragons, but floods – floods leaving mothers unable to keep their children warm and raw sewage spreading disease. They don't fear the undead; they fear the living – the living, breathing humans denying them basic aid.

Their lives aren't a fantasy novel; the dystopia of the people in Gaza is real.

2-0421-0000

Mounir Satouri (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, alors, une fois de plus, nous débattons de la situation humanitaire à Gaza et, une fois de plus, la Commission condamne mais n'ose pas dire le mot «apartheid», ni le mot «nettoyage ethnique», ni le mot «génocide». Et pendant ce temps-là, journalistes et humanitaires restent des cibles. Le pédiatre Hussam Abou Safiya est toujours détenu et torturé. Et une fois de plus, l'Union européenne n'agit pas. Pas une sanction, rien pour respecter ses propres obligations juridiques.

Juste après ce débat, nous parlerons du maintien des sanctions sportives contre la Russie. Je les soutiens, mais qu'avez-vous répondu quand nous demandions une bannière neutre pour Israël aux Jeux olympiques, ou son exclusion de l'UEFA, ou de l'Eurovision? Vous répondiez: le sport doit rester apolitique. Apolitique pour Israël, politique pour la Russie. Deux poids, deux mesures.

Qui peut encore croire à nos principes? Assez de débats sur l'humanitaire. Parlons enfin de la responsabilité juridique de ceux qui, à la Commission comme dans nos États membres, refusent d'agir. C'est ça l'essentiel.

2-0422-0000

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, Saïd aura été sur cette terre pour seulement 29 jours. Kinan, lui, aura survécu neuf mois. Ce sont deux bébés qui sont morts à Gaza, d'hypothermie. C'est la cause de décès officielle. En réalité, la cause de décès est Israël. Parce que Saïd et Kinan sont morts à Gaza, où les gens n'ont plus rien. Ils sont démunis face à la pluie, face aux éléments. Pourquoi? Parce qu'Israël a rasé leurs villages, leurs villes, leurs maisons. Et quand ils se sont réfugiés dans des tentes, Israël a bombardé ces tentes.

Et quand alors des initiatives de solidarité envoient des tentes, Israël les bloque aux portes de Gaza. Face aux inondations, aux rats, aux pires maladies, ces Palestiniens essaient de survivre, de garder leurs terres. Israël continue son génocide, et que fait l'Europe? On continue de les financer. On continue notre commerce avec eux. Il y a toujours notre argent et des armes qui vont à Israël.

Pourquoi? Pourquoi est-ce qu'on ne peut pas les boycotter? Madame la Commissaire, mettez-ça sur la table, vous pouvez le faire.

2-0423-0000
Matjaž Nemec (S&D). – Madam President, dear colleagues, another debate, continued humanitarian catastrophe, and the continued failure of the international community to put pressure on Israel to end the genocide.

According to the latest UNRWA update, well over a million Palestinians are living in shelters, while winter floods have already affected more than 220 000 people. Children are dying as their families desperately try to keep them warm. Meanwhile, Israel continues to block humanitarian aid.

Colleagues, this suffering is not inevitable. It is the direct consequence of inhumane policies of the Israeli Government.

And Europe? We continue to preach international law while selectively applying it. We condemn violations of human rights elsewhere, yet refuse to impose meaningful sanctions on Israel.

We must demand unrestricted humanitarian access, protect UNRWA, suspend the EU-Israel Association Agreement and impose sanctions on those responsible.

2-0424-0000
Jaume Asens Llodrà (Verts/ALE). – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, usted es madre y una persona sensible, ¿qué le diría a una madre cuyo hijo ha muerto porque Israel no le deja salir de Gaza para recibir tratamiento médico?

Nosotros —Europa— seguimos apoyando a Israel. Acabamos de saber la cifra: 300 niños y niñas han muerto así. Esto se suma a los niños que mueren cada día por hambre, por frío, por un tiro... y más cuando llueve, porque eso se mezcla con las aguas fecales y se convierte en una tumba. Pero no por casualidad, sino porque Israel ha destruido todo el sistema de saneamiento de aguas en su plan de exterminio. Los expertos ya hablan de medio millón de muertos.

¿Qué diferencia hay entre lo que ocurría en el gueto de Varsovia y el gueto de Gaza? Yo hablaré de una diferencia que tiene que ver con nosotros: ahora no podemos decir que no sabíamos, porque lo vemos en directo; no podemos decir que no participábamos, porque contribuimos con armas y con dinero; y no podemos decir que no nos obligaban a frenarlo, porque eso es lo que nos exigen los tribunales.

Francesca Albanese, la relatora de la ONU, decía que no somos mejores que aquellos que hace 80 años miraban hacia otro lado. Yo creo que somos peores.

2-0425-0000
Marit Maij (S&D). – Voorzitter, commissaris, collega's, generaties lang zullen de Palestijnen in Gaza nog de gevolgen ondervinden van de vernietiging van hun huizen, gebouwen, scholen, ziekenhuizen en infrastructuur en de moord op inmiddels bijna 80 000 mensen, het merendeel onschuldige burgers.

Vrouwen worden extra hard geraakt. Gezondheidszorg is zo verslechterd dat het aantal miskramen is verdrievoudigd. Uit een onderzoek van Oxfam blijkt nu ook nog dat meer dan 99 % van Gaza mogelijk vergiftigd is, vervuild door de meer dan 200 000 bom- en droneaanvallen. En

met blokkades van Israël op import naar Gaza komen er heel weinig goederen en hulp binnen. Mensen zijn enorm afhankelijk van die vervuilde bodem voor het beetje landbouw dat er nog is, voor voedsel, hygiëne en drinkwater.

Wat moet er nog meer gebeuren om eindelijk de politieke en economische banden met de regering die deze daden pleegt, te doorbreken? De EU moet de associatieovereenkomst met Israël opschorten.

2-0426-0000

Cecilia Strada (S&D). – Signora Presidente, oggi parliamo di Gaza: miracolo! Ma più che un dibattito è un necrologio: in quest'anno di cosiddetto "cessate il fuoco" almeno 375 bambini e adolescenti sono stati uccisi dall'esercito israeliano; quasi 400 dipendenti di UNRWA uccisi da ottobre 23, l'ultimo questa notte.

Commissaria, mi permetto di riformulare leggermente la sua frase di prima: non è tanto Gaza, che è il luogo più pericoloso per gli operatori umanitari, è Israele che è lo stato più pericoloso per gli operatori umanitari.

Tutta la Striscia è contaminata da metalli pesanti, esplosivi, diossina, amianto, eccetera, perché Israele ha sganciato su Gaza l'equivalente di 13 Hiroshima.

E il Consiglio, che potrebbe – dovrebbe – cercare di fermare il massacro, che cosa fa? La sospensione dell'accordo di associazione è ferma al Consiglio da 14 mesi. La sospensione di Israele da Orizzonte Europa da 16 mesi. Sanzioni? Manco a parlarne, anche perché ci sono governi – come quello italiano – che continuano a frenare ogni decisione.

È una vergogna! Ed è una vergogna che ha anche scavato una voragine tra le istituzioni e i cittadini europei, perché gli europei lo sanno da che parte stare: dalla parte del diritto e dell'umanità. E il Consiglio dov'è?

2-0427-0000

Chloé Ridel (S&D). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, depuis le prétendu cessez-le-feu à Gaza, 1 700 Palestiniens ont été tués, 6 000 blessés, et la population civile, confinée par Israël sur la moitié du territoire, vit dans des conditions inhumaines. Il y a 1,4 million de personnes qui vivent dans des tentes ravagées par des pluies diluviennes.

Et j'aimerais que les dirigeants européens, qui refusent depuis des mois toutes sanctions envers le gouvernement israélien, trouvent l'empathie nécessaire pour imaginer ce que c'est que de vivre dans une tente remplie d'eau avec ses enfants. Des centaines d'enfants réveillés en pleine nuit, trempés, qui attrapent des maladies respiratoires, des nourrissons que leurs mères découvrent au lever du soleil morts d'hypothermie.

Dirigeants, regardez cette réalité en face. Moi, je suis une mère et je tremble rien que d'imaginer la détresse abominable que je ressentirais si je devais veiller nuit et jour sur ma fille de onze mois, avec la peur qu'elle ne passe pas la nuit.

Alors vous direz oui, les inondations, c'est une catastrophe naturelle. Ah oui, mais qui est responsable de la destruction des conditions de vie à Gaza? Qui bloque l'acheminement des 150 000 tentes à l'entrée de la bande de Gaza? Ce sont les autorités israéliennes. Il faut nommer ces responsabilités et exiger que cette inhumanité cesse. Par leur inaction, les dirigeants européens

continuent de cautionner l'insupportable. Plutôt que d'appeler vainement à l'entrée de l'aide humanitaire, faites pression et suspendez l'accord d'association.

2-0428-0000
Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0429-0000
Daniel Attard (S&D). – Sinjura President, qed nitkellmu dwar is-sitwazzjoni umanitarja f'Gaża. X'sitwazzjoni hi? Dan huwa ġenoċidju. Immaġinaw ftit, teħlisha mill-bombi, teħlisha mill-ġuħ u mbagħad tispiċċa tibża' minn artek stess għax skont l-Oxfam artek hija kontaminata. U aħna hawnhekk mhux qed nibżgħu mill-bombi jew mill-ġuħ jew minn artna. Qed nibżgħu ngħiduha kif inhi. Iktar minn sittin elf persuna maqtula, iktar minn għoxrin elf tifel u tifla maqtula. Hawnhekk nibżgħu nlissnu l-kelma ġenoċidju. Għalfejn dan kollu? Għaliex il-politika u l-għamad politiku jibqa' jwaqqafna milli ngħiduha kif inhi. X'hemm antisemitiku milli tikkundanna ġenoċidju? X'hemm mibegħda kontra l-Lhud milli titkellem kontra l-gvern ta' Netanyahu? Din mhix politika kontra l-Iżrael, imma hija kundanna għall-ġenoċidju li wettaq Netanyahu. Ieqfu fettqu bil-kliem u għiduha kif inhi.

2-0430-0000
Lukas Sieper (Renew). – Madam President, during this debate, our colleague Ms Hassan was stopped from wearing the *keffiyeh*, or the Palestinian scarf. While I do not agree with her way of doing politics, I think that this is no longer appropriate. The European Parliament does not allow the wearing of political messages on one's body, and yet I am looking at the Commissioner, who is wearing orange as a sign of resistance to violence against women.

Madam President, from German to German, the State of Israel stands accused before the International Court of Justice of genocide. A warrant has been issued for the current Prime Minister by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity. The Palestinian people have suffered everything that it is possible for human beings to suffer. The list is too long to tell in the short seconds that I have. I think we should allow Members of Parliament to wear this symbol, which is not only a symbol of a certain group, but a symbol of the Palestinians' pride, resistance and identity.

2-0431-0000
Die Präsidentin. – Ich nehme das zur Kenntnis, dass Sie sich darüber wundern. Es ist eine Regel, die wir im Haus haben. Ich bin hier vorne, um auch darauf zu achten, dass die Regeln eingehalten werden.

Wenn Sie die Regeln nicht mögen, wenden Sie sich an die Präsidentin. Dann muss man das Thema noch mal neu diskutieren. Aber solange die Regeln so sind, werde ich von hier vorne aus die Regeln halten.

2-0432-0000
Anna Strolenberg (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, if a person in Gaza managed to survive bullets, drones and bombs, they are still not safe. And it is not just the continued airstrikes and killings. No! Breathing has become an act of violence in Gaza. And this is because Netanyahu's destruction left the land poisoned.

Oxfam studies show that over 99 % of the land is potentially contaminated by toxic materials, and now it is inescapable: it is in the air they breathe, it's in the water they drink. And because of this, it

is damning future generations with birth defects, heart diseases and lung cancer. The world's attention has moved on, but Palestinians are still stuck in the same place. And we must hold Israel accountable; they must let humanitarian aid in and respect the cease fire.

But we know they don't. So we must act too. Let's suspend the Association Agreement, let's end trade with illegal settlements, and please, let's support the ICC's arrest warrant.

2-0433-0000

Özlem Demirel (The Left). – Frau Präsidentin! Während wir hier stehen, leben die Menschen in Gaza zwischen Trümmern – durchnässte Zelte, Menschen ohne medizinische Versorgung, ohne Perspektive, ohne Sicherheit. Und Israel versperrt weiterhin lebenswichtige Hilfe. Seit dem Waffenstillstand wurden 1 600 Menschen von der israelischen Armee ermordet. Als ich zur Debatte kam, dachte ich mir: Ich sollte etwas sagen zur Heuchelei der EU. Ich sollte etwas sagen zu den deutschen Waffenlieferungen.

Doch dann traf ich heute Mittag Vertreter von B'Tselem. Ich sah mir ihren Film an, ihren Film über die Siedlergewalt in der Westbank. Ich sah die Bilder, hörte die Geschichten und begegnete der Stille in den Augen der Menschen, die davon betroffen sind. Und mir wurde klar: Ich appelliere nicht mehr an die EU-Kommission, ich appelliere nicht mehr an die Bundesregierung, keine Waffen zu senden, sondern ich appelliere an die Menschen in Europa. Was in Gaza, in Palästina passiert, ist keine Normalität. Bitte erhebt eure Stimme gegen die herrschende Politik hier!

2-0434-0000

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, πάνω από 74 000 οι νεκροί. Αριθμοί-ρεκόρ σκοτωμένων παιδιών. Παρά την εκεχειρία, το κατοχικό Ισραήλ συνεχίζει τη γενοκτονία στη Γάζα. Με τον λαό σε σκηνές, σε άθλιες συνθήκες, και τον χειμώνα μπροστά. Στη Δυτική Όχθη κλιμακώνονται οι δολοφονίες, οι επιθέσεις εποίκων και οι εκτοπισμοί.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση μιλά για κρίση, αλλά αναθέτει προκλητικά την ανθρωπιστική βοήθεια στο κράτος-κατακτητή Ισραήλ που δολοφονεί Παλαιστινίους ακόμα και στις ουρές των συσσιτίων. Συνεχίζει τη στρατιωτική, οικονομική και πολιτική συνεργασία με το Ισραήλ, παρά τη γιγαντιαία λαϊκή κατακραυγή. Είστε εκτεθειμένοι στα μάτια του λαού και της νεολαίας.

Την ίδια ώρα, οι ΗΠΑ και το Ισραήλ προετοιμάζουν νέες επιθέσεις στο Ιράν με την πιθανή ενοποίηση των μετώπων της Μέσης Ανατολής και της Ουκρανίας. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, το ΝΑΤΟ και η ελληνική κυβέρνηση είναι συνένοχοι, με γιγαντιαίους πολεμικούς προϋπολογισμούς που ενισχύουν και οι ισραηλινές πολεμικές βιομηχανίες.

Να σταματήσει τώρα η γενοκτονία του παλαιστινιακού λαού. Άμεση παύση της συμφωνίας σύνδεσης Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης-Ισραήλ και κάθε στρατιωτικής συνεργασίας μαζί του. Κλιμακώνουμε την αλληλεγγύη για ανεξάρτητο παλαιστινιακό κράτος στα σύνορα του 1967 με πρωτεύουσα την Ανατολική Ιερουσαλήμ. Απελευθέρωση όλων των πολιτικών κρατουμένων και εγγύηση της επιστροφής των προσφύγων στις εστίες τους.

2-0435-0000

Oihane Agirregoitia Martínez (Renew). – Señora presidenta, la situación humanitaria en Gaza nos exige proteger a la población civil, pero también ofrecer oportunidades de futuro, y sabemos que en Gaza hay veintitrés jóvenes palestinos que lo han hecho todo bien, que han aprobado exámenes, que han superado controles de seguridad y que han obtenido una beca del Gobierno húngaro para estudiar aquí en Europa, pero que están ahí atrapados, sin poder salir, esperando.

Países como Irlanda, Italia, Francia o Países Bajos ya han conseguido facilitar la salida de estudiantes palestinos becados y por eso lo que queremos hacer hoy es preguntar a la Comisión: ¿qué instrumentos tiene la Unión Europea para poner a su disposición y facilitar la salida urgente de estos estudiantes? ¿Cómo se puede ayudar a las autoridades húngaras en las gestiones diplomáticas? ¿Se puede impulsar una mayor coordinación entre los Estados miembros y las autoridades regionales para facilitar estas evacuaciones?

Porque Europa no solo debe contribuir a salvar vidas en Gaza, sino que también debe contribuir a ofrecer oportunidades de futuro.

2-0436-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, when children were hurt or killed, we used to cry, not do 'boo hoo hoo'. We never did that as a human species in history. When children die in floods, in severe weather, under severe hardship, we ask how we can help. We don't ask what the weather app is saying. Really, what kind of species are we? Are we Europeans or what? Can we allow this? Can we allow this to go on? Can we allow the genocide, the killing, the destruction of crops, the total isolation, the human failure that is going on there, can we allow it and still call ourselves Europeans or what? We really have to deliver aid now. We need to suspend the Association Agreement. We need to act as human beings, because that is the value of Europe. The value of Europe is the cultivation of freedom, the cultivation of values, the cultivation of solidarity. That is what we are. We are not reckless people like that person who said 'boo hoo hoo' without a sign of humanity in him.

2-0437-0000

João Oliveira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Comissária Lahbib, recentemente, o desabamento de um talude sobre uma tenda de deslocados, em Deir al-Balah, na Faixa de Gaza, matou cinco pessoas, das quais quatro eram crianças.

O que matou aquelas pessoas não foi a água das chuvas, nem foi a terra do talude, foi a política genocida de Israel que lhes destruiu as casas e os obrigou a viver em tendas; que destruiu hospitais, que destruiu estruturas de proteção civil; que tem destruído todas as condições de vida e que nega mínimas condições de humanidade, quando bloqueia a ajuda humanitária e impõe o apodrecimento dos alimentos nos comboios humanitários que estão retidos na fronteira, enquanto as pessoas em Gaza passam fome e passam as mais duras necessidades.

Em Gaza não há um cessar-fogo, há um genocídio que continua. Há 56 000 crianças que assistiram à morte de um ou de ambos os progenitores. Há uma situação catastrófica, e a União Europeia continua a ser cúmplice desta ação genocida de Israel quando não suspende o Acordo de Associação com Israel e quando nem sequer trava a utilização, por Israel, dos fundos europeus do orçamento da União Europeia, a que Israel continua a ter acesso diretamente ou através de empresas europeias que contribuem para o genocídio do povo palestiniano.

2-0438-0000

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Madam President, Europe is a morally bankrupt commissioner on this issue. We have no credibility whatsoever. The International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant on 21 November 2024 for Prime Minister Netanyahu for war crimes and, I quote, 'starvation as a method of warfare.' Two years on, we are still begging the Israelis to allow food to cross Rafah, begging them to allow medicines to cross Rafah and begging them to allow shelter to cross Rafah.

We have done absolutely nothing to put any pressure on Israel to open up humanitarian corridors so aid can flow in easily. There is no more 'dual use'. Medicines are required. They can never be turned into anything else other than to help save lives. Tents and tarpaulins are urgently needed. They can't be seen as 'dual use' and food certainly can't.

Until such time as we do something with regard to the suspension of the EU-Israel Association Agreement, our credibility on international law is zero because the International Criminal Court has already issued the arrest warrant and we are still willing to do business with Prime Minister Netanyahu.

2-0439-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0440-0000
Hadja Lahbib, *membre de la Commission.* – Madame la Présidente, j'ai commencé l'introduction de ce débat en vous remerciant d'avoir mis ce sujet si important à l'ordre du jour, parce qu'on ne peut pas détourner les yeux, le regard, de ce qu'il se passe à Gaza. Et je le regrette un peu, je dois vous avouer, je le regrette parce que trois ans après, je me rends compte que le débat est tout aussi polarisé et qu'on est quelque part empêtrés, paralysés dans nos contradictions et cette polarisation.

Voilà, je vois un débat passionné, de la colère, de la frustration, la même que je ressens quand je vais au Conseil Affaires étrangères, que je présente la situation humanitaire et que je demande aux ministres autour de la table de prendre des décisions pour nous aider à acheminer cette aide humanitaire. Oui, il s'agit de crédibilité: celle de 27 pays qui ne sont pas d'accord sur ce sujet, comme vous ne l'êtes pas d'ailleurs dans cette enceinte.

J'aimerais aussi partager avec vous quelque chose que j'ai ressenti. Beaucoup d'entre vous ont évoqué Noël qui approche, la Saint-Nicolas. Les enfants de Gaza ne pensent pas aux jouets, je pense. Je vais vous faire le récit d'un médecin que j'ai rencontré, qui a passé six mois à Gaza et qui a fait la rencontre d'une petite fille qui avait écrit son testament, en donnant sa petite robe verte à sa cousine, son nounours à son cousin, sa gourmette à un meilleur ami, parce qu'elle a compris qu'elle allait peut-être mourir, puisque d'autres enfants autour d'elle sont morts.

Donc les enfants à Gaza aujourd'hui, je pense qu'ils pensent surtout à survivre. Est-ce que c'est cela qu'on veut donner aux enfants, à des enfants qui ont été privés depuis trois ans de toute scolarisation? Est-ce que c'est comme ça qu'on va préparer la solution à deux États?

Je vais continuer maintenant en anglais. Mais je voudrais dire aussi que le sujet de ce débat, ce n'était pas le Hamas, ce n'était pas le désarmement du Hamas, qui ne peut évidemment pas faire partie de la solution d'avenir, qui doit être désarmé, tout comme d'ailleurs le gouvernement israélien – et je ne pense pas que ce soit inapproprié – et qui doit respecter le droit international humanitaire.

Whatever our political differences, we all share the same concern for preserving humanity. The protection of human life, respect for international humanitarian law and the commitment to help people in need are non-negotiable for the EU. These are not political choices; they are our shared humanitarian responsibility.

For the people of Gaza and the West Bank, solidarity must mean more than words. It must mean access to food, clean water, medical care, shelter and protection. It must mean restoring dignity and giving people the possibility to rebuild their lives. Let us, therefore, stand united in defending

these fundamental principles, and ensure that our commitment translates into real action on the ground. Because every life matters, every child deserves a future.

2-0442-0000
Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, I thank you for this important debate. The EU will remain firmly committed to improving the situation in Gaza as the largest humanitarian donor to the Palestinian people and the leading political and financial supporter of the Palestinian Authority.

Looking ahead, the EU stands ready to build on this commitment by engaging with the next Israeli Government on the basis of frank and open dialogue. Through this engagement, we aim to advance our bilateral cooperation, address all issues of concern and promote regional stability, security and a just and lasting peace. It is too early to say what the new Israeli Government will look like. The EU is looking for frank and open engagement that will help us address issues of common interest and our concerns, including the situation in Gaza and the West Bank, and regional stability and security.

Our engagement with our Palestinian counterparts remains equally important. In this regard, the recent meeting of the EU–Palestine Joint Committee on the 18 November – held for the first time since December 2022 – marked an important step in reinvigorating our dialogue. Moving forward, the EU will continue to urge all actors to fully implement the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 2803 without delay.

As reiterated in several European Council meetings, the EU stands in support of UNRWA's mission to provide critical and essential services to the civilian population in Gaza, the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the wider region. The EU provides political and financial support to enable UNRWA to fulfil its mandate, considering the needs on the ground. Today, close to 6 million Palestinian refugees continue to depend on the agency for education, healthcare, social protection and emergency assistance. The EU will continue to support the mandate of UNRWA and urges all international regional partners who back UNRWA's mandate politically to step up their financial contributions to ensure a fair global burden-sharing.

We remain steadfast in our commitment to a lasting peace based on the two-state solution and will spare no effort in continuing to work with regional and international partners to reach this goal.

2-0443-0000
Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist hiermit geschlossen.

16. Continuation of sanctions on Russia in international sports (debate)

2-0445-0000
Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Kommission zur Aufrechterhaltung der Sanktionen gegen Russland im internationalen Sport (2026/2984(RSP)).

2-0446-0000
Glenn Micallef, *Member of the Commission.* – Madam President, honourable Members, in Russia, sport is a political instrument. So much so that for a long period of time, the regime has used sport

to legitimise its behaviour. And it does so in the most ghastly of ways. Just think about the state-sponsored doping in Sochi, which is probably the biggest doping scandal in sporting history. Think about the threats that Vladimir Putin makes to 'bury', and I quote, to 'bury the Olympic movement' for not allowing Russian symbols, or the way that Putin celebrates the return of Russian symbols at the Paralympics.

For Russia, this is not a sporting issue that we are debating here today. Also, because the participation of athletes in neutral colours has never been restricted. This is purely a propaganda issue. And on this point, I must be very clear: no one should have any objection to the participation of individual athletes. We don't care, and we shouldn't care about athletes' passports here. In fact, the principle is quite simple: if you are the best in your discipline, you should be able to compete. This is what sport is about. This is about friendship. This is about excellence. And this is about sporting merit.

So our problem is never with participation; it is not with athletes, and it is not with their passports. Our problem is with the state and with state symbols, as well as what they stand for, and with the decisions of international sporting bodies that disregard safety, security and the neutrality of sport. And this is precisely why, when we are faced with these decisions, which were subsequently followed by those of specific disciplines, like judo, weightlifting or world aquatics, for example, we were resolute in our response. That is, the weaponisation of sport is not something that we can ever tolerate, and we will act accordingly.

Politically, the EU's position on this has always been unambiguous. It's a position that is unanimously expressed at the European Council, as reflected in the June and in the October European Council conclusions; a position that is echoed by the Foreign Affairs Council, where the HR/VP, together with me, steered the discussion on this issue, and more recently and once again, by sports ministers. Our position is principled, coherent and rests on four key areas of action going forward.

The first is dialogue – dialogue with sporting bodies. And over the last months, our discussions with sport governing bodies have intensified significantly. In Europe, especially, sporting bodies are increasingly worried with the IOC decision; a decision that was taken without prior consultation and which has put them under significant pressures. They have been left to fend for themselves when dealing with the practical and security consequences of the IOC decision on which they had absolutely no say.

They are also under immense financial pressure because, rightly so, some governments have refused to use public funds for events that legitimise Russian aggression; and legal pressures too, because in Russia, the sport movement receives direct instructions from the Russian minister to take sporting bodies to the Court of Administration for Sport.

There are already some positive results from from this dialogue that we have been having. Following my discussion with the European Olympic Committees, the IOC has now decided that Russian national symbols will not be allowed at the European Youth Olympic Winter Festival in Romania next year. The Commission is now also being invited to exchanges between sport-governing bodies in team sport.

The second key area of action is sanctions, and this remains a very powerful tool in our arsenal. One which we are not afraid to use; also, when sport becomes a tool for propaganda. The proposal for the 22nd package of sanctions, which was adopted yesterday, introduces a ban on Russian teams and athletes competing under national flags. Individuals like the Russian sports minister, who is also the president of the Olympic Committee in Russia, the president of the

Weightlifting Federation, the International Chess Federation, and oligarchs involved in sport are also on the sanctions list.

The third area of action is visas. Here I am thankful to those Member States that have taken a strong stance. For example, the Dutch and Croatian governments that took strong stances on issuing visas and banned the display of state symbols. The EU will build on this, and our visa guidelines package, also adopted yesterday, makes it clear that no visa should be issued to athletes competing under Russian national symbols.

And finally, on funding: on this I am unapologetic. We cannot look taxpayers in the eyes and tell them that their money is going to be used to support organisations that turn a blind eye to the actions of a state that is responsible for creating fear, terror and anxiety. And this is the rationale behind the recent decision we took on Erasmus+, which was communicated last week: organisations that allow this weaponisation of sport will no longer be eligible for funding, and where projects have started already. We will stop that funding, just like we did with the Venice Biennale.

In all these efforts, and going forward, we will continue to talk with like-minded partners and with allies, like Canada and the UK. The war is not over, so the normalisation of Russia in international sport cannot be business as usual. This is our duty.

2-0447-0000

Andrzej Halicki, *w imieniu grupy PPE***.** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Rosyjska flaga, rosyjski hymn symbolizują dziś agresję, przemoc, zbrodnie. Dlatego ta flaga i ten hymn nie mogą się pojawiać na stadionach, w halach sportowych europejskich. Nie możemy pozwolić na propagowanie rosyjskiej agresji. Nie możemy pozwolić na to, by Putin czerpał satysfakcję z tego, że my tę flagę w jakikolwiek sposób akceptujemy.

Rosyjscy sportowcy, którzy popierają tę agresję, nie mogą mieć wstępu na obiekty sportowe. Chyba że wyrzekną się tej agresji, wtedy można znaleźć dla nich inny sposób sportowej rywalizacji.

Sportowa rywalizacja opiera się o zasady fair play. Nie mogą być łamane reguły, a nawet w tych dziedzinach Putin łamie wszelkie zasady. Putin nie jest przyjacielem. Putin jest zbrodniarzem wojennym i tak go określa Międzynarodowy Trybunał Karny, i tak go należy traktować. Jest ścigany listem gończym i dopóki rosyjska agresja na Ukrainę będzie trwać, dopóty ten zakaz występowania rosyjskich sportowców powinien być oczywisty i przez wszystkie kraje europejskie respektowany.

Dlatego w imieniu Europejskiej Partii Ludowej chciałbym, panie komisarzu, podziękować za to, że Komisja przyjęła ten punkt widzenia Parlamentu, bo przecież mówiliśmy o tym dużo wcześniej, i że włącza ten obszar również w pakiet sankcyjny, w 22. pakiet sankcyjny. Chciałbym powiedzieć, że także ta rezolucja, nad którą będziemy głosować, mam nadzieję, będzie przyjęta jako jednolite, silne, jednoznaczne stanowisko całego Parlamentu ponad politycznymi podziałami. Ci, którzy chcą manifestować agresję, machać rosyjską flagą, nie mają miejsca w Europie. Ruscy do domu!

2-0448-0000

Hannes Heide, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion***.** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar! Als Diplomaten im Trainingsanzug bezeichnete die DDR ihre Sportlerinnen und Sportler. Putins Athletinnen und Athleten sind Soldaten im Sportdress, weil sie dem Regime die Bilder von Normalität und

internationaler Akzeptanz liefern, die es für seine Kriegspropaganda braucht. Russlands Sportorganisationen und ihre Funktionäre sind Teil des staatlich-militärischen Systems. Sportvereine sind mit Armee, Innenministerium und Geheimdiensten eng verwoben. Aktive Sportlerinnen und Sportler rechtfertigen den Krieg. Ich teile deshalb die klare Haltung von Sportkommissar Glenn Micallef, das IOC in die Pflicht zu nehmen.

Die russische Flagge bei Wettbewerben dient Russland zur innenpolitischen Legitimation und für Propaganda. Eine Rückkehr auf die internationale Sportbühne ist angesichts des brutalen Angriffskrieges ein falsches Signal. Und die Autonomie des Sports ist Grundpfeiler des europäischen Sportmodells. Allerdings hat der Europäische Gerichtshof klargestellt: Das bedeutet nicht, außerhalb unserer Rechtsordnung zu stehen. Europarecht steht über Schiedssprüchen des Internationalen Sportgerichtshofs, und über Einreisen und Veranstaltungen auf europäischem Boden entscheiden souveräne demokratische Mitgliedstaaten. Schließen wir diese Hintertür für russische Propaganda!

2-0449-0000

Aleksandar Nikolic, *au nom du groupe PfE.* – Madame la Présidente, en voulant continuer à exclure les sportifs russes et en les rendant responsables de l'agression inacceptable de Poutine envers l'Ukraine, vous trahissez les valeurs sportives. Je rappelle que le fondateur des JO modernes, Pierre de Coubertin, disait que les Jeux sont mondiaux et que tous les peuples doivent y être admis sans discussion.

Eh bien, moi aussi, je pense que le sport doit rassembler tous les peuples, qu'aucun sportif, quelle que soit sa nationalité, ne doit être discriminé et empêché de pratiquer son sport, qu'aucun sportif ne doit être jugé sur autre chose que sur ses efforts et sa performance.

Et en plus, si on suit votre logique, on prend quand même une pente très dangereuse, parce que pourquoi ne pas bannir l'Azerbaïdjan, qui a attaqué l'Arménie et occupe illégalement une partie de son territoire? Pourquoi ne pas bannir le Rwanda, qui soutient le conflit à l'est du Congo et les massacres qui en découlent? Pourquoi ne pas avoir banni les États-Unis quand ils ont détruit l'Irak en mentant au monde entier sur les armes de destruction massive? On peut même aller plus loin: pourquoi ne pas bannir mon pays, la France, lorsque Nicolas Sarkozy a déstabilisé la Libye?

On pourrait continuer des heures et des heures et des heures et ne pas en voir le bout. C'est cette même logique qui a forcé l'équipe de cyclisme Israel Premier Tech à censurer «Israël» de son nom, alors que l'équipe sponsorisée par exemple par le Bahreïn, qui viole quotidiennement les droits de l'homme, elle, n'a pas du tout été inquiétée.

Le sport doit rapprocher les peuples, pas prolonger leurs conflits. Les sportifs ne doivent pas être les otages des tensions géopolitiques ou les otages de la Commission européenne.

2-0450-0000

Adam Bielan, *w imieniu grupy ECR.* – Pani Przewodnicząca! Rosja bestialsko kontynuuje agresję przeciwko Ukrainie. Kilka dni temu rosyjskie rakiety spadły na terytorium Polski. Jakie zatem są podstawy do normalizacji obecności Rosji na międzynarodowej arenie sportowej? Nasza odpowiedź musi być zdecydowana: tylko zaostrzenie sankcji i twarde stanowisko Europy mogą zmusić Putina do zawieszenia broni. Wiara w apolityczność rosyjskiego sportu to skrajne niezrozumienie jego roli. Dla Kremla sport od dekad stanowi przedłużenie polityki imperialnej i narzędzie wojennej propagandy.

Komisja Europejska przyznaje, że nie zaszły zmiany uzasadniające normalizację. Europa musi być konsekwentna. Dopóki Rosja prowadzi wojnę, nie ma miejsca na rosyjskie symbole państwowe podczas międzynarodowych zawodów sportowych. Rosja Putina nie ma nic wspólnego z pokojem ani poszanowaniem praw człowieka – wartościami olimpizmu. Nie ma zgody na reprezentację państwa-agresora. Dopuszczenie jej do rywalizacji to legitymizacja rosyjskich zbrodni i policzek wymierzony ukraińskim sportowcom, którzy zamiast trenować, giną na froncie, broniąc naszej wspólnej wolności.

2-0451-0000

Laurence Farreng, *au nom du groupe Renew***.** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, le sport est politique. Il y a quelques mois dans cet hémicycle, nous avions quasi unanimement, à quelques exceptions près on l'a vu à l'instant, condamné la réintégration d'athlètes russes sous drapeau russe lors des derniers Jeux paralympiques de Milan-Cortina.

Depuis, c'est pire: le Comité international olympique a levé la suspension du Comité olympique russe et réintégré les athlètes russes sous leur propre bannière. Cela veut dire des drapeaux russes dans les compétitions sportives, c'est tout simplement inacceptable.

Dans ce contexte de dérives de nos organisations sportives internationales, merci Monsieur le Commissaire de siffler un coup d'arrêt à ce grand n'importe quoi en demandant l'arrêt de la participation des athlètes russes aux compétitions organisées dans l'Union européenne tant que durera la guerre d'agression russe en Ukraine.

J'espère que les États membres joueront le jeu, à la suite de la Finlande qui a mis en place des restrictions de visas pour les athlètes russes. Quand on représente un pays, qu'on concourt sous un drapeau, on doit en accepter les conséquences.

2-0452-0000

Ville Niinistö, *Verts/ALE-ryhmän puolesta***.** – Arvoisa puhemies, Ukrainassa kokonaiselta sukupolvelta on varastettu mahdollisuus liikunnan ja urheilun riemuun. Venäjän hyökkäyssota ja siviileihin kohdistetut pommitukset ovat tappaneet jo satoja nuoria urheilijoita, tuhonneet liikuntapaikkoja ja vieneet osallistumisen mahdollisuuksia. Silti samaan aikaan Venäjä käyttää urheilua oman propagandansa kiillottamisessa.

Kansainvälisen olympiakomitean päätös sallia Venäjän osallistuminen jatkossa oli häpeällinen. Venäläiset urheilijat ovat Venäjän valtion propagandan välineitä ja sen aktiivisesti tukemia, ja Venäjän valtio edellyttää heiltä myös uskollisuutta. Emme voi katsoa sivusta tätä urheilun alistamista propagandan välineeksi. Siksi komission uusi esitys pysäyttää viisumien myöntäminen venäläisille urheilijoille on oikea. Komission on jatkettava työtä urheilujärjestöjen kanssa sen puolesta, että mitään eurooppalaista urheilutapahtumaa ei voi käyttää Venäjän verisen propagandan välineenä – ei sponsoreiden, ei urheilijoiden osallistumisen eikä Venäjän lipun alla kilpailemisen kautta. Sen me olemme velkaa ukrainalaisille.

2-0453-0000

Carolina Morace, *a nome del gruppo The Left***.** – Signora Presidente, lo sport dovrebbe essere l'ultimo ponte a cadere, non il primo da distruggere.

Proprio ieri la Commissione europea ha proposto nuove sanzioni che colpiscono anche il mondo dello sport. So bene cosa significa allenarsi per anni, sacrificare tutto per un sogno, per una medaglia e per una bandiera che rappresenta gli individui e i popoli, e non i governi.

Condannare la guerra è doveroso, ma attribuire agli atleti la responsabilità delle decisioni dei loro governi non è giustizia. Penso soprattutto agli atleti paralimpici, che hanno già superato ostacoli enormi per arrivare a competere. Nello sport non ho mai chiesto a un avversaria da quale Paese venisse: ho guardato il suo talento, il suo impegno e il suo coraggio.

Chiedo alla Commissione: vogliamo uno sport che costruisca la pace o uno sport che diventi un ulteriore strumento di conflitto politico? Difendiamo l'autonomia dello sport, non trasformiamo gli atleti in ostaggi della geopolitica.

E a proposito: anche gli atleti israeliani fanno parte dell'esercito, l'IDF, e anche Trump ha usato lo sport per i suoi interessi. Ricordiamocelo.

2-0454-0000

Milan Mazurek, *za skupinu ESN.* – Vážená pani predsedajúca, keď vidíme chlapov v boxerských ringu, ako mlátia ženy, tak ste všetci ticho a mnohí sa z toho dokonca ešte tešíte. Vítate to ako veľkú ukážku progresu. Taký Progresívci vy ste. Keď vidíte chlapov, ako súťažia so ženami v plaveckých súťažiach, tlieskate tomu, nechcete obmedzovať šport. Dokonca mnohí tlieskate tomu, keď chlapi chodia do ženských šatní alebo na ženské toalety. Ale ruskí hokejisti, to je skutočný problém. Rusi, ktorí budú hrať na majstrovstvách sveta. Z toho sa zrúti celá Európska únia a vtedy potrebujeme nahlas kričať a odsudzovať, dokonca strápňovať sa, ako tu pán komisár, ktorý povedal, že postoj Európskej únie je principiálny. Principiálny? Rusko vraj vedie nezákonnú vojnu, preto nesmie byť účastné na súťažiach a olympiádach a podobne. Tak potom na základe takej istej principiality vyhoďte USA, Izrael, Azerbajdžan aj ostatné štáty. Lebo buď sú všetky vojny zlé, alebo len jedna vojna je zlá. Ste pokrytci a hanbite sa!

2-0455-0000

Die Präsidentin. – Das „angeblich", glaube ich, brauche ich hier nicht zu kommentieren. Der Krieg findet statt, und er ist von Russland ausgegangen. Und das ist nicht angeblich, sondern eine Tatsache.

2-0456-0000

Hélder Sousa Silva (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, caros colegas, o desporto deve ser um espaço de encontro assente no respeito pelo direito internacional e pelos princípios da integridade.

É, por isso, completamente inaceitável a decisão do Comité Olímpico Internacional de levantar provisoriamente a suspensão do Comité Olímpico russo, perante a continuação da ocupação ilegal de parte do território ucraniano, bem como das violações sistemáticas das regras antidopagem.

O regresso da Rússia ao desporto internacional seria uma vitória de propaganda para Vladimir Putin, criando a ilusão de normalidade quando, de facto, nada mudou no terreno. Não podemos aceitar o regresso gradual, modalidade após modalidade, sem escrutínio político e sem respeito pelos princípios olímpicos.

Saúdo, por isso, a decisão da Comissão de excluir do financiamento do Erasmus+ as organizações desportivas que permitam a participação de atletas russos sob os seus símbolos nacionais. O dinheiro dos contribuintes europeus não pode servir para branquear a imagem de um Estado agressor.

Senhor Comissário, o novo pacote de sanções apresentado ontem pela Comissão Europeia é um passo na direção certa, um grande passo na direção certa. Importa agora manter e reforçar as restrições no domínio desportivo porque, enquanto a Rússia continuar a violar o direito internacional, não pode beneficiar da legitimidade que o desporto internacional confere.

2-0457-0000

Glenn Micallef, *Member of the Commission***.** – Madam President, I want to come in precisely on something that was mentioned – this is now a war that is entering its sixth year. It's a war where thousands of people have been killed, brutally murdered, including civilians and 784 athletes to date, where the memory of Ukraine continues to be targeted, including sports infrastructure, where Europe and Europeans in our Member States are being terrorised. The European Union stands with Ukraine and with her people, and it does so unapologetically. It has done so since 2022. Then in 2022, the global sporting community also took a strong position, a principled stance. The sporting community acknowledged that Russia had then quite flagrantly breached the Olympic truce. The IOC itself, without any pressure from anyone, put protocols in place to ensure the safety of athletes and the safety of competitions.

Since then, the war has only intensified. This is the only change. The war has intensified. It has now become a fully fledged hybrid war, with gray-zone attacks now also in our Member States. The impact of this war now stretches globally. The peace talks are a silver lining in all this, but Russia needs to engage genuinely, stop escalating its terror and agree to a ceasefire. Ukraine's goal and our goal has always been to have a just and lasting peace, which is why, until then, we should never allow sport to become a backdoor for propaganda. This is precisely the reason why this reversal of previous decisions by an international sports organisation is so horribly wrong. It is normalising a war of aggression, it is enabling Russian state propaganda, and it is sending a strong signal that, as time passes, we're going to close our eyes to the atrocities that are happening in this war. For me, this is not okay, not while the war is going on.

The architects of these decisions, the people who are taking these decisions in sporting bodies – and here I make direct reference to the President of the IOC, President Coventry, President Parsons of the International Paralympic Committee, and President Infantino – should be held accountable. They are the ones who are best placed to answer these questions. I will not shy away from signalling our strong stance as the European Commission in supporting the key principles of safety and neutrality, and in this respect, in this decision, I welcome this Chamber's scrutiny on the issue. I applaud your efforts to invite President Infantino here, an invitation which I would also like to see extended to President Coventry and President Parsons.

Finally, I would like to conclude by paying tribute to the fallen, to those in Ukraine who are enduring hardships, and to the champions who support the cause in and through sport. We are discussing this issue here today in the presence of one of them – Marta Kostyuk is in the Chamber. Marta, thank you for all your work through your foundation to bring joy and hope to thousands of children who are living with the consequences of this war on a daily basis. Thank you.

2-0458-0000

President. – Mr Sieper, I have to explain: there are no blue cards for Commissioners, sorry.

2-0459-0000

Sabrina Repp (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der ukrainische Skeleton-Fahrer Wladyslaw Heraskewytsch wollte mit seinem Helm an Sportlerinnen und Sportler erinnern, die durch Russlands Angriffskrieg getötet wurden. Dafür wurde er von seinem

olympischen Wettkampf ausgeschlossen. Gleichzeitig diskutieren wir hier über die Rückkehr Russlands in den internationalen Sport. Was sagt es eigentlich über die Werte von Sport aus?

Während ukrainische Sportlerinnen und Sportler unter Luftalarm trainieren, ihre Heimat verlassen müssen und ihre Trainingsstätten zerstört werden, diskutieren wir hier über die Rückkehr der russischen Flagge. Schon mit staatlich gestütztem Doping hat Russland die Fairness im Sport untergraben. Niemand sollte wegen seines Passes ausgeschlossen werden, aber solange Russland diesen Krieg gegen die Ukraine führt, darf der Kreml den internationalen Sport nicht als Bühne für seine Propaganda nutzen. Deshalb müssen die Sanktionen gegen die staatliche Repräsentation Russlands bestehen bleiben. Und wer über die sportliche Zukunft russischer Athletinnen und Athleten spricht, darf diejenigen nicht vergessen, denen Putins Krieg jede sportliche Zukunft genommen hat. Wer über Fairness im Sport redet, darf dazu nicht schweigen.

2-0460-0000

Thierry Mariani (PfE). – Madame la Présidente, après 21 paquets de sanctions contre Moscou, incluant le gaz, le pétrole, les engrais, l'acier et le bois, voilà maintenant que la Commission veut maintenir et renforcer les sanctions contre les sportifs russes au simple motif de leur nationalité.

Cette mesquinerie contrevient totalement au principe qui présidait depuis l'Antiquité, où le sport et la trêve olympique suspendaient les guerres et imposaient un moment de paix le temps des Jeux. Ici, l'Union européenne invente l'inverse: elle fait rentrer la guerre dans les stades et les enceintes sportives, alors que le Comité international olympique vient justement de lever provisoirement l'interdiction du Comité olympique russe, ouvrant la voie à un retour de ce pays pour les Jeux olympiques de 2028.

Quel crime a commis une jeune patineuse, un escrimeur ou un boxeur russes? Celui de ne pas avoir la bonne couleur de passeport. Alors ils iront faire leurs compétitions ailleurs, ou plutôt, elles seront organisées ailleurs, loin des petites discriminations, loin de ces sanctions qui ne feront pas reculer d'un mètre la ligne de front en Ukraine.

(L'orateur accepte une question carton bleu)

2-0461-0000

Hannes Heide (S&D), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte"***.** – Herr Mariani, Sie haben den antiken olympischen Frieden als Argument gegen Sanktionen angeführt. Ist Ihnen bewusst, dass es den Ausschluss von Olympischen Spielen bereits in der Antike gab, und ein ganz bekanntes Beispiel Sparta ist, aber auch andere Stadtstaaten davon betroffen waren?

2-0462-0000

Thierry Mariani (PfE), *réponse carton bleu***.** – Écoutez, je ne suis pas un spécialiste de l'histoire antique, mais je sais que par exemple, au Moyen Âge en France, il y avait des «trêves de Dieu» et que dans ces moments-là on interdisait toute guerre, et c'est vrai que le sport n'était pas mêlé. Mais en tout cas, je pense que le sport doit être plutôt associé à des moments de paix plutôt que continuer cette guerre d'une autre manière par des sanctions.

2-0463-0000

Lara Magoni (ECR). – Signora Presidente, quando parliamo di sport, parliamo di dedizione, sacrificio e passione, ma soprattutto di valori che dovrebbero andare oltre ogni divisione politica nazionale.

Da ex atleta so bene cosa significa dedicare anni della propria vita a un obiettivo, affrontare rinunce e momenti difficili per conquistarsi la possibilità di gareggiare ai massimi livelli. Dietro a ogni atleta c'è un percorso che merita di essere rispettato.

È proprio partendo da questa consapevolezza che ritengo ingiusta ogni forma di discriminazione verso gli atleti russi. Nelle competizioni internazionali non si possono confondere le responsabilità di un governo con quelle dei singoli sportivi, nel far ricadere su di loro decisioni che non hanno preso.

Naturalmente condanno fortemente questa guerra. Credo che lo sport debba continuare a essere un luogo di incontro, dove le differenze non diventino barriere e dove ogni atleta possa dimostrare il proprio valore, perché non è la nazionalità a determinare il valore di uno sportivo ma il suo talento, il suo impegno e ciò che riesce a conquistare sul campo.

2-0464-0000

Anna-Maja Henriksson (Renew). – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa komission jäsen, niin kauan kuin Venäjän laiton hyökkäyssota jatkuu Venäjällä ei ole mitään asiaa kansainvälisiin urheilutapahtumiin eikä siten myöskään jääkiekon MM-kisoihin. Urheilusta ei saa tehdä näyteikkunaa Putinin propagandalle. Siksi pidän tervetulleena komission ehdotusta estää venäläisiä joukkueita ja urheilijoita kilpailemasta Venäjän lipun alla EU:ssa järjestettävissä urheilutapahtumissa. Tämä on todella tärkeä askel.

Jäsenmaiden ei tulisi myöntää viisumeja venäläisurheilijoille. Mielestäni venäläisten turistiviisumien myöntäminen Eurooppaan on kiellettävä kokonaan niin kauan kuin Venäjän hyökkäyssota Ukrainaa vastaan jatkuu. Koska Venäjä käyttää urheilua myös osana propagandakoneistoaan, Venäjän hybridisodan kiihtyessä meidän on kiristettävä painetta Putinia kohtaan.

2-0465-0000

Mārtiņš Staķis (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, Russia has no place in global sports. Russia is still waging a war and its Minister of Sport says openly that Russia will not give up the occupied Ukrainian territories. That means that Russian sports organisations are active participants in illegal occupation and war.

Russia has killed hundreds of Ukrainian athletes and coaches. While bullets and drones fly over the heads of Ukrainian athletes, Russia deserves no podium and no glory.

We have a solution: if Russian athletes get no visas, they cannot compete in the European Championships. The same goes for their fans and tourists. Some of you say that this will hurt the Russian opposition, but that is not true. Those who are truly persecuted can apply for a humanitarian visa in Europe.

So, this is not only Putin's war, it's Russia's war. Even in Europe, we see almost no large Russian protests against Russia's war. So, let's say it plainly: no visas for Russia, not for athletes, not for fans and not for tourists.

2-0466-0000

Hans Neuhoff (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! Der Ausschluss russischer Sportler von internationalen Wettbewerben ist eine eklatante politische Dummheit. Er gehört zu jenen Maßnahmen, mit denen alles, was russisch ist, als böse, abscheulich und pestilent gebrandmarkt werden soll. Vermutlich

bleibt den EU-Technokraten noch ihr geliebter Kaviar im Halse stecken, wenn sie erfahren, dass es russischer Kaviar ist.

Meine Damen und Herren, Sportler sind nicht für die Regierungspolitik ihres Landes verantwortlich. Wer sie dennoch bestrafen möchte, betreibt Kollektivhaftung. Die EU-Eliten halten sich für das Edelste und Beste, was je auf diesem Planeten gewandelt ist. Ihr moralischer Exzess ist aber nur die Kehrseite ihres Realitätsverlustes. Sie predigen universelle Werte und verstoßen gegen deren wichtigste Errungenschaft, dass niemand für die Taten anderer bestraft werden darf.

(Der Redner lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" von Lukas Sieper ab.)

2-0467-0000

Bogdan Andrzej Zdrojewski (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Muszę przyznać, że jak słuchałem pana wypowiedzi, to bardzo się cieszyłem, że pan odpowiada za sport i że jest pan konsekwentny i możemy czerpać pewną satysfakcję z prostego, klarownego, bardzo słusznego przekazu. Wiemy wszyscy, że Europa musi być konsekwentna. Rosja dziś nie tylko jest agresorem, ale nasila swoje aktywności i to przede wszystkim, jeżeli chodzi o cele. Są one celami cywilnymi. Za nami pierwsze kryzysy humanitarne. Pamiętamy zbrodnie w Buczy, pamiętamy mordowane i porywane dzieci.

W takich okolicznościach propozycje Komisji Europejskiej zakazujące używania rosyjskich symboli narodowych i ograniczające rozmaite wpływy na europejskie federacje sportowe są słuszne i adekwatne. Sport nie może być narzędziem propagandy dla agresorów, a wiemy, obserwowaliśmy to wielokrotnie, że był wykorzystywany i to na wiele sposobów. Propozycje stanowiące 22 część pakietu sankcji zakładają zakaz udziału rosyjskich drużyn i sportowców w zawodach sportowych na terenie Unii Europejskiej pod rosyjską flagą.

Kilka europejskich państw, w tym potęg w hokeju na lodzie, już odmówiło rywalizacji z Rosją. Domyślamy się też postawy samej Ukrainy, państwa objętego agresją, gdyby miało dojść do rywalizacji na arenie sportowej po prostu z agresorem. Trzymamy kciuki za Europę konsekwentną, Europę zdecydowaną i Europę stawiającą przede wszystkim na pokój.

(Mówca zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0468-0000

Jadwiga Wiśniewska (ECR), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Ja podzielam pana poglądy w tej sprawie, ale chciałabym dopytać o rzecz, która dotyczy nas, Polaków. Otóż Europejska Federacja Podnoszenia Ciężarów odebrała Lublinowi prawo organizacji mistrzostw Europy juniorów z powodu niedopuszczenia rosyjskich zawodników. Oboje wiemy, że niedawno 40 km od Lublina spadła rosyjska rakieta. Jak pan ocenia właśnie tę decyzję Europejskiej Federacji Podnoszenia Ciężarów?

2-0469-0000

Bogdan Andrzej Zdrojewski (PPE), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki***.** – *(początek wystąpienia poza mikrofonem)* ...sami Rosjanie. Jeżeli mają organizacje, które im sprzyjają, należy je, krótko mówiąc, krytykować i wskazywać na niewłaściwość, nieadekwatność tego rodzaju działań.

Wiemy dziś, że Polska Wschodnia jest objęta licznymi atakami, nie tylko już hybrydowymi. Z tego też powodu trzymamy za nich kciuki, a Lublin pozdrawiamy jako przyszłą Europejską Stolicę Kultury.

2-0470-0000
Reinier Van Lanschot (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, four years ago, Putin tried to raise the Russian flag over Kyiv. He failed. Today, Putin wants to raise the Russian flag in sports stadiums across Europe. We cannot let him succeed.

The Olympic Committee has lifted its suspension on the Russian Olympic Committee, and Russia is allowed to compete in international ice hockey again. The question is, what has changed? Has Russia stopped bombing civilians? Has it left occupied Ukrainian cities?

Some say that Russian athletes do not have anything to do with the war. How lucky for them. Ukrainian ice hockey player Oleksiy Loginov, killed while helping a wounded soldier, did not have that luxury. Neither did more than 600 other Ukrainian athletes killed by Russia.

So, until every Ukrainian can swap bunkers for sports fields, Russia's participation in sports is a mark of shame for any institution that hosts them.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

2-0471-0000
Cristian Terheş (ECR), *blue-card question***.** – It's easy to be here in the plenary and talk about banning Russian sportsmen from playing sports. Thinking that this is how we hurt Putin in one way or another. But he's laughing at us, because while we are talking here, thousands of loads from China are transiting Russia on their way to Europe. Now, if we really want to hurt Putin, and make him pay for what he does in Ukraine, do you agree that we need to ban any shipment from China to Europe via Russia?

2-0472-0000
Reinier Van Lanschot (Verts/ALE), *blue-card answer***.** – Thanks a lot for this question. Of course, when we discuss the Russian participation in sports events, it's symbolic. But symbols do matter.

To your question, should we enforce sanctions way stricter? Yes! In my view, we should go further. We should take the frozen Russian assets, deceased ones, and transfer them to a European entity so that in the end, they can be used entirely for the support of Ukraine. We should, in my view, create a no-fly zone in Western Ukraine, and support them as much as possible, because that's the quickest way to end this war.

2-0473-0000
Sunčana Glavak (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, poštovani povjereniče, kolegice i kolege. Od početka invazije poginulo je 776 ukrajinskih sportaša i sportskih djelatnika, a 942 sportska objekta oštećena su ili uništena. S druge strane, svjedočili smo ruskom gimnastičaru koji je na pobjedničkom postolju uz ukrajinskog sportaša isticao simbol "Z", znak podrške ruskoj agresiji. Nemojte zaboraviti tu sliku. Sport mora ostati prostor poštovanja pravila, a ne pozornica za normalizaciju agresije. Nije pitanje samo tko ima pravo nastupiti, nego i kakvu poruku šaljemo žrtvama agresije sa sportskih natjecanja i da li to promiče mir. Autonomija sporta, s druge strane, nikako ne znači odsutnost moralne odgovornosti, naše odgovornosti.

2-0474-0000
Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0475-0000
Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario Micallef, este Parlamento Europeo ha hecho cuanto estaba en su mano para apoyar todos los paquetes de sanciones que la Comisión ha propuesto para sancionar a Rusia tras su guerra de agresión contra Ucrania. Hemos sumado hasta veintiún paquetes. Ahora discutimos este paquete veintidós, que introduce de nuevo medidas restrictivas a la instrumentalización del deporte como elemento propagandístico del régimen de Putin.

De acuerdo, lo vamos a apoyar. De hecho, hemos legislado penalmente, sobre la base del artículo 83, para convertir en delito penal europeo —en eurodelito— la violación de las medidas restrictivas —las sanciones impuestas contra Rusia—. Ahora solo falta que la política de sanciones tenga su correspondencia en la política exterior con luz larga y que la Unión Europea tenga alguna idea de ser parte en las negociaciones para la paz —cuando lleguen— y no sea lamentablemente excluida o patéticamente ignorada en la mesa de la negociación por la paz. Porque llegará un momento en que alguien tendrá que tener una idea sobre cómo poner fin a este conflicto que dura ya cinco años, que ha derramado muchísima sangre y que ha causado centenares de miles de víctimas. La Unión Europea debería tener iniciativa de protagonismo.

2-0476-0000
Michael McNamara (Renew). – Madam President, Commissioner, I heard both of your interventions, and I have to say I agree with much of what you said. I have no doubt that Russia is seeking to perpetrate and instil fear, terror and anxiety in the civilian population of Ukraine, none whatsoever. I have no doubt that it's wrong, it's immoral, it's illegal.

But equally, I would love to live in a world where Russia was the only state perpetrating such evils on civilian populations. We don't live in such a world. We turn a blind eye to states that are our friends, and it completely discredits us when we seek to clamber onto the moral high ground with regard to Russia. Either we disagree with the weaponisation of sport, or we agree that sport can be weaponised.

I respectfully say that you are looking to weaponise sport by banning some countries that we disagree with, but not other countries who do exactly the same thing to defenceless civilian populations. But we are OK with it because they're our friends or historically we did something bad to them. And that's not to say that it was OK to do something historically, but the utter hypocrisy of the European Union when it comes to this issue completely undermines your action …

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0477-0000
Tomasz Froelich (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! Anne Applebaum, Frau von Polens Außenminister Sikorski, gibt offen zu: Europäische Politiker diskutieren über eine Eskalation des Konflikts mit Russland und über eine direkte Kriegsbeteiligung Europas. Nur finden diese Gespräche nicht in der Öffentlichkeit statt, weil die Öffentlichkeit diesen Krieg nicht will. Leider könne nur ein tragisches Ereignis die Europäer von einer militärischen Konfrontation mit Russland überzeugen, so Applebaum.

Bei solchen Worten müssten eigentlich alle Alarmglocken läuten. Offenbar will man die direkte Konfrontation, man gibt es nur nicht offen zu. Dazu passt, dass Brüssel Friedensdiplomatie seit Jahren ablehnt. Stattdessen: Sanktionen gegen russische Sportler, die völlig unschuldig sind. Das europäische Moralimperium fordert Kollektivhaftung. Was für ein zivilisatorischer Rückschritt! Und was für eine Doppelmoral! Denn als die USA den Iran angegriffen haben, forderten sie keine Sanktionen gegen amerikanische Sportler. Und nein, bitte nicht falsch verstehen: Auch das wäre genauso falsch. Konfrontation, billige Symbolpolitik, Doppelmoral – kein Wunder, dass die EU auf internationalem diplomatischen Parkett keine Rolle mehr spielt. Bei diesem Personal wahrscheinlich besser so.

2-0478-0000

Thomas Geisel (NI). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, ich frage mich schon: Wann beenden wir eigentlich diesen Irrweg? 21 Sanktionspakete haben keinen Beitrag zur Beendigung des Krieges in der Ukraine geleistet. Glaubt hier wirklich jemand, ein 22. Paket würde daran etwas ändern?

Mittlerweile geht es bei diesen Sanktionen offensichtlich nicht mehr darum, die Machthaber, Militärs, Kriegsgewinnler und Kriegsfinanzierer in Moskau zu treffen. Wer alle kulturellen Beziehungen mit Russland abbrechen möchte, wer russische Athleten von Sportwettbewerben ausschließen möchte, der trifft nicht die Mächtigen und Kriegstreiber, sondern die russische Zivilgesellschaft.

Ein Beitrag zum Frieden wird so nicht geleistet. Das sieht eher danach aus, dass Frau von der Leyen und Frau Kallas ihr russophobes Mütchen kühlen wollen. Russland werden wir damit nicht isolieren, wohl aber die Europäische Union.

2-0479-0000

Dainius Žalimas (Renew). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Russia has always used sport as an instrument of its propaganda, from the Soviet era to Putin's regime. Sport victories have been used to legitimise aggression and glorify the regime. Meanwhile, Russian national symbols have come to represent war and massacre. I therefore welcome the Commission's proposed new sanctions package restricting Russia's participation in European sport, as well as the decision to cut Erasmus+ sport funding for organisations allowing Russian athletes to compete under the Russian flag.

But we must go further! Last year alone, EU countries issued more than – can you imagine – 600 000 Schengen visas to Russian nationals. It's time to close European doors to Russian citizens, and we must ensure that Russian money has no place in Europe, whether in energy, finance, sport or any other sector. Russian isolation must be comprehensive, not selective.

2-0480-0000

Никола Минчев (Renew). – Уважаема г-жо председател, уважаеми г-н комисар, уважаеми колеги! Допускането на Русия обратно, докато продължава да нарушава международното право, изпраща опасен сигнал за безнаказаност. Ако иска отново да развее спортните си знамена и отново да носи спортните си екипи, Русия първо трябва да прибере ракетите си и дроновете си.

Чух от някои, че спортът не трябва да се политизира. Мислите, че Русия не го прави ли? Да напомня, че Русия похарчи около 50 милиарда долара за организацията на Зимните олимпийски игри в Сочи през 2014 г. За тази сума надали очакваше икономическа възвращаемост. Напротив, инвестира в подобряване на имиджа си около месец, преди да анексира Крим. Отговорете си сами дали използва спорта за политически цели.

Второ, защо не го кажете на някой спортист, който се намира в условия на бомбардирани жилище и спортни съоръжения, губи близки, треньори и съотборници? Защото спортната инфраструктура и спортистите не са легитимни военни цели. Но това не спира Русия да насочва ударите си към тях. Много е лесно да сме коректни избирателно. Но ако дори този сигнал не можем да дадем, не знам изобщо къде сме тръгнали.

2-0481-0000
(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0482-0000
Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen. Die Abstimmung findet während einer späteren Tagung statt.

17. The impact of Europe's eastern border security challenges on frontline Member States (debate)

2-0484-0000
Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung des Rates und der Kommission zu den Auswirkungen der Sicherheitsherausforderungen an der östlichen Außengrenze der EU auf die Mitgliedstaaten an den Außengrenzen (2026/2985(RSP)).

2-0485-0000
Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you for having this debate. It could hardly be more timely. Let me start by acknowledging that Member States at the Union's eastern borders continue to face particular security challenges. More specifically, hybrid threats have become an increasingly prominent feature of their security environment.

Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and others are experiencing deliberate and sustained pressure from Russia and Belarus. They are primary targets for the hybrid campaigns of both Russia and Belarus, which include the instrumentalisation of migration, cyberattacks, arson, sabotage attempts – including against critical infrastructure – airspace violations and deliberate interference with satellite navigation signals. These malign acts are often accompanied by foreign information manipulation and interference in their domestic political processes.

These activities are not an end in themselves, however. Their ultimate objective is to destabilise EU Member States, undermine our citizens' trust in our democratic institutions, weaken our solidarity and erode our collective resolve, including our continued support for Ukraine. They also aim to stretch these countries' resources and divert their attention from other priorities.

The EU frontline Member States are not alone. The security of the EU's borders is a shared responsibility of the Union and all Member States. Therefore, the Council has continued to take action along several work strands.

More specifically, on defence readiness: on 28 September, the Council adopted the first five European Defence Projects of Common Interest, which are now eligible for funding. These projects cover drones and counter-drone systems, air and missile defence, maritime, space and the Eastern Flank Watch.

On sanctions: the EU has adopted 21 sanctions packages to keep pressure on Russia and Belarus. We have progressively restricted Russia's access to energy revenues, financial services, technology and goods needed by its military industry. The Presidency also stands ready to make swift progress on the 22nd sanctions package.

On EU support to Ukraine: the Commission has very recently proposed a new Instrument for Coordinated Support to Ukraine to address Ukraine's uncovered financing needs for 2027. The Presidency stands ready to start examination of this proposal within the Council.

On migration: the EU has equipped itself with legislative tools to address cases of instrumentalisation through the crisis situations Regulation and the Schengen Borders Code.

On the regions themselves: the Council welcomes the Commission's eastern regions initiative and the EastInvest platform, which address the economic strain along the border.

The Presidency's work focuses on four priorities. First, moving from decisions to delivery. The European Defence Projects of Common Interest, and in particular those on drones and on the Eastern Flank Watch, should be implemented without delay.

Second, an effective and coordinated response to hybrid threats. This should include continued use of the EU Hybrid Toolbox and all of its various components, strengthening dialogue and cooperation with like-minded international partners to counter hybrid threats, including with NATO, and supporting partner countries – including in the Eastern Neighbourhood – in strengthening their resilience and capacity to counter such threats.

Third, a strong Frontex. The Council has already started working on the recent Commission proposal in close cooperation with our Lithuanian successors.

And fourth, continued support to Ukraine, as Ukraine's security is inextricably linked to the security of the Union and its Member States.

2-0486-0000

Magnus Brunner, *Member of the Commission***.** – Madam President, honourable Members, last Friday, at 06:30 in the morning, a woman in south-east Poland heard what she, in the beginning, thought was thunder. It was a Russian missile crashing into her village. Minutes later, another missile and a military drone came down in neighbouring villages.

On the very same day, Estonia moved to close its border with Russia to protect critical facilities. In the Black Sea, drones are sinking commercial ships and threatening the trade routes that Ukraine and the world actually depend on. This is daily life for people along our eastern border, from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

As a Commission, we have visited – I myself visited – every country along that border. I've met border guards, for instance, who face drones, balloons or also jammed GPS. I have seen migrants, helped by Belarusian authorities, force their way through border fences in Poland, for instance. Last week, Bulgaria's Interior Minister showed me his determination to counter drones and his readiness also to share that work with other Member States.

The message, I think, is very clear: investing in our eastern border means investing in the security of the European Union. Weaponised migration, drones, cyberattacks and sabotage are no longer

isolated incidents. And definitely, as the Minister said, Europe is acting under our internal security strategy, ProtectEU, and concretely in three ways.

First of all, with people on the ground. More than 600 Frontex officers already work alongside national border guards from Finland to Bulgaria. Our new proposal, like you mentioned, Minister, will create a quick reaction force ready to deploy whenever a Member State asks.

Secondly, protection from the sky and the sea. When one country detects a threat, its neighbours must know at once. We will speed up alerts through EUROSUR and connect emergency services across borders through our European critical communication system.

Drones are a European-wide problem and they also need a joint response. Soon, we will launch an EU Counter-Drone Centre of Excellence and a large-scale drone exercise will take place in the Baltic area. Around EUR 500 million are already available for surveillance, but also for counter-drone measures at our borders. In the Black Sea, President von der Leyen has announced EUR 50 million to fast-track the maritime security hub that Bulgaria and Romania are building together.

Thirdly, it's about stronger protection, of course, of our external borders. The visas are our first line of defence, that was mentioned before as well. Since 2022, we have raised fees, we have lengthened processing times, we have tightened documentation and we have also effectively ended multi-entry visas.

Visas issued to Russian nationals have fallen sharply, but of course, as we know, that's not enough yet and we have to go further there. That is why yesterday, as you discussed before, we updated our guidelines to require more documentation from Russian applicants. Those fighting in Russia's war against Ukraine are not welcome in Europe. So, we are giving Member States more tools to identify Russian combatants and also restrict them consistently.

We have also proposed banning Russian athletes from competing under the Russian flag at sporting events in the EU, as you discussed before, and early next year, the visa code revision will introduce targeted restrictions against nationals of hostile third countries. Also there, of course, we count on your support here in Parliament.

At our borders, our new Entry/Exit System adds a layer of security we have never had before. By November, it had registered 250 million entries and exits, stopped almost 85 000 people at the border who had forged wrong documents, and prevented more than 70 000 security threats from entering the European Union.

Finally, we will act against the regimes behind these attacks. The European Union will not tolerate Russia, Belarus or anyone else turning our own values, including the right to asylum, against us. We are now developing a European emergency response framework to strengthen our toolbox, always, of course, in line with our values and in line, of course, with international law.

So, to every frontline Member State, I would say our promise is quite simple: you will definitely not stand alone.

2-0487-0000

PRÉSIDENCE: YOUNOUS OMARJEE

Vice-Président

2-0488-0000

Nicolás Pascual de la Parte, *on behalf of the PPE Group***.** – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, the eastern border of the European Union is not Europe's periphery – it is Europe's common front line. Russia and Belarus are systematically testing our resilience and resolve through airspace violations, drone incursions, sabotage, cyberattacks and the instrumentalisation of migration. These are not isolated incidents; they are part of a deliberate strategy. They follow a pattern of hybrid war against Europe. Its aim is clear: spreading chaos and havoc across our countries, and sowing fear into our societies.

Our response must be equally determined. Firstly, we must strengthen our Eastern Flank through better surveillance, air and drone defence, and the protection of critical infrastructure. Secondly, we must accelerate initiatives, such as the Eastern Flank Watch, ensuring that political commitment translates into operational capabilities and adequate funding. Thirdly, we need genuine European solidarity. Those Member States facing these threats must not bear the responsibility alone. Protecting the eastern border means protecting every European citizen. We need to set out common protocols of response to such provocations.

Let me stress one point: this stronger European defence must complement NATO, not compete with it. Commissioner, Minister, let us mobilise concrete resources, update commitments, and enhance the determination and political will to live up to the challenges. Because deterrence requires credibility and solidarity requires …

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0489-0000

Marcos Ros Sempere, *en nombre del Grupo S&D***.** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, en ningún lugar de la Unión se sienten tan de cerca los efectos de la agresión rusa como en nuestras regiones fronterizas del Este, y el Kremlin trata de aprovechar esa incertidumbre para dividirnos y para debilitar con su propaganda la confianza en nuestras democracias.

Por eso, debemos actuar unidos y hacer lo que mejor sabemos hacer en Europa cuando llegan las dificultades: apoyarnos los unos a los otros, y no solo desde la perspectiva de la defensa o las fronteras, sino también desde la política de cohesión.

Con la revisión intermedia ya conseguimos reforzar el apoyo económico a estas regiones y ahora estamos proponiendo garantizarles un apoyo específico, suficiente y duradero también en el próximo ciclo presupuestario. Apoyo para sostener el empleo. Apoyo para reforzar los servicios públicos y sus infraestructuras. Apoyo para fortalecer la protección civil y la defensa. Apoyo, en definitiva, para que quien quiera quedarse, pueda hacerlo libremente.

La misma solidaridad que nos lleva a apoyar a Ucrania, nos compromete con nuestras regiones del Este. A quienes vivís en la frontera oriental de nuestra Unión, quiero deciros algo: Europa está con vosotros. Vuestro deseo de paz, de seguridad y de prosperidad es también el nuestro. La solidaridad es lo que nos hace unión y el respeto a nuestros valores democráticos es lo que nos hace europeos. Eso es la Unión Europea, hoy y siempre.

2-0490-0000

Susanna Ceccardi, *a nome del gruppo PfE***.** – Signor Presidente, oggi discutiamo della sicurezza dei confini orientali dell'Europa: ma chi pensa alla sicurezza dei nostri confini meridionali?

Zelensky ha rivendicato un'operazione militare contro navi russe in Libia, nel Mediterraneo, a pochi passi dalle nostre coste, in un'area strategica di fondamentale interesse per l'Italia. Chiedo alla Commissione: eravate stati informati? Quali governi europei ne erano a conoscenza? È stato dato un via libera all'operazione?

E mentre Bruxelles discute di ulteriori miliardi da destinare all'Ucraina – perché la settimana scorsa Bruxelles ha proposto 45 miliardi all'Ucraina e, subito, tre giorni dopo Zelensky chiede altri 70 miliardi: stiamo parlando di cifre sbalorditive, di miliardi e miliardi che ricadono interamente sulle spalle dei contribuenti europei.

Allora vogliamo delle risposte: qual è il piano? Qual è la strategia? Qual è l'obiettivo finale? Quanto dobbiamo ancora spendere? E, soprattutto, quando finirà tutto questo?

2-0491-0000

Елена Йончева, *от името на групата ECR.* – Уважаеми господин председател! България плаща тежка икономическа цена за превръщането на Черно море във военна зона. Застраховките на корабите са поскъпнали до 12% - 12 пъти. Пристанищата във Варна и Бургас с годишен товарооборот около 28 млн. тона рискуват да загубят конкурентноспособност, а спадът в корабостроенето и кораборемонта достига 60%. Хиляди работни места са застрашени, уловът на риба е намалял наполовина заради мини и дронове. И всяка следваща атака задълбочава загубите. Комисията обяви 60 млн. евро за морската сигурност. Но кой, кой, г-н Грюнер, кой ще компенсира икономическите загуби за България?

Настоявам за спешни финансови компенсации и специален Европейски фонд за Черно море в бюджета за 2028 - 2034 г. Недопустимо е Брюксел да обявява сигурността на Черно море за европейски стратегически приоритет, а икономическата цена да оставя за сметка на България и на Румъния.

2-0492-0000

Dan Barna, *în numele grupului Renew.* – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, în ultimul an, frontiera României a devenit un poligon de testare. O dronă rusească a lovit un bloc în Galați, rănind civili. O dronă maritimă a explodat în portul Constanța. Avioanele românești și aliate au doborât drone deasupra teritoriului nostru, iar numai în ultima lună, nave comerciale, inclusiv cu destinația Moldova, au fost lovite și scufundate lângă coastele noastre, cu marinari uciși și dispăruți.

Rusia ne testează constant: ne testează radarele, coridoarele maritime și mai ales voința politică. De aceea, ultimul pachet de negocieri al președintelui António Costa este un afront pentru statele membre din prima linie. Tăierea miliardelor din fondurile de securitate și apărare propuse de Comisie, în timp ce Marea Neagră arde, transmite Moscovei un mesaj foarte greșit. Securitatea frontierei de est este scutul întregii Uniuni. Încetați să faceți bugete de vreme bună în timp ce Rusia ne testează granițele în fiecare săptămână!

2-0493-0000

Virginijus Sinkevičius, *Verts/ALE frakcijos vardu.* – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, kolegos. Šį savaitgalį dar kartą pamatėme, kaip greitai viena iš Europos Sąjungos valstybių, Lietuva, gali tapti Rusijos dezinformacijos taikiniu. Vos pasirodžius pranešimams apie galimą dronų ataką Kaliningrade, Rusijos informacinėje erdvėje iš karto pradėta kaltinti dėl to Lietuvą. Lietuvos institucijos šiuos kaltinimus iškart paneigė, tačiau iš patirties mes juk puikiai žinome, kad šiandien skleidžiamas melas, rytoj jis gali virsti atviru pretekstu agresijai. Todėl turime savęs paklausti, ar Europa pakankamai rimtai vertina tai, kas vyksta prie jos rytinių sienų? Ir svarbiausia, ar pakankamai greitai veikiame? Dar šiemet turėtų pradėti veikti pirmieji bendrieji Europos gynybos nuo dronų

pajėgumai, bet iki metų pabaigos yra likę vos penkios savaitės. Ar šis įsipareigojimas bus įgyvendintas? Kitas svarbus klausimas yra būsimas Europos Sąjungos biudžetas – jame turime numatyti atskirą finansavimą rytinio pasienio regionams. Gyvenimas šalia Rusijos sienos kelia ne tik saugumo, bet ir ekonominių iššūkių – ji turi įtakos investicijoms, be jokios abejonės, darbo vietų kūrimui, žmonių sprendimams, kur gyventi, dirbti ir auginti savo vaikus. Geografijos mes nepakeisime, tačiau galime užtikrinti, kad gyvenimas Europos Sąjungos rytiniame pasienyje nereikštų mažiau saugumo ir mažiau galimybių. Būtent to mes ir tikimės iš bendros Europos Sąjungos politikos.

2-0494-0000

Merja Kyllönen, *The Left-ryhmän puolesta***.** – Arvoisa puhemies, Euroopan itäraja ei ole vain unionin ulkoraja vaan yhteisen turvallisuutemme etulinja. Suomi, Viro, Latvia, Liettua, Puola, Slovakia, Unkari, Romania ja Bulgaria ottavat kovimman taloudellisen iskun vastaan ja kohtaavat yhä voimakkaampaa Venäjän vihamielistä toimintaa ja hybridivaikuttamista.

Näiden uhkien torjuminen ja talousvaikutusten kantaminen ei voi olla vain näiden maiden itsensä vastuulla. Se on koko Euroopan unionin yhteinen tehtävä. EU:n on varmistettava maille riittävä taloudellinen ja operatiivinen tuki. Tarvitaan konkreettisia investointeja turvallisuuteen samoin kuin alueiden elinvoiman turvaamiseen. Itärajan talousvaikutukset ovat olleet maille vähintään brexitin aluevaikutusten luokkaa. Solidaarisuuden on näyttävä sanojen sijaan tekoina, resursseina ja jaettuna vastuuna. Itärajan turvaaminen ja elinvoimaisena pitäminen on koko Euroopan tulevaisuuden turvaamista.

2-0495-0000

Станислав Стоянов, *от името на групата ESN***.** – Г-н Председател, войната в Украйна нанася тежки щети на икономиките на България и Румъния. Нестихващите военни удари и високите застрахователни разходи убиват корабоплаването в Черно море. Само в българското корабостроене и кораборемонт, заедно с подизпълнителите, са застрашени до 20 000 работни места. Нови поръчки няма, а вече договорените масово се отменят. Ударът върху туризма и рибарството също е тежък, а потопените кораби представляват екологична бомба със закъснител.

Наред със значителната европейска подкрепа за Украйна, е необходима финансова помощ и за индустриите в прифронтови държави - членки на Европейския съюз, понасящи тежки загуби вследствие на войната. Необходими са решения. Възможности има достатъчно. Забавянето ще е престъпно безхаберие с необратими последици. Необходим е целеви европейски компенсационен механизъм за засегнатите индустрии в черноморските региони на България и Румъния. Вярвам, че Европейският парламент ще подкрепи опазването на работните места в България. Благодаря.

2-0496-0000

Magnus Brunner, *Member of the Commission***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you very much for this important debate.

Our frontline states, of course, carry the burden. They carry the heaviest burden. But we have to make clear that the threats they face are aimed at all of us in the whole European Union: be it drones, be it hybrid attacks, be it pressure on the border, on land, in the air, at sea. This is an attack on the whole Union. So protecting our eastern border is a shared European responsibility – by the way, also protecting, of course, the other borders. But in this discussion, especially the eastern border.

I find it a bit irritating sometimes, when some people still refuse to see how serious this is. A missile in a Polish village, drones over the Black Sea, a border forced without outside help - these

are not isolated incidents, they are a pattern. And those behind it want to divide us: frontline from interior, east from west, Member State from Member State. Division is actually their strategy, and that's what we have to keep in mind.

That is why we have been clear – very clear – from the start, since the communication on weaponisation at the beginning of this mandate, our message has been the same: a strong external border means a stronger Europe, and that is what we will keep doing. We will back European innovation. We will connect our law enforcement also, and we will improve our response, and we will keep on supporting the affected Member States, of course. So thank you for your support for a stronger European Union.

2-0497-0000

David McAllister (PPE). – Mr President, I have listened carefully to the debate. I would like to underline many of the good points Commissioner Brunner has made and just recall that last Friday once again proved the level of threat the European Union is facing at its eastern border. This confrontation and many more demonstrate just how urgently we need to take the security challenges in our eastern European Member States seriously.

Commissioner Brunner, you were right, just again, to underline that these threats aim at all of us, all over the European Union.

One key to an appropriate and effective response is to understand that all these crises in the wider region are interconnected. I would also say that, apart from focusing on Russia's main territory, we need to pay particularly close attention to what's happening in Kaliningrad and also in Belarus. The European Union, for sure, must be able to respond to incidents in a rapid manner with a clear and unanimous approach. In the end, only a united European Union can stand up to these unprovoked acts of Russian aggression against our Member States.

2-0498-0000

Dragoş Benea (S&D). – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, securitatea Uniunii Europene anul acesta nu mai poate fi considerată un lucru garantat. Numai anul acesta au fost raportate peste 80 de incidente cu drone în țările din Europa de Est, iar România a gestionat de la începutul războiului peste 58 de pătrunderi neautorizate în spațiul său aerian sau maritim. Securitatea Europei începe la frontierele sale estice. Vin din Bacău, din estul României, și știu că aceste teritorii nu sunt doar regiuni de coeziune. Ele se află în prima linie a securității europene, protejează frontierele Uniunii și sprijină Ucraina și Republica Moldova.

În calitate de președinte al Comisiei REGI, susțin trei măsuri concrete: o rată de cofinanțare europeană de 95 %, o prefinanțare de 20 % și o alocare dedicată de minimum 10 % din instrumentele europene relevante pentru a permite acestor regiuni să realizeze investițiile strategice de care Europa are nevoie. Închei prin a sublinia că nu putem accepta noile reduceri ale bugetului alocat politicii de coeziune propuse de Consiliu. Investiția în regiunile noastre înseamnă investiție în competitivitate, securitate și viitorul întregii Uniuni Europene.

2-0499-0000

Jaroslava Pokorná Jermanová (PfE). – Pane předsedající, bezpečnostní tlak na východní hranici Evropy není jen problémem Polska, Pobaltí nebo Finska. Pokud selže ochrana vnější hranice Schengenu kdekoliv, dopad okamžitě pocítí i země v srdci Evropy. Členské státy musí být schopny se bránit. Nesmíme ale podceňovat ani diplomatické úsilí. Pokračující konflikt na Ukrajině stojí mnoho životů a vytváří stále větší tlak na bezpečnost i finance Evropy. Musíme usilovat o ukončení války a věnovat se hospodářským, sociálním a bezpečnostním výzvám,

kterým Evropská unie čelí. Přestaňme vytvářet paralelní bruselské struktury, přestaňme podporovat ideologické projekty. Základním pilířem naší kolektivní obrany je NATO. Musí hrát zásadní roli. Opatření Evropské unie mají jeho činnost doplňovat a posilovat schopnosti jednotlivých států a přitom respektovat jejich suverenitu. Posilujme Frontex, budujme evropské křídlo NATO. Z unijního rozpočtu je třeba konečně financovat skutečnou ochranu vnějších hranic a strategickou dopravní infrastrukturu.

2-0500-0000

Maciej Wąsik (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! W 2021 roku polski rząd, polskie służby broniły polskiej granicy i strefy Schengen przed migrantami usiłującymi dostać się do Europy z Białorusi. Daliśmy radę. Za 400 mln euro zbudowaliśmy potężną zaporę. Zamknęliśmy granice przed migrantami idącymi do Niemiec. Na budowę zapory nie dostaliśmy od Unii złamanego grosza. Ursula von der Leyen stwierdziła, że w Unii Europejskiej nie będzie funduszy na druty kolczaste czy mury.

Jeśli europejska solidarność ma sprowadzić się do malowania kredą na chodnikach i czczych rezolucji, to nie ma europejskiej solidarności. Jest europejska słabość. Widzi to Putin i coraz ostrzej prowokuje: drony na lotniskach, akcje sabotażowe na kolei i rakiety uderzające w polskie terytorium. Putin świadomie buduje poczucie strachu.

Jaka jest reakcja Europy? W zasadzie żadna. Jedynie dzielna Estonia 1 grudnia zamyka swoje granice z Rosją. To samo powinna zrobić Europa, jeśli chce pokazać Putinowi swoją siłę. Rosjanie muszą poczuć, że Putin im się nie opłaca. Czy Europę na to stać? Wątpię.

2-0501-0000

Urmas Paet (Renew). – Mr President, Europe's eastern border countries face growing threats, including military tensions, illegal migration, cyberattacks, disinformation and border provocations. These challenges require greater investment in defence, border protection and surveillance. They also create economic and social pressure on border communities.

The EU must respond with unity and coordinated measures. These should include restricting tourist visas for Russian citizens, imposing EU-wide entry bans on individuals who have fought in Russian forces in Ukraine, using frozen Russian assets to support Ukraine and maintaining restrictions on Russian athletes participating in international competitions.

Furthermore, the next EU multiannual financial framework must provide adequate financial support to eastern border states. Protecting Europe's external borders is a shared European responsibility, and the financial burden must not fall only on front-line countries. A secure eastern border means a secure Europe.

2-0502-0000

Hans Neuhoff (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Russland ist nicht der Feind Europas. Wir machen Russland zu unserem Feind. Die östlichen Grenzstaaten der EU, die jetzt über Bedrohungen aus Russland klagen, beklagen die Folgen ihrer eigenen Torheit. Sie meinten, die Grundregeln der Geopolitik ignorieren zu können. Sie haben mitgemacht, als es galt, die NATO bis an Russlands Grenzen auszudehnen und mit der Ukraine die rote Linie Moskaus zu überschreiten – allen Warnungen zum Trotz. Sie meinten, Feuer legen zu können, ohne den Rauch abzubekommen.

Wer seinen Luftraum für Drohnenschläge öffnet, wer Langstreckenangriffe auf Raffinerien und Häfen finanziert, holt den Krieg an die eigene Grenze. Meine Damen und Herren, wer immer

weiter eskaliert, darf sich über wachsende Gefahren nicht wundern. Sicherheitspolitik beginnt dort, wo man aufhört, die Folgen des eigenen Handelns mit Ursachen zu verwechseln.

(Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)

2-0503-0000

Pekka Toveri (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, the Russian military threat and sabotage actions, especially against the Union's eastern border Member States, has naturally had an effect on the economy of the border states. The Member States have been forced to invest considerable sums of money to improve their security and defence forces, raise readiness, and build border defences.

However, during the last weeks the situation has turned even worse. It is not only Russian sabotage actions against the defence industry – like happened in Estonia – but also threats to use military force and even nuclear arms against us. It is especially the recent activities in the Black Sea and Baltic Sea which are a problem. Russian attacks on shipping in Bulgarian and Romanian waters are threatening the security of maritime traffic, and can also have a negative economic impact on the countries.

In the Baltic Sea, the threat is not Ukraine's legal and acceptable attacks on Russian warships and military transport, but the continuing traffic of Russian shadow fleet ships, plus the increase in Russian GPS jamming and interference that threatens the security of maritime air traffic.

Especially now that winter is closing in, the risk of environmental and human catastrophes is increasing. The EU should take more immediate action to support poorer countries and properly fund bigger projects immediately.

(The President cut off the speaker)

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

2-0504-0000

Lukas Sieper (Renew), *blue-card question***.** – Thank you, dear colleague, for accepting the blue card. I was wondering if – given the fact that you were a high-ranking officer in the armed forces – you could explain for some of our colleagues – maybe like Mr Neuhoff – why everything that you described constitutes the definition of an 'enemy' in the military sense, and why Russia is our enemy in the military sense?

2-0505-0000

Pekka Toveri (PPE), *blue-card answer***.** – Thank you for the question. Well, we've seen what happened, for example, in the Black Sea. Russia is sinking ships in Bulgarian and Romanian waters. And it is interesting that NATO is not taking action, except sending surveillance planes there so that we can see in real time when the next ship is sunk. Normally it's seen as a military and direct attack against you when your ship is sunk in your waters.

I wonder why the EU has Operation Atalanta to protect maritime traffic in the Indian Ocean but we can't have EU warships to protect our own borders.

2-0506-0000

Heléne Fritzon (S&D). – Herr talman! Europas östra gräns är inte bara Finlands, Polens eller de baltiska ländernas gräns. Det är vår gemensamma europeiska gräns. Dessa cyberattacker,

sabotage, desinformation, GPS-störningar och instrumentalisering av migration – där försöker Ryssland och Belarus destabilisera våra samhällen. Deras mål är att skapa rädsla, splittring och otrygghet. Vårt svar måste vara beslutsamhet, sammanhållning och solidaritet.

Ingen medlemsstat ska lämnas ensam att möta dessa hot. Vi måste stärka skyddet av vår kritiska infrastruktur och fördjupa vårt säkerhetssamarbete. Vår styrka ligger inte bara i vår förmåga att försvara våra gränser, utan också i vår förmåga att försvara våra värderingar om demokrati, rättsstat och mänskliga rättigheter. Vi får aldrig låta auktoritära regimer tvinga oss att överge våra principer.

2-0507-0000

Anna Maria Cisint (PfE). – Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, parlo della rotta balcanica.

In Italia lo scorso anno solo il 5,7% degli irregolari ha ottenuto poi alla fine lo status di rifugiato. E gli irregolari che restano? Beh, purtroppo, commettono spesso tanti reati. Pensate che a Trieste, da cui provengo, a causa dei clandestini della rotta balcanica, dal 19 al 24 le rapine in strada sono aumentate del 304% e le violenze sessuali del 110%. Non scappano, purtroppo, da nessuna guerra: la guerra, purtroppo, ce l'hanno portata a casa nostra.

E mentre a Bruxelles chiacchieriamo, a Trieste i cittadini e le forze dell'ordine subiscono ogni giorno tristi conseguenze. Frontex deve fare molto di più e ha bisogno di una revisione totale.

L'Unione europea deve blindare le frontiere esterne e colpire le reti dei delinquenti che fanno affari lungo la rotta balcanica. Pretenda da Bosnia, Croazia e Slovenia il rispetto degli accordi.

(L'oratrice rifiuta una domanda "cartellino blu" di Lukas Sieper)

2-0508-0000

Adrian-George Axinia (ECR). – Domnule președinte, foarte mult zgomot, puțină acțiune. Din primăvara acestui an, de când s-au întețit incidentele cu drone în România și Marea Neagră, se tot fac summituri și întâlniri, se rostogolesc promisiuni, se tot adoptă documente și proclamații sforăitoare și la sfarsit nimic concret. Nu este mare filozofie cu gestionarea dronelor. Uniunea Europeană trebuie să aloce bani și să deplaseze concret capabilități militare în țările care au graniță cu războiul din Ucraina sau direct cu Rusia.

Vă spun concret de ce are nevoie România: de sisteme de detecție și apărare antidronă, de muniție de apărare antiaeriană, de infrastructură de mobilitate militară și de susținere reală pentru industria de apărare. Cum se alocă zeci de miliarde de euro pentru Ucraina, să se găsească bani și pentru România. Soluția Comisiei Europene, și anume programul SAFE pentru a cumpăra tancuri inutile de la Rheinmetall din Germania, nu va ajuta cu nimic în acest război al dronelor. În final, să vorbească *big boss* Ursula von der Leyen cu uneltele sale obediente din România să adopte procedurile pentru ca dronele să poată fi efectiv doborâte.

2-0509-0000

Никола Минчев (Renew). – Г-н Председател, г-н Комисар, колеги, Черно море се превърна в най-опасното море заради руската агресия. Докато българските власти не смеят да посочат виновните за атаките срещу кораби в нашата икономическа зона, в Китай самият Путин призна, че Русия удря кораби в Черно море. Каза и че няма да спре.

За премиера на България Европа е в пространството на пожелателното мислене и ценности, и призова да се доближи до прагматизма на преговарящите в Китай. Един от тях - Путин, иска НАТО

да се върне в границите от 1997 г. и Европа да остане без ядрена защита. Това няма нищо общо с прагматизма. И няма да стане.

Ето прагматичен отговор за източната ни граница: план за наблюдение, ранно предупреждение и съпровождане на търговските кораби, неутрализиране на дронове и ракети при непосредствена заплаха, ускорено пускане на черноморския хъб във Варна и Констанца, съвместни европейски инициативи в брегови системи, патрулни кораби, радари и защита срещу дронове, както и 27 държави - членки на ЕС, които участват в тях.

Не можем да си позволим слаба брънка. Нужни са гръбнак да кажем "не" на агресора и разум да кажем "да" на европейските инициативи.

2-0510-0000

Jacek Protas (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Zaledwie 5 państw odpowiada za ochronę ponad 3600 km granicy Unii Europejskiej z Rosją i Białorusią. Nie jest przypadkiem, że Polska, Litwa, Łotwa i Estonia przeznaczają największą część, bowiem 5% swojego PKB, na obronność. Tymczasem najnowsza propozycja budżetowa przewodniczącego Costy względem propozycji Komisji ogranicza o 1/3 środki na Frontex i ochronę ludności, a o ponad połowę środki na dodatkowe działania w zakresie spraw wewnętrznych. Co więcej, niemal trzy czwarte cięć w Europejskim Funduszu Konkurencyjności dotyczy komponentu bezpieczeństwa i obronności.

A przecież zagrożenia, które uzasadniały zwiększenie tych wydatków, się nasilają. Pomimo komunikatu Komisji i przyjęcia przygotowanego przeze mnie sprawozdania Parlamentu Europejskiego w kolejnych propozycjach budżetowych nadal brakuje dedykowanego finansowania dla wschodnich regionów przygranicznych. Nie możemy oczekiwać, że państwa i regiony wschodnie będą zapewniały bezpieczeństwo całej Europie kosztem własnego rozwoju. Czas przełożyć deklaracje europejskie, panie komisarzu...

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

(Mówca zgodził się na pytanie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki)

2-0511-0000

Ľubica Karvašová (Renew), *blue-card question.* – Mr Protas, on Monday, the prime ministers of the Visegrád Group countries and the Austrian Chancellor met. Your Polish Prime Minister, Tusk, said 'I do not know what else should fall on the territory of Poland or other EU countries, so that everyone understands that Russia must be stopped'. Unfortunately, the current Slovak Government does not understand this. So could you please share with our Slovak citizens what would happen if Russia is not stopped? Thank you.

2-0512-0000

Jacek Protas (PPE), *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki.* – Rosja w tej chwili z wojny hybrydowej przechodzi na takie rozpoczynające czy poprzedzające działania wojenne incydenty. Mówiliśmy już o trzech uzbrojonych dronach, a właściwie rakietach rosyjskich, które spadły we wschodnich regionach Polski. Nie tak dawno byłem w Bułgarii. Pięć statków zostało zatopionych na wodach przybrzeżnych Bułgarii. Za chwileczkę może to samo dotyczyć Słowacji. I tutaj fałszywie rozumiana solidarność ze wschodnim sąsiadem nie powinna mieć miejsca.

2-0513-0000

Кристиан Вигенин (S&D). – Г-н Председател, войната в Украйна стигна до нашите брегове. От началото на октомври най-малко 15 търговски кораба бяха поразени край България и Румъния. Седем от тях в българската изключителна икономическа зона. Загинаха моряци, десетки бяха обявени за изчезнали, десетки други бяха спасени, за което благодаря на екипите.

Тези нападения застрашават свободното корабоплаване в Черно море и вече оскъпяват превоза на стоки през Варна и Бургас. Морският туризъм е застрашен, защото туристите не биха искали да чуват взривове на плажа. Разлив от ударен танкер би бил бедствие и за риболова, и за туризма.

Приветстваме обявените 10 милиона евро за спасителни операции в България и 50 милиона за Съвместния център за морска сигурност с Румъния. Европейският съюз трябва да е готов и за допълнителна подкрепа на държавите по източната си граница.

Но каквото и да правим, докато войната продължава, тези рискове само ще се задълбочават. Затова наред с мерките за засилване на сигурността и отбранителните способности, както и за компенсиране на икономическите загуби, Европа трябва да положи всички усилия за прекратяване на военните действия в Украйна.

2-0514-0000

Ewa Zajączkowska-Hernik (PfE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Debatujemy dziś o bezpieczeństwie wschodnich granic Europy. Tylko ja mam wrażenie, że niektórzy pomylili Parlament Europejski i Komisję Europejską ze sztabem wojennym. Z wygodnych foteli w Brukseli łatwo nawoływać do eskalacji. Gorzej, kiedy rakiety i drony spadają na polskie miejscowości. Anne Applebaum, którą na pewno wszyscy tutaj doskonale znacie, mówi o scenariuszu, w którym dopiero poważny, krwawy incydent mógłby przekonać Europejczyków do wojny z Rosją.

Czy naprawdę doszliśmy do momentu, w którym zamiast zapobiegać tragedii, rozważamy, czy tragedia przekona obywateli Europy do wojny? Kiedy Polska broniła granicy przed hybrydowym atakiem Łukaszenki, oskarżaliście nas o łamanie praw człowieka. I wy chcecie teraz pouczać nas o bezpieczeństwie? Polska nie będzie poligonem cudzych interesów. Chcemy deeskalacji, dyplomacji, pokoju i reemigracji, bo prawdziwa odwaga polega na zapobieganiu wojnie, a nie na wysyłaniu na nią niewinnych ludzi.

2-0515-0000

Rihards Kols (ECR). – Mr President, dear colleagues, for more than five years Latvia has defended Europe's border with Belarus under emergency or reinforced security measures. And it is not just Minsk. Russia's FSB and GRU coordinate the movement of migrants through Belarus to the EU border. Our border guards have stopped more than 13 000 irregular crossing attempts this year alone.

Yet the Commission calls Latvia merely 'at risk' for 2027. It leaves prevented crossings out of the calculation, even though regulation provides for those figures to be counted when they are available and verifiable. The better Latvia defends Europe's borders, the less pressure Brussels sees, and the more likely we are to be asked to take in relocated asylum seekers or pay into the solidarity pool.

Commissioner, is this a rational and fair approach? I reckon the answer is 'no'. Then review Latvia's assessment now, not in 2028. Securing Europe's border is already an act of solidarity.

2-0516-0000

Michał Kobosko (Renew). – Panie Przewodniczący! Czwarta rano. Telefon budzi rodzinę alarmem: „Sprawdź, gdzie jest najbliższy schron". Dzieci wstają na kilka godzin przed planowaną pobudką do szkoły. Chwilę potem matka słyszy w radio, że rosyjska rakieta spadła tuż obok domu. Dzisiejszej nocy nad Polską przeleciał kolejny obcy dron. To nie jest scenariusz filmu grozy. To jest codzienność ludzi w Polsce, na wschodniej flance Unii Europejskiej. Dlatego solidarność państw Unii i NATO nie może kończyć się na pełnych troski deklaracjach. Musi oznaczać konkretne czyny.

Z wdzięcznością przyjmuję wczorajszą decyzję NATO o skierowaniu do Polski na stałe samolotu AWACS. Potrzebujemy jednak więcej wspólnej obrony powietrznej, wspólnego finansowania, ochrony granic i szybkich, zdecydowanych reakcji. I żadnego odwlekania decyzji o kolejnych sankcjach.

Granica Polski, Rumunii, Estonii to granica Unii Europejskiej. Kilka metrów od niej zaczynają się rządy dyktatorów, którzy gardzą wolnością i demokracją. Gardzą nami, Europejczykami. Nie wolno nam o tym zapomnieć. Wschodnia granica to nie są peryferia Europy. To jest jej pierwsza linia obrony. Tak musimy ją traktować.

2-0517-0000

Riho Terras (PPE). – Lugupeetud istungi juhataja! Head kolleegid! Euroopas käib juba viiendat aastat täiemahuline sõda. Venemaa ja Valgevenega piirnevate liikmesriikide julgeoleku ja sellega kogu Euroopa julgeoleku tagamine algab välispiiride kaitsest. Venemaa ja Valgevene on survestanud Euroopa Liidu idapiiri, kasutades ebaseaduslikku rännet relvana. Venemaa eriteenistused on meile teadaolevalt kavandanud potentsiaalselt ohvriterohkeid provokatsioone meie liikmesriikide piiridel. Seda eesmärgiga külvata hirmu ja lüüa lõhesid meie ühiskondadesse. Eestis üle-eelmisel nädalavahetusel toimunud ebaõnnestunud sabotaažiakti järel otsustas Eesti valitsus sulgeda piiri Vene Föderatsiooniga alates 1. detsembrist. See tõi kaasa Venemaa-poolse räige ründava retoorika ja ähvardused. Surve meie piiridel jätkub. Selles pole kahtlust. Euroopa Liit peab olema valmis operatiivselt vastama tekkivatele väljakutsetele. Selleks on hädavajalik adekvaatne rahastus julgeoleku järgmise mitmeaastase eelarve raamistikus.

2-0518-0000

Nils Ušakovs (S&D). – Mr President, let me name just a few towns you never see, I presume, in the news in Brussels: Ludza, Krāslava, Dagda, Zilupe, Balvi. These are towns in Latvia, in the region of Latgale, which borders Russia and Belarus 2000 km away. The media hardly ever cover another 4 am drone alert, another company closing, or a family hotel or guest house fighting to survive, or just another family deciding to move to live somewhere else. This is the price of being Europe's common eastern shield. Yet people still live there, work and try to run businesses on the Union's external borders. These communities deserve European backing and common support. President Costa's new proposal for the next MFF promises support to Member States bordering Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, but people in the front-line Member States are waiting for real money and real support, not just another promise and more words.

2-0519-0000

Ивайло Вълчев (ECR). – Г-н Председател, г-н Комисар, колеги, за два месеца пет кораба бяха потопени в изключителната икономическа зона на България и три - в тази на Румъния. Последиците в Черно море от руската агресия срещу Украйна далеч надхвърлят чисто военните заплахи. Те засягат икономиката, търговията, енергийната сигурност, транспортната свързаност и критичната инфраструктура. Черноморският регион твърде дълго беше оставен на втори план, но руските апетити към Източна Европа не са останали в миналото.

България и Румъния не могат да бъдат третирани като периферия на Европейския съюз, когато става дума за инвестиции, и като първа линия, когато става дума за отговорности. Не можем да изискваме от тях да гарантират общоевропейска сигурност, като ги оставяме сами да понасят икономическата, финансовата и оперативната тежест. Те трябва да имат централна роля в архитектурата на европейската сигурност. Трябват ни целево европейско финансиране, модернизация на отбранителните способности, защита на критичната инфраструктура и оперативна структура за морска сигурност в Черно море, която да бъде координирана с НАТО и с Турция.

2-0520-0000

Lucia Yar (Renew). – Mr President, colleagues, I come from a Slovak region that shares a direct border with Ukraine. Unlike in Poland or the Baltic states, Russian drones have not reached eastern Slovakia, luckily, but Russian propaganda certainly has.

Our eastern regions are amongst the most neglected by the Slovak Government. Young people leave, investment is lacking and a sense of abandonment is growing. This makes communities more vulnerable, especially when our government blames Ukraine and European solidarity for the economic difficulties that they actually caused. Meanwhile, the same government allows Russia to turn my country into a hub for its influence operations.

But we cannot allow these regions to become Europe's blind spot. Europe may one day actually have to rely on the resilience of these communities and this is why these regions need security, moral support, our political solidarity and financial investments.

As the largest opposition party in Slovakia, we will do our utmost to change the current situation and we will need help from Europe to repair the damage – for the security of all of us.

2-0521-0000

Βαγγέλης Μεϊμαράκης (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, μετά τη ρωσική εισβολή στην Ουκρανία, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ορθώς έχει στρέψει το βλέμμα της στα ανατολικά σύνορα. Αλλά ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι η Ευρώπη δεν τελειώνει στη Βαλτική. Έχει το Αιγαίο, την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, την Ελλάδα και την Κύπρο. Δύο κράτη μέλη που επί δεκαετίες βρίσκονται αντιμέτωπα με τις απειλές και τις αμφισβητήσεις της Τουρκίας. Μεταξύ άλλων, προκλητικές δηλώσεις, παραβιάσεις του εθνικού εναέριου χώρου και των χωρικών μας υδάτων, με υπερπτήσεις πάνω από ελληνικά νησιά, με συνεχείς αμφισβητήσεις των κυριαρχικώνημας δικαιωμάτων, όπως στην περίπτωση του παράνομου τουρκολιβυκού μνημονίου που συζητήσαμε σήμερα, και βεβαίως με το περιβόητο casus belli σε περίπτωση που η Ελλάδα ασκήσει το νόμιμο δικαίωμά της να επεκτείνει τα χωρικά της ναυτικά ύδατα στα 12 μίλια.

Δεν μπορεί λοιπόν η ευρωπαϊκή αλληλεγγύη να σταματάει εκεί όπου αρχίζει η Μεσόγειος. Δεν υπάρχουν ευρωπαϊκά σύνορα πρώτης και δεύτερης κατηγορίας. Όλα είναι σύνορα της Ευρώπης και οφείλουμε να τα υπερασπιστούμε χωρίς διακρίσεις και με την ίδια αποφασιστικότητα.

2-0522-0000

Loránt Vincze (PPE). – Mr President, in Tulcea County, Romania, residents even today received emergency alerts on their phones to watch for falling objects. Drone debris has washed up on our beaches. Romanian F-16s, alongside Spanish, German and Italian Eurofighters, have been scrambled to defend our skies. And in mid-November, four commercial ships were struck by drones off our coast. This is not distant spillover; it is the daily reality of the EU's front line and eastern gateway.

The Black Sea is a vital artery for grain, trade and energy, and Europe's security depends on it. We need to step up our capabilities. First, we need a permanent air and maritime defence for the Black Sea, built into the Eastern Flank Watch and the drone defence initiative. Second, the establishment of the EU centre for maritime security in Constanța and Varna. I call on the Commission and the Council to deliver it. Third, investment, infrastructural upgrade and defence facilities in the Danube ports and the Sulina route. Black Sea security is European security.

2-0523-0000

Matej Tonin (PPE). – Gospod predsednik, spoštovani komisar! V tej hiši je včasih potrebno pohvaliti tudi dobre stvari. In jaz vam vsekakor čestitam za vaše delo na področju ilegalnih migracij, ker ste prišli pravočasno s pravimi ukrepi, naredili konec azilnemu turizmu, pospešili vračanje v izvorne države. Skratka, dali ste nam orodja, s katerimi lahko delamo, in večina v tem parlamentu te stvari seveda podpira.

Občutek pa je, da nekatere države članice teh orodij, ki ste jih dali na razpolago, enostavno ne znajo uporabljati. In tukaj je potrebno čestitati državam članicam na vzhodu, kot je na primer Poljska in nekatere druge države, ki varnost na meji jemljejo zelo resno. Ker se zavedajo, da je to lahko ena izmed oblik, kako se ogrozi našo varnost.

Skratka, ni popuščanja, delamo naprej. Bolj kot bodo trdne naše meje, bolj kot bo kompaktna migracijska politika, bolj bo varna Evropska unija.

2-0524-0000

Interventions à la demande

2-0525-0000

Krzysztof Hetman (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowne Koleżanki i Koledzy! Wojna hybrydowa, która została wypowiedziana przez Federację Rosyjską, oraz wojna w Ukrainie, będzie miała – już właściwie ma – dramatyczne skutki gospodarcze dla wszystkich regionów graniczących z Rosją, Białorusią i Ukrainą. Już widzimy dzisiaj zatrzymanie się i napływ inwestycji do tych regionów, zewnętrznych inwestycji, ale także ogromne obawy rodzimych przedsiębiorców, którzy prowadzą na co dzień tam swoją działalność gospodarczą, biznesową co do rozwoju swoich własnych firm, które budowali w ciągu ostatnich kilkudziesięciu lat.

Dlatego musimy natychmiast tym regionom pomóc. I oczywiście środki finansowe i wsparcie z budżetu Unii Europejskiej jest niezwykle istotne, ale trzeba natychmiast zmienić mapę intensywności pomocy publicznej, tak aby zwiększyć pomoc publiczną dla wszystkich przedsiębiorców, którzy inwestują w tych regionach. Także trzeba wprowadzić reasekurację ubezpieczeń wszystkich tych, którzy prowadzą działalność gospodarczą w tamtym rejonie, ponieważ nikt dzisiaj nie ubezpiecza od skutków wojny hybrydowej z Rosją, a nawet jeśli ma taką ofertę, to niestety jest ona nieakceptowalna kosztowo przez przedsiębiorców. Możemy naprawdę zrobić świetną robotę, panie komisarzu. Działajmy.

2-0526-0000

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, Venäjän uhkaa eivät ole enää vain tankit ja pommikoneet. Sitä on myös maahanmuuton välineellistäminen. Suomi sai maistiaisen, kun Venäjä vyörytti rajoillemme siirtolaisia, tarjosi heille polkupyörät ja patisti rajaa kohti. Mutta Suomi puolustaa rajojaan, kuten se teki vuonna 1939. Perussuomalaisen sisäministeri Rantasen johdolla Venäjän vastainen raja suljettiin ja Suomeen säädettiin tiukka rajaturvallisuuslaki.

Nyt Viro seuraa Suomea ja on päättänyt myös sulkea Venäjän vastaisen rajansa. Mutta mitä tapahtuu vasemmistovetoisessa Espanjassa? Sosialisti Pedro kutsui laittomat jäämään maahansa. Vähän ajan päästä Marokko masinoikin jo 70 000 laitonta tulijaa uimarenkaineen Espanjan rajan yli – häpeällistä! Jokainen maa ansaitsisi ministeri Rantasen kaltaisen tekijän, joka ei pelkää sanoa, että raja on kiinni.

2-0527-0000

Φρέντης Μπελέρης (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, οι παραβιάσεις από drones στα βορειοανατολικά σύνορα της Ευρώπης και οι επιθέσεις σε πλοία στη Βαλτική και στον Εύξεινο Πόντο δείχνουν πόσο επείγουσα είναι η προστασία των εξωτερικών μας συνόρων.

Τα ανατολικά σύνορα της Ευρώπης ξεκινούν από τη Φινλανδία και φτάνουν μέχρι την Κύπρο. Επομένως, η ευρωπαϊκή ασπίδα δεν μπορεί να σταματά πριν από το Αιγαίο και την Κύπρο. Η Τουρκία κατέχει παράνομα τμήμα του νησιού, ενός κράτους μέλους της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, και όταν οπλισμένα τουρκικά F-16 παραβιάζουν τον ελληνικό εναέριο χώρο, παραβιάζουν τα σύνορα και την κυριαρχία όλων μας.

Στις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες κανείς δεν αναρωτιέται αν μια απειλή στο Τέξας αφορά και τη Φλόριντα. Αυτό θα πρέπει να είναι αυτονόητο και για την Ευρώπη. Και για να το πετύχει χρειάζεται κοινό αμυντικό δόγμα και κοινή επιχειρησιακή δομή.

2-0528-0000

Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Szanowny Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Wysoka Izbo! Sytuacja, która miała miejsce w moim kraju, w Polsce, 20 listopada, jest bardzo niepokojąca. Trzy rosyjskie rakiety wleciały w polską przestrzeń powietrzną. I chcę bardzo wyraźnie powiedzieć, że ta sytuacja musi wywołać stanowczą reakcję dwóch organizacji: NATO i Unii Europejskiej. Dziękujemy Radzie Północnoatlantyckiej za decyzję, aby samolot wczesnego ostrzegania AWACS został wykorzystany do wsparcia polskiej przestrzeni powietrznej. Ale dziękujemy również Komisji Europejskiej i panu komisarzowi za konkretne działania, które przedstawiła przewodnicząca komisji i które dotyczą 22 pakietu sankcyjnego wobec Federacji Rosyjskiej. Tak, trzeba zamrozić możliwość korzystania rosyjskich banków ze SWIFT. Trzeba również rozszerzyć flotę cieni i listę sankcyjną. I wreszcie trzeba zakazać rosyjskim sportowcom występować pod rosyjską flagą, która w tej chwili reprezentuje reżim terrorystyczny.

2-0529-0000

Reinier Van Lanschot (Verts/ALE). – Voorzitter, dit debat gaat over landen aan de frontlinie, maar op de Russische staatstelevisie werd gefantaseerd over het met raketten platleggen van de haven van Rotterdam. Pro-Russische hackers vielen Spanje aan. Rusland probeerde een vliegveld te saboteren in Duitsland, plande een moordaanslag in Denemarken en bracht schepen tot zinken voor de kust van Bulgarije. Vorige week vlogen Russische raketten Polen binnen. We liggen eigenlijk dus allemaal aan de frontlinie en moeten een Europese defensie-unie creëren om onszelf te kunnen verdedigen.

Collega's, een Nederlands bedrijf leverde de raketten waarmee Oekraïne de Krimbrug, het prestigeproject van Poetin, liet instorten. Een dag later sloeg een Russische drone in naast onze ambassade in Kiev. Poetin wil intimidatie zaaien, maar zal vastberadenheid oogsten. De laatste keer dat ik in Oekraïne was, sloeg een drone in op het treinstation, kort nadat ik daar weg was. Als ik oproep tot het steunen van Oekraïne, post de Russische ambassade in Nederland dat ik een oorlogshitser ben. In oktober zijn er 372 Oekraïense burgers gedood. Als de Russische ambassadeur wil weten wie de oorlogshitser is, nodig ik hem uit in de spiegel te kijken.

2-0530-0000
Magdalena Adamowicz (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Wyobraźmy sobie, że pod Pałacem Europy, 300 metrów stąd, wybucha rosyjska rakieta. W piątek tak blisko polskiej wsi wybuchła jedna z trzech rosyjskich rakiet. W polskich miastach alarmy przeciwlotnicze budzą ludzi każdej nocy. Jak mają pracować? Jak mają mówić turystom: przyjeżdżajcie? Jak mają mówić inwestorom: budujcie tu fabryki? Wczoraj premier Tusk powiedział: „Dziś wsparcie Ukrainy jest wsparciem Polski". Jaśniej nie można.

Przed nami test, czy nasze traktaty i piękne słowa o wspólnej Europie są pustym gadaniem, jak chcieliby Putin i Trump, czy mają wartość, w którą wierzą Europejczycy. Obrona polskiej granicy to obrona każdego z was na tej sali, każdego z waszych wyborców i każdego domu, w którym wasi wyborcy mieszkają.

2-0531-0000
Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, războiul se câștigă nu doar prin superioritate militară, ci și prin capacitatea logistică de a sprijini respectiva superioritate. Ca să poți să muți logistica dintr-o parte în alta, ai nevoie de infrastructură. Fără infrastructură, indiferent cât de mare și puternică armată ai, valoarea e zero pe câmpul de luptă.

În România, în 2020, Comisia Europeană, condusă de Ursula von der Leyen, șefa dumneavoastră, s-a opus construcției unei autostrăzi care lega Marea Neagră de vestul României pentru că niște gândaci erau în zonă și respectiva autostradă le strica habitatul. Vă puteți închipui? N-au fost rușii care au blocat acea autostradă, ci niște birocrați europeni, ani de zile, de preocuparea de gândaci. Domnule comisar, susțineți estul Europei investind în infrastructură, pentru că altfel nu ne putem apăra în cazul unei invazii din partea rusă.

2-0532-0000
Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario Brunner, claro que hay desafíos en la frontera exterior norte y este de la Unión Europea: ciberataques, amenazas contra las infraestructuras críticas, amenazas híbridas e incluso instrumentalización. Sí, pero solo hay un modo de que esa amenaza no se cierna sobre el conjunto de la Unión Europea, como se cierne también, por cierto, sobre la frontera exterior en Chipre, Grecia, Italia y España —Ceuta y Canarias—. Y ese modo es, en primer lugar, que haya recursos en el marco financiero y en cada presupuesto que estén a la altura de nuestros discursos, recursos financieros para apoyar la seguridad y la defensa sin que se lleve por delante todo lo demás —la cohesión, la solidaridad y la política regional—; pero también la unidad de la Unión Europea. Estamos unidos defendiendo la frontera norte y la frontera este y tenemos derecho a la misma unidad en la defensa de la frontera sur.

Por eso, resulta imperdonable que, si hay un ataque híbrido contra una frontera sur como sucedió en Ceuta, haya quien pretenda culpabilizar al Estado que la padece —España—, que merece toda la solidaridad de la Unión Europea.

2-0533-0000
Liudas Mažylis (PPE). – Pirmininke, komisare, kolegos. Raketos, kurios naudojamos kruviniems Rusijos užmojams Ukrainoje, dabar nukrito Europos Sąjungos ir NATO valstybės žemėje, Lenkijoje. Tai nebuvo atsitiktinumas, tai dar viena tyčinė Rusijos provokacija prieš Europos Sąjungos valstybes. Per šį mėnesį oro pavojaus signalai skambėjo visose trijose Baltijos šalyse, jie skambėjo ir Rusijoje, Kaliningrado srityje. Kremlius skleidžia melą, esą Lietuva leidžia Ukrainos dronams naudotis savo oro erdve. Estijoje Rusijos karinė žvalgyba užsakė sabotažo išpuolį prieš dronų gamintoją, o kai Estija atsakė uždarydama sienos perėjimo punktus, Maskva pagrasino

„atviru karu“. Agresyvioji Rusija agresoriais vadina tuos, kurie tik gina savo piliečius. Todėl mūsų atsakas turi būti aiškus, vieningas ir konkretus – bendra rytinio flango oro gynyba, sankcijos už kiekvieną hibridinį išpuolį ir nepertraukiama parama Ukrainai. Kremlius turi išgirsti tai aiškiai – Europa nebus įbauginta.

2-0534-0000
(Fin des interventions à la demande)

2-0535-0000
Charlie McConalogue, *President-in-Office of the Council***.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, I want to thank you all for this exchange. And just to conclude the debate, please let me assure you once again that this Council is well aware of the particular security challenges front-line members are currently facing. We will thus continue to take appropriate action going forward with the utmost priority. Thank you all for your contributions.

2-0536-0000
Le Président. – Merci beaucoup pour cette discussion. Le débat est clos.

18. Négociations avant la première lecture du Parlement (article 72 du règlement) : voir procès-verbal

19. Explications de vote orales (article 201 du règlement)

2-0539-0000
Le Président. – L'ordre du jour appelle à présent les explications de vote.

19.1 Protection des intérêts financiers de l'Union dans le cadre financier pluriannuel pour l'après-2027 grâce à la révision de l'architecture antifraude (A10-0288/2026 - Tomáš Zdechovský, Dick Erixon)

2-0541-0000
Le Président. – Nous passons aux explications de vote sur le rapport concernant la protection des intérêts financiers de l'Union dans le cadre financier pluriannuel pour l'après-2027.

2-0542-0000
João Oliveira (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, entre 2018 e 2021, 17 bilionários receberam 3 300 milhões de EUR de fundos da política agrícola comum que deviam estar destinados a pequenos e médios agricultores. Situações como esta mostram que é necessário tomar medidas para reforçar os mecanismos de controlo e combate à fraude.

Em algumas situações, justificam-se plenamente medidas de simplificação do acesso à informação relevante por parte das autoridades nacionais e das entidades com competência de fiscalização. Sobre isso não temos dúvidas, mas há três aspetos em que divergimos das soluções previstas neste relatório.

Primeiro, discordamos da centralização de poderes e competências na Comissão Europeia. A experiência dos planos de recuperação e resiliência mostra que essa centralização é uma opção

errada e um fator de opacidade e ineficiência no combate à fraude. É o Tribunal de Contas Europeu que o diz nos seus relatórios sobre o assunto.

Segundo, não estamos de acordo com o reforço dos mandatos supranacionais, como o do OLAF ou da Procuradoria Europeia. A prioridade no combate à fraude deve ser o reforço dos meios e da capacidade de ação das autoridades nacionais com competência de fiscalização e inspeção e consequente cooperação e partilha de informação internacional.

Por fim, não estamos de acordo com a utilização dos critérios do designado Estado de direito, que, na prática, deixam os Estados-Membros à mercê da discricionariedade da Comissão Europeia no acesso e utilização dos fundos europeus.

2-0543-0000

Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Domnule președinte, m-am abținut la votul pentru Raportul privind protejarea intereselor financiare ale Uniunii Europene în cadrul financiar multianual de după 2027, deoarece, deși acesta susține consolidarea mecanismelor de combatere a fraudei și protejarea intereselor financiare ale UE, transparența financiară trebuie să înceapă chiar de la nivelul instituțiilor europene.

Comisia Europeană nu poate solicita statelor membre responsabilitate, integritate și transparență în gestionarea fondurilor europene, în timp ce ea însăși nu respectă pe deplin aceleași principii. Comisia Europeană trebuie să fie prima instituție care oferă un exemplu de transparență prin publicarea integrală a contractului încheiat cu Pfizer și Moderna pentru achiziționarea injecțiilor pretinse împotriva COVID-19, precum și a documentelor relevante privind negocierea acestor contracte.

Combaterea fraudei se face în primul rând prin transparență mai mare, nu prin ascundere. Solicit, de aceea, din nou, publicarea de către Comisia Europeană a acestor contracte semnate cu firmele producătoare de vaccinuri Pfizer și Moderna, pentru a ști cu toții ce conțin aceste clauze din aceste contracte.

2-0544-0000

Le Président. – Ce point de l'ordre du jour est clos.

20. Explications de vote écrites (article 201 du règlement)

2-0546-0000

(Les explications de vote données par écrit figurent sur les pages réservées aux députés sur le site internet du Parlement.)

21. Ordre du jour de la prochaine séance

2-0548-0000

Le Président. – La prochaine séance aura lieu demain mercredi 25 novembre à 9 heures. L'Ordre du jour a été publié. Il est disponible sur le site internet du Parlement européen.

22. Approbation du procès-verbal de la présente séance

2-0550-0000

Le Président. – Le procès-verbal de la séance d'aujourd'hui sera soumis à l'approbation du Parlement demain après les votes.

23. Levée de la séance

2-0552-0000

(La séance est levée à 20h09)

Списък на съкращенията на политическите групи BG

PPE	Група на Европейската народна партия (Християндемократи)
S&D	Група на Прогресивния алианс на социалистите и демократите в Европейския парламент
PfE	Група „Патриоти за Европа“
ECR	Европейски консерватори и реформисти
Renew	група „Renew Europe“
Verts/ALE	Група на Зелените/Европейски свободен алианс
The Left	Група на левицата в Европейския парламент - GUE/NGL
ESN	Група „Европа на суверенните нации
NI	Независими членове

Lista de las siglas de los grupos políticos ES

PPE	Grupo del Partido Popular Europeo (Demócrata-Cristianos)
S&D	Grupo de la Alianza Progresista de Socialistas y Demócratas en el Parlamento Europeo
PfE	Grupo Patriotas por Europa
ECR	Grupo de los Conservadores y Reformistas Europeos
Renew	Grupo Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupo de los Verdes/Alianza Libre Europea
The Left	Grupo de la Izquierda en el Parlamento Europeo - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupo Europa de las Naciones Soberanas
NI	No inscritos

Seznam zkratek politických skupin CS

PPE	poslanecký klub Evropské lidové strany (Křesťanských demokratů)
S&D	skupina Progresivní aliance socialistů a demokratů v Evropském parlamentu
PfE	skupina Patrioti pro Evropu
ECR	skupina Evropských konzervativců a reformistů
Renew	skupina Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	skupina Zelených / Evropské svobodné aliance
The Left	Levice v Evropském parlamentu - GUE/NGL
ESN	skupina Evropa suverénních národů
NI	Nezařazení poslanci

Liste over forkortelserne for de politiske grupper DA

PPE	Det Europæiske Folkepartis Gruppe (Kristelige Demokrater)
S&D	Gruppen for Det Progressive Forbund af Socialdemokrater i Europa-Parlamentet
PfE	Gruppen Patrioter for Europa
ECR	De Europæiske Konservative og Reformister
Renew	Gruppen Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Gruppen De Grønne/Den Europæiske Fri Alliance
The Left	Venstrefløjsgruppen i Europa-Parlamentet - GUE/NGL
ESN	Gruppen Europa af Suveræne Nationer
NI	Løsgængere

Liste der Abkürzungen der Fraktionen DE

PPE	Fraktion der Europäischen Volkspartei (Christdemokraten)
S&D	Fraktion der Progressiven Allianz der Sozialdemokraten im Europäischen Parlament
PfE	Fraktion Patrioten für Europa
ECR	Fraktion der Europäischen Konservativen und Reformer
Renew	Fraktion Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Fraktion der Grünen / Freie Europäische Allianz
The Left	Fraktion Die Linke im Europäischen Parlament - GUE/NGL
ESN	Fraktion Europa der Souveränen Nationen
NI	Fraktionslos

Fraktsioonide lühendite nimekiri ET

PPE	Euroopa Rahvapartei (kristlike demokraatide) fraktsioon
S&D	Sotsiaaldemokraatide ja demokraatide fraktsioon Euroopa Parlamendis
PfE	Euroopa Patriootide fraktsioon
ECR	Euroopa Konservatiivide ja Reformistide fraktsioon
Renew	Uueneva Euroopa fraktsioon
Verts/ALE	Roheliste / Euroopa Vabaliidu fraktsioon
The Left	Euroopa Parlamendi Vasakpoolsete fraktsioon - GUE/NGL
ESN	Suveräänsete Rahvusriikide Euroopa fraktsioon
NI	Fraktsioonilise kuuluvuseta parlamendiliikmed

Συντομογραφίες των πολιτικών ομάδων EL

PPE	Ομάδα του Ευρωπαϊκού Λαϊκού Κόμματος (Χριστιανοδημοκράτες)
S&D	Ομάδα της Προοδευτικής Συμμαχίας των Σοσιαλιστών και Δημοκρατών στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο
PfE	Ομάδα «Πατριώτες για την Ευρώπη»
ECR	Ομάδα των Ευρωπαίων Συντηρητικών και Μεταρρυθμιστών
Renew	Ομάδα Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Ομάδα των Πρασίνων / Ευρωπαϊκή Ελεύθερη Συμμαχία
The Left	Ομάδα της Αριστεράς στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο - GUE/NGL
ESN	Ομάδα «Ευρώπη των Κυρίαρχων Εθνών»
NI	Μη Εγγεγραμμένοι

List of abbreviations denoting political groups EN

PPE	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
S&D	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
PfE	Patriots for Europe Group
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Group
Renew	Renew Europe Group
Verts/ALE	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
The Left	The Left group in the European Parliament - GUE/NGL
ESN	Europe of Sovereign Nations Group
NI	Non-attached Members

Liste des sigles des groupes politiques FR

PPE	Groupe du Parti populaire européen (Démocrates-Chrétiens)
S&D	Groupe de l'Alliance Progressiste des Socialistes et Démocrates au Parlement européen
PfE	Groupe Patriotes pour l'Europe
ECR	Groupe des Conservateurs et Réformistes européens
Renew	Groupe Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Groupe des Verts/Alliance libre européenne
The Left	Le groupe de la gauche au Parlement européen - GUE/NGL
ESN	Groupe «L'Europe des nations souveraines»
NI	Non-inscrits

Liosta de ghiorrúcháin na ngrúpaí polaitiúla GA

PPE	Grúpa Pháirtí an Phobail Eorpaigh (Na Daonlathaithe Críostaí)
S&D	Grúpa an Aontais Fhorásach na Sóisialaithe agus na nDaonlathaithe i bParliament na hEorpa
PfE	An Grúpa 'Tírghráthóirí don Eoraip'
ECR	An Grúpa do Choimeádaigh agus Leasaitheoirí na hEorpa
Renew	Grúpa Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	An Grúpa Glas/Grúpa na Saor-Comhghuaillíochta Eorpaí
The Left	Grúpa na Clé i bParlaimint na hEorpa - GUE/NGL
ESN	An Grúpa 'Eoraip na Náisiún Ceannasach'
NI	Feisirí Neamhcheangailte

Popis kratica klubova zastupnika HR

PPE	Klub zastupnika Europske pučke stranke (kršćanski demokrati)
S&D	Klub zastupnika Progresivnog saveza socijalista i demokrata u Europskom parlamentu
PfE	Klub zastupnika Patrioti za Europu
ECR	Europski konzervativci i reformisti
Renew	Klub zastupnika Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Klub zastupnika Zelenih/Europskog slobodnog saveza
The Left	Klub zastupnika Ljevice u Europskom parlamentu - GUE/NGL
ESN	Klub zastupnika Europa suverenih nacija
NI	Nezavisni zastupnici

Elenco delle sigle dei gruppi politici IT

PPE	Gruppo del Partito popolare europeo (Democratici cristiani)
S&D	Gruppo dell'Alleanza progressista di Socialisti e Democratici al Parlamento Europeo
PfE	Gruppo "Patrioti per l'Europa"
ECR	Gruppo dei Conservatori e Riformisti europei
Renew	Gruppo Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Gruppo dei Verdi/Alleanza libera europea
The Left	Il gruppo della Sinistra al Parlamento europeo - GUE/NGL
ESN	Gruppo "Europa delle Nazioni Sovrane"
NI	Non iscritti

Saraksts ar politisko grupu saīsinājumiem LV

PPE	Eiropas Tautas partijas (Kristīgie demokrāti) grupa
S&D	Eiropas Parlamenta sociālistu un demokrātu progresīvās alianses grupa
PfE	Grupa “Eiropas patrioti”
ECR	Eiropas Konservatīvo un reformistu grupa
Renew	“Renew Europe”
Verts/ALE	Zaļo un Eiropas Brīvās apvienības grupa
The Left	Kreiso grupa Eiropas Parlamentā - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupa “Suverēnu nāciju Eiropa”
NI	Pie politiskajām grupām nepiederošie deputāti

Frakcijų pavadinimų sutrumpinimų sąrašas LT

PPE	Europos liaudies partijos (krikščionių demokratų) frakcija
S&D	Europos Parlamento socialistų ir demokratų pažangiojo aljanso frakcija
PfE	Frakcija „Patriotai už Europą“
ECR	Europos konservatorių ir reformuotojų frakcija
Renew	Frakcija „Renew Europe“
Verts/ALE	Žaliųjų frakcija/Europos laisvasis aljansas
The Left	Europos vieningųjų kairiųjų frakcija / Šiaurės šalių žalieji kairieji
ESN	Suverenių tautų Europos frakcija
NI	Nepriklausomi nariai

A képviselőcsoportok betűszó szerinti listája HU

PPE	Európai Néppárt (Kereszténydemokraták) képviselőcsoport
S&D	Szocialisták és Demokraták Progresszív Szövetsége az Európai Parlamentben képviselőcsoport
PfE	Patrióták Európáért képviselőcsoport
ECR	Európai Konzervatívok és Reformerek képviselőcsoport
Renew	Renew Europe képviselőcsoport
Verts/ALE	Zöldek/Európai Szabad Szövetség képviselőcsoport
The Left	Baloldal az Európai Parlamentben képviselőcsoport - GUE/NGL
ESN	Szuverén Nemzetek Európája képviselőcsoport
NI	független képviselők

Lista ta' abbrevjazzonijiet ta' gruppi politiċi MT

PPE	Grupp tal-Partit Popolari Ewropew (Demokristjani)
S&D	Grupp tal-Alleanza Progressiva tas-Soċjalisti u d-Demokratiċi fil-Parlament Ewropew
PfE	Grupp Patrijotti għall-Ewropa
ECR	Grupp tal-Konservattivi u r-Riformisti Ewropej
Renew	Grupp Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupp tal-Ħodor/Alleanza Ħielsa Ewropea
The Left	Grupp tax-Xellug fil-Parlament Ewropew - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupp Ewropa tan-Nazzjonijiet Sovrani
NI	Membri mhux affiljati

Lijst van afkortingen van de fracties NL

PPE	Fractie van de Europese Volkspartij (christendemocraten)
S&D	Fractie van de Progressieve Alliantie van Socialisten en Democraten in het Europees Parlement
PfE	Fractie Patriotten voor Europa
ECR	Fractie Europese Conservatieven en Hervormers
Renew	Fractie Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Fractie De Groenen/Vrije Europese Alliantie
The Left	Linkse Fractie in het Europees Parlement - GUE/NGL
ESN	Fractie Europa van Soevereine Naties
NI	Niet-fractiegebonden leden

Lista skrótów grup politycznych PL

PPE	Grupa Europejskiej Partii Ludowej (Chrześcijańscy Demokraci)
S&D	Grupa Postępowego Sojuszu Socjalistów i Demokratów w Parlamencie Europejskim
PfE	Grupa Patrioci za Europą
ECR	Europejscy Konserwatyści i Reformatorzy
Renew	Grupa Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupa Zielonych / Wolne Przymierze Europejskie
The Left	Grupa Lewicy w Parlamencie Europejskim - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupa Europa Suwerennych Narodów
NI	Niezrzeszeni

Lista das siglas dos grupos políticos PT

PPE	Grupo do Partido Popular Europeu (Democratas-Cristãos)
S&D	Grupo da Aliança Progressista dos Socialistas e Democratas no Parlamento Europeu
PfE	Grupo «Patriotas pela Europa»
ECR	Grupo dos Conservadores e Reformistas Europeus
Renew	Grupo Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupo dos Verdes/Aliança Livre Europeia
The Left	Grupo da Esquerda no Parlamento Europeu - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupo Europa das Nações Soberanas
NI	Não Inscritos

Lista siglelor grupurilor politice RO

PPE	Grupul Partidului Popular European (Creștin Democrat)
S&D	Grupul Alianței Progresiste a Socialiștilor si Democraților din Parlamentul European
PfE	Grupul „Patrioți pentru Europa”
ECR	Grupul Conservatorilor și Reformiștilor Europeni
Renew	Grupul Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupul Verzilor/Alianța Liberă Europeană
The Left	Grupul Stângii din Parlamentul European - GUE/NGL
ESN	Grupul „Europa Națiunilor Suverane”
NI	Deputați neafiliați

Zoznam skratiek politických skupín SK

PPE	Poslanecký klub Európskej ľudovej strany (Kresťanských demokratov)
S&D	Skupina progresívnej aliancie socialistov a demokratov v Európskom parlamente
PfE	skupina Patrioti pre Európu
ECR	Európski konzervatívci a reformisti
Renew	skupina Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Skupina zelených/Európska slobodná aliancia
The Left	Skupina ľavice v Európskom parlamente - GUE/NGL
ESN	skupina Európa suverénnych národov
NI	Nezaradení poslanci

Seznam kratic političnih skupin SL

PPE	Poslanska skupina Evropske ljudske stranke (Krščanskih demokratov)
S&D	Skupina naprednega zavezništva socialistov in demokratov v Evropskem parlamentu
PfE	skupina Domoljubi za Evropo
ECR	Skupina Evropskih konservativcev in reformistov
Renew	skupina Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Skupina Zelenih/Evropske svobodne zveze
The Left	Skupina Levice v Evropskem parlamentu − GUE/NGL
ESN	skupina Evropa suverenih narodov
NI	Samostojni poslanci

Poliittisten ryhmien lyhenteet FI

PPE	Euroopan kansanpuolueen ryhmä (kristillisdemokraatit)
S&D	Euroopan parlamentin sosialistien ja demokraattien ryhmä
PfE	Euroopan patriootit -ryhmä
ECR	Euroopan konservatiivit ja reformistit
Renew	Uudistuva Eurooppa - ryhmä
Verts/ALE	Vihreät / Euroopan vapaa allianssi -ryhmä
The Left	Euroopan parlamentin vasemmistoryhmä - GUE/NGL
ESN	Suvereenien kansakuntien Eurooppa -ryhmä
NI	Sitoutumattomat

Förteckning över förkortningarna för de politiska grupperna SV

PPE	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
S&D	Gruppen Progressiva förbundet av Socialdemokrater i Europaparlamentet
PfE	Gruppen Patrioter för Europa
ECR	Gruppen Europeiska konservativa och reformister
Renew	Renew Europe Group
Verts/ALE	Gruppen De gröna/Europeiska fria alliansen
The Left	Vänstergruppen i Europaparlamentet - GUE/NGL
ESN	Gruppen Europa av suveräna nationer
NI	Grupplösa

Съкращения на наименованията на комисиите

BG

AFET	Комисия по външни работи
SEDE	Комисия по сигурност и отбрана
DEVE	Комисия по развитие
INTA	Комисия по международна търговия
BUDG	Комисия по бюджети
CONT	Комисия по бюджетен контрол
ECON	Комисия по икономически и парични въпроси
EMPL	Комисия по заетост и социални въпроси
ENVI	Комисия по околна среда, климат и безопасност на храните
SANT	Комисия по обществено здраве
ITRE	Комисия по промишленост, изследвания и енергетика
IMCO	Комисия по вътрешния пазар и защита на потребителите
TRAN	Комисия по транспорт и туризъм
REGI	Комисия по регионално развитие
AGRI	Комисия по земеделие и развитие на селските райони
PECH	Комисия по рибно стопанство
CULT	Комисия по култура и образование
JURI	Комисия по правни въпроси
LIBE	Комисия по граждански свободи, правосъдие и вътрешни работи
AFCO	Комисия по конституционни въпроси
FEMM	Комисия по правата на жените и равенството между половете
PETI	Комисия по петиции
EUDS	Специална комисия относно европейския щит за демокрацията
HOUS	Специална комисия относно жилищната криза в Европейския съюз
DROI	Подкомисия по правата на човека
FISC	Подкомисия по данъчните въпроси

Abreviaciones utilizadas para las comisiones

ES

AFET	Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores
SEDE	Comisión de Seguridad y Defensa
DEVE	Comisión de Desarrollo
INTA	Comisión de Comercio Internacional
BUDG	Comisión de Presupuestos
CONT	Comisión de Control Presupuestario
ECON	Comisión de Asuntos Económicos y Monetarios
EMPL	Comisión de Empleo y Asuntos Sociales
ENVI	Comisión de Medio Ambiente, Clima y Seguridad Alimentaria
SANT	Comisión de Salud Pública
ITRE	Comisión de Industria, Investigación y Energía
IMCO	Comisión de Mercado Interior y Protección del Consumidor
TRAN	Comisión de Transportes y Turismo
REGI	Comisión de Desarrollo Regional
AGRI	Comisión de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural
PECH	Comisión de Pesca
CULT	Comisión de Cultura y Educación
JURI	Comisión de Asuntos Jurídicos
LIBE	Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior
AFCO	Comisión de Asuntos Constitucionales
FEMM	Comisión de Derechos de las Mujeres e Igualdad de Género
PETI	Comisión de Peticiones
EUDS	Comisión Especial sobre el Escudo Europeo de la Democracia
HOUS	Comisión Especial sobre la Crisis de la Vivienda en la Unión Europea
DROI	Subcomisión de Derechos Humanos
FISC	Subcomisión de Asuntos Fiscales

Zkratky používané pro parlamentní výbory

CS

AFET	Výbor pro zahraniční věci
SEDE	Výbor pro bezpečnost a obranu
DEVE	Výbor pro rozvoj
INTA	Výbor pro mezinárodní obchod
BUDG	Rozpočtový výbor
CONT	Výbor pro rozpočtovou kontrolu
ECON	Hospodářský a měnový výbor
EMPL	Výbor pro zaměstnanost a sociální věci
ENVI	Výbor pro životní prostředí, klima a bezpečnost potravin
SANT	Výbor pro veřejné zdraví
ITRE	Výbor pro průmysl, výzkum a energetiku
IMCO	Výbor pro vnitřní trh a ochranu spotřebitelů
TRAN	Výbor pro dopravu a cestovní ruch
REGI	Výbor pro regionální rozvoj
AGRI	Výbor pro zemědělství a rozvoj venkova
PECH	Výbor pro rybolov
CULT	Výbor pro kulturu a vzdělávání
JURI	Výbor pro právní záležitosti
LIBE	Výbor pro občanské svobody, spravedlnost a vnitřní věci
AFCO	Výbor pro ústavní záležitosti
FEMM	Výbor pro práva žen a rovnost pohlaví
PETI	Petiční výbor
EUDS	Zvláštní výbor pro Evropský štít pro demokracii
HOUS	Zvláštní výbor pro krizi v oblasti bydlení v Evropské unii
DROI	Podvýbor pro lidská práva
FISC	Podvýbor pro daňové záležitosti

Forkortelser af udvalgenes navne

DA

AFET	Udenrigsudvalget
SEDE	Udvalget om Sikkerhed og Forsvar
DEVE	Udviklingsudvalget
INTA	Udvalget om International Handel
BUDG	Budgetudvalget
CONT	Budgetkontroludvalget
ECON	Økonomi- og Valutaudvalget
EMPL	Udvalget om Beskæftigelse og Sociale Anliggender
ENVI	Udvalget om Miljø, Klima og Fødevaresikkerhed
SANT	Udvalget om Folkesundhed
ITRE	Udvalget om Industri, Forskning og Energi
IMCO	Udvalget om det Indre Marked og Forbrugerbeskyttelse
TRAN	Transport- og Turismeudvalget
REGI	Regionaludviklingsudvalget
AGRI	Udvalget om Landbrug og Udvikling af Landdistrikter
PECH	Fiskeriudvalget
CULT	Kultur- og Uddannelsesudvalget
JURI	Retsudvalget
LIBE	Udvalget om Borgernes Rettigheder og Retlige og Indre Anliggender
AFCO	Udvalget om Konstitutionelle Anliggender
FEMM	Udvalget om Kvinders Rettigheder og Ligestilling
PETI	Udvalget for Andragender
EUDS	Det Særlige Udvalg om det Europæiske Demokratiskjold
HOUS	Det Særlige Udvalg om Boligkrisen i Den Europæiske Union
DROI	Underudvalget om Menneskerettigheder
FISC	Underudvalget om Skatteanliggender

Abkürzungen der Ausschüsse

DE

AFET	Ausschuss für auswärtige Angelegenheiten
SEDE	Ausschuss für Sicherheit und Verteidigung
DEVE	Entwicklungsausschuss
INTA	Ausschuss für internationalen Handel
BUDG	Haushaltsausschuss
CONT	Haushaltskontrollausschuss
ECON	Ausschuss für Wirtschaft und Währung
EMPL	Ausschuss für Beschäftigung und soziale Angelegenheiten
ENVI	Ausschuss für Umwelt, Klima und Lebensmittelsicherheit
SANT	Ausschuss für öffentliche Gesundheit
ITRE	Ausschuss für Industrie, Forschung und Energie
IMCO	Ausschuss für Binnenmarkt und Verbraucherschutz
TRAN	Ausschuss für Verkehr und Tourismus
REGI	Ausschuss für regionale Entwicklung
AGRI	Ausschuss für Landwirtschaft und ländliche Entwicklung
PECH	Fischereiausschuss
CULT	Ausschuss für Kultur und Bildung
JURI	Rechtsausschuss
LIBE	Ausschuss für bürgerliche Freiheiten, Justiz und Inneres
AFCO	Ausschuss für konstitutionelle Fragen
FEMM	Ausschuss für die Rechte der Frauen und die Gleichstellung der Geschlechter
PETI	Petitionsausschuss
EUDS	Sonderausschuss für den Europäischen Schutzschild für die Demokratie
HOUS	Sonderausschuss zur Wohnraumkrise in der Europäischen Union
DROI	Unterausschuss Menschenrechte
FISC	Unterausschuss für Steuerfragen

Parlamendi komisjonid

ET

AFET	Väliskomisjon
SEDE	Julgeoleku- ja kaitsekomisjon
DEVE	Arengukomisjon
INTA	Rahvusvahelise kaubanduse komisjon
BUDG	Eelarvekomisjon
CONT	Eelarvekontrollikomisjon
ECON	Majandus- ja rahanduskomisjon
EMPL	Tööhõive- ja sotsiaalkomisjon
ENVI	Keskkonna-, kliima- ja toiduohutuse komisjon
SANT	Rahvatervishoiu komisjon
ITRE	Tööstuse, teadusuuringute ja energeetikakomisjon
IMCO	Siseturu- ja tarbijakaitsekomisjon
TRAN	Transpordi- ja turismikomisjon
REGI	Regionaalarengukomisjon
AGRI	Põllumajanduse ja maaelu arengu komisjon
PECH	Kalanduskomisjon
CULT	Kultuuri- ja hariduskomisjon
JURI	Õiguskomisjon
LIBE	Kodanikuvabaduste, justiits- ja siseasjade komisjon
AFCO	Põhiseaduskomisjon
FEMM	Naiste õiguste ja soolise võrdõiguslikkuse komisjon
PETI	Petitsioonikomisjon
EUDS	Euroopa demokraatia kaitse erikomisjon
HOUS	Euroopa Liidu eluasemekriisi erikomisjon
DROI	Inimõiguste allkomisjon
FISC	Maksuküsimuste allkomisjon

Επεξηγηση των συντομογραφιων των επιτροπων

EL

AFET	Επιτροπή Εξωτερικών Υποθέσεων
SEDE	Επιτροπή Ασφάλειας και Άμυνας
DEVE	Επιτροπή Ανάπτυξης
INTA	Επιτροπή Διεθνούς Εμπορίου
BUDG	Επιτροπή Προϋπολογισμών
CONT	Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Προϋπολογισμού
ECON	Επιτροπή Οικονομικής και Νομισματικής Πολιτικής
EMPL	Επιτροπή Απασχόλησης και Κοινωνικών Υποθέσεων
ENVI	Επιτροπή Περιβάλλοντος, Κλίματος και Ασφάλειας των Τροφίμων
SANT	Επιτροπή Δημόσιας Υγείας
ITRE	Επιτροπή Βιομηχανίας, Έρευνας και Ενέργειας
IMCO	Επιτροπή Εσωτερικής Αγοράς και Προστασίας των Καταναλωτών
TRAN	Επιτροπή Μεταφορών και Τουρισμού
REGI	Επιτροπή Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης
AGRI	Επιτροπή Γεωργίας και Ανάπτυξης της Υπαίθρου
PECH	Επιτροπή Αλιείας
CULT	Επιτροπή Πολιτισμού και Παιδείας
JURI	Επιτροπή Νομικών Θεμάτων
LIBE	Επιτροπή Πολιτικών Ελευθεριών, Δικαιοσύνης και Εσωτερικών Υποθέσεων
AFCO	Επιτροπή Συνταγματικών Υποθέσεων
FEMM	Επιτροπή Δικαιωμάτων των Γυναικών και Ισότητας των Φύλων
PETI	Επιτροπή Αναφορών
EUDS	Ειδική Επιτροπή για την Ευρωπαϊκή Ασπίδα Δημοκρατίας
HOUS	Ειδική Επιτροπή για τη στεγαστική κρίση στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση
DROI	Υποεπιτροπή Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων
FISC	Υποεπιτροπή Φορολογικών Θεμάτων

Abbreviations used for parliamentary committees

EN

AFET	Committee on Foreign Affairs
SEDE	Committee on Security and Defence
DEVE	Committee on Development
INTA	Committee on International Trade
BUDG	Committee on Budgets
CONT	Committee on Budgetary Control
ECON	Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs
EMPL	Committee on Employment and Social Affairs
ENVI	Committee on the Environment, Climate and Food Safety
SANT	Committee on Public Health
ITRE	Committee on Industry, Research and Energy
IMCO	Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection
TRAN	Committee on Transport and Tourism
REGI	Committee on Regional Development
AGRI	Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development
PECH	Committee on Fisheries
CULT	Committee on Culture and Education
JURI	Committee on Legal Affairs
LIBE	Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs
AFCO	Committee on Constitutional Affairs
FEMM	Committee on Women’s Rights and Gender Equality
PETI	Committee on Petitions
EUDS	Special Committee on the European Democracy Shield
HOUS	Special Committee on the Housing Crisis in the European Union
DROI	Subcommittee on Human Rights
FISC	Subcommittee on Tax Matters

Significations des abréviations des commissions

FR

AFET	Commission des affaires étrangères
SEDE	Commission de la sécurité et de la défense
DEVE	Commission du développement
INTA	Commission du commerce international
BUDG	Commission des budgets
CONT	Commission du contrôle budgétaire
ECON	Commission des affaires économiques et monétaires
EMPL	Commission de l'emploi et des affaires sociales
ENVI	Commission de l'environnement, du climat et de la sécurité alimentaire
SANT	Commission de la santé publique
ITRE	Commission de l'industrie, de la recherche et de l'énergie
IMCO	Commission du marché intérieur et de la protection des consommateurs
TRAN	Commission des transports et du tourisme
REGI	Commission du développement régional
AGRI	Commission de l'agriculture et du développement rural
PECH	Commission de la pêche
CULT	Commission de la culture et de l'éducation
JURI	Commission des affaires juridiques
LIBE	Commission des libertés civiles, de la justice et des affaires intérieures
AFCO	Commission des affaires constitutionnelles
FEMM	Commission des droits des femmes et de l'égalité des genres
PETI	Commission des pétitions
EUDS	Commission spéciale sur le bouclier européen de la démocratie
HOUS	Commission spéciale sur la crise du logement dans l'Union européenne
DROI	Sous-commission "Droits de l'homme"
FISC	Sous-commission des affaires fiscales

Giorrúcháin a úsáidtear do choistí parlaiminteacha

GA

AFET	An Coiste um Ghnóthaí Eachtracha
SEDE	An Coiste um Shlándáil agus Cosaint
DEVE	An Coiste um Fhorbairt
INTA	An Coiste um Thrádáil Idirnáisiúnta
BUDG	An Coiste um Buiséid
CONT	An Coiste um Rialú Buiséadach
ECON	An Coiste um Ghnóthaí Eacnamaíochta agus Airgeadaíochta
EMPL	An Coiste um Fhostaíocht agus um Ghnóthaí Sóisialta
ENVI	An Coiste um an gComhshaol, um an Aeráid agus um Shábháilteacht Bia
SANT	An Coiste um Shláinte Phoiblí
ITRE	An Coiste um Thionsclaíocht, um Thaighde agus um Fhuinneamh
IMCO	An Coiste um an Margadh Inmheánach agus um Chosaint an Tomhaltóra
TRAN	An Coiste um Iompar agus um Thurasóireacht
REGI	An Coiste um Fhorbairt Réigiúnach
AGRI	An Coiste um Thalmhaíocht agus um Fhorbairt Tuaithe
PECH	An Coiste um Iascach
CULT	An Coiste um Chultúr agus um Oideachas
JURI	An Coiste um Ghnóthaí Dlíthiúla
LIBE	An Coiste um Shaoirsí Sibhialta, um Cheartas agus um Ghnóthaí Baile
AFCO	An Coiste um Ghnóthaí Bunreachtúla
FEMM	An Coiste um Chearta na mBan agus um Chomhionannas Inscne
PETI	An Coiste um Achainíocha
EUDS	An Coiste Speisialta um an Sciath Eorpach don Daonlathas
HOUS	An Coiste Speisialta um an nGéarchéim Tithíochta san Aontas Eorpach
DROI	An Fochoiste um Chearta an Duine
FISC	An Fochoiste um Chúrsaí Cánach

Kratice za nazive odbora

HR

AFET	Odbor za vanjske poslove
SEDE	Odbor za sigurnost i obranu
DEVE	Odbor za razvoj
INTA	Odbor za međunarodnu trgovinu
BUDG	Odbor za proračune
CONT	Odbor za proračunski nadzor
ECON	Odbor za ekonomsku i monetarnu politiku
EMPL	Odbor za zapošljavanje i socijalna pitanja
ENVI	Odbor za okoliš, klimu i sigurnost hrane
SANT	Odbor za javno zdravlje
ITRE	Odbor za industriju, istraživanje i energetiku
IMCO	Odbor za unutarnje tržište i zaštitu potrošača
TRAN	Odbor za promet i turizam
REGI	Odbor za regionalni razvoj
AGRI	Odbor za poljoprivredu i ruralni razvoj
PECH	Odbor za ribarstvo
CULT	Odbor za kulturu i obrazovanje
JURI	Odbor za pravna pitanja
LIBE	Odbor za građanske slobode, pravosuđe i unutarnje poslove
AFCO	Odbor za ustavna pitanja
FEMM	Odbor za prava žena i rodnu ravnopravnost
PETI	Odbor za predstavke
EUDS	Posebni odbor za Europski štit za zaštitu demokracije
HOUS	Posebni odbor za stambenu krizu u Europskoj uniji
DROI	Pododbor za ljudska prava
FISC	Pododbor za porezna pitanja

Significato delle abbreviazioni delle commissioni

IT

AFET	Commissione per gli affari esteri
SEDE	Commissione per la sicurezza e la difesa
DEVE	Commissione per lo sviluppo
INTA	Commissione per il commercio internazionale
BUDG	Commissione per i bilanci
CONT	Commissione per il controllo dei bilanci
ECON	Commissione per i problemi economici e monetari
EMPL	Commissione per l'occupazione e gli affari sociali
ENVI	Commissione per l'ambiente, il clima e la sicurezza alimentare
SANT	Commissione per la sanità pubblica
ITRE	Commissione per l'industria, la ricerca e l'energia
IMCO	Commissione per il mercato interno e la protezione dei consumatori
TRAN	Commissione per i trasporti e il turismo
REGI	Commissione per lo sviluppo regionale
AGRI	Commissione per l'agricoltura e lo sviluppo rurale
PECH	Commissione per la pesca
CULT	Commissione per la cultura e l'istruzione
JURI	Commissione giuridica
LIBE	Commissione per le libertà civili, la giustizia e gli affari interni
AFCO	Commissione per gli affari costituzionali
FEMM	Commissione per i diritti delle donne e l'uguaglianza di genere
PETI	Commissione per le petizioni
EUDS	Commissione speciale sullo scudo europeo per la democrazia
HOUS	Commissione speciale sulla crisi degli alloggi nell'Unione europea
DROI	Sottocommissione per i diritti dell'uomo
FISC	Sottocommissione per le questioni fiscali

Parlamenta komiteju nosaukumu saīsinājumi

LV

AFET	Ārlietu komiteja
SEDE	Drošības un aizsardzības komiteja
DEVE	Attīstības komiteja
INTA	Starptautiskās tirdzniecības komiteja
BUDG	Budžeta komiteja
CONT	Budžeta kontroles komiteja
ECON	Ekonomikas un monetārā komiteja
EMPL	Nodarbinātības un sociālo lietu komiteja
ENVI	Vides, klimata un pārtikas nekaitīguma komiteja
SANT	Sabiedrības veselības komiteja
ITRE	Rūpniecības, pētniecības un enerģētikas komiteja
IMCO	Iekšējā tirgus un patērētāju aizsardzības komiteja
TRAN	Transporta un tūrisma komiteja
REGI	Reģionālās attīstības komiteja
AGRI	Lauksaimniecības un lauku attīstības komiteja
PECH	Zivsaimniecības komiteja
CULT	Kultūras un izglītības komiteja
JURI	Juridiskā komiteja
LIBE	Pilsoņu brīvību, tieslietu un iekšlietu komiteja
AFCO	Konstitucionālo jautājumu komiteja
FEMM	Sieviešu tiesību un dzimumu līdztiesības komiteja
PETI	Lūgumrakstu komiteja
EUDS	Īpašā komiteja attiecībā uz Eiropas demokrātijas vairogu
HOUS	Īpašā komiteja mājokļu krīzes risināšanai Eiropas Savienībā
DROI	Cilvēktiesību apakškomiteja
FISC	Nodokļu jautājumu apakškomiteja

Parlamento komitetų pavadinimų santrumpos

LT

AFET	Užsienio reikalų komitetas
SEDE	Saugumo ir gynybos komitetas
DEVE	Vystymosi komitetas
INTA	Tarptautinės prekybos komitetas
BUDG	Biudžeto komitetas
CONT	Biudžeto kontrolės komitetas
ECON	Ekonomikos ir pinigų politikos komitetas
EMPL	Užimtumo ir socialinių reikalų komitetas
ENVI	Aplinkos, klimato ir maisto saugos komitetas
SANT	Visuomenės sveikatos komitetas
ITRE	Pramonės, mokslinių tyrimų ir energetikos komitetas
IMCO	Vidaus rinkos ir vartotojų apsaugos komitetas
TRAN	Transporto ir turizmo komitetas
REGI	Regioninės plėtros komitetas
AGRI	Žemės ūkio ir kaimo plėtros komitetas
PECH	Žuvininkystės komitetas
CULT	Kultūros ir švietimo komitetas
JURI	Teisės reikalų komitetas
LIBE	Piliečių laisvių, teisingumo ir vidaus reikalų komitetas
AFCO	Konstitucinių reikalų komitetas
FEMM	Moterų teisių ir lyčių lygybės komitetas
PETI	Peticijų komitetas
EUDS	Specialusis komitetas Europos demokratijos skydo klausimais
HOUS	Specialusis komitetas būsto krizės Europos Sąjungoje klausimais
DROI	Žmogaus teisių pakomitetis
FISC	Mokesčių pakomitetis

Parlamenti bizottságok rövidítései

HU

AFET	Külügyi Bizottság
SEDE	Biztonság- és Védelempolitikai Bizottság
DEVE	Fejlesztési Bizottság
INTA	Nemzetközi Kereskedelmi Bizottság
BUDG	Költségvetési Bizottság
CONT	Költségvetési Ellenőrző Bizottság
ECON	Gazdasági és Monetáris Bizottság
EMPL	Foglalkoztatási és Szociális Bizottság
ENVI	Környezetvédelmi, Éghajlatváltozási és Élelmiszer-biztonsági Bizottság
SANT	Közegészségügyi Bizottság
ITRE	Ipari, Kutatási és Energiaügyi Bizottság
IMCO	Belső Piaci és Fogyasztóvédelmi Bizottság
TRAN	Közlekedési és Idegenforgalmi Bizottság
REGI	Regionális Fejlesztési Bizottság
AGRI	Mezőgazdasági és Vidékfejlesztési Bizottság
PECH	Halászati Bizottság
CULT	Kulturális és Oktatási Bizottság
JURI	Jogi Bizottság
LIBE	Állampolgári Jogi, Bel- és Igazságügyi Bizottság
AFCO	Alkotmányügyi Bizottság
FEMM	Nőjogi és Esélyegyenlőségi Bizottság
PETI	Petíciós Bizottság
EUDS	Az európai demokráciapajzzsal foglalkozó különbizottság
HOUS	Az Európai Unióban tapasztalható lakhatási válsággal foglalkozó különbizottság
DROI	Emberi Jogi Albizottság
FISC	Adóügyi Albizottság

Tifsira tal-abbrevjazzjonijiet tal-kumitati

MT

AFET	Kumitat għall-Affarijiet Barranin
SEDE	Kumitat għas-Sigurtà u d-Difiża
DEVE	Kumitat għall-Iżvilupp
INTA	Kumitat għall-Kummerċ Internazzjonali
BUDG	Kumitat għall-Baġits
CONT	Kumitat għall-Kontroll tal-Baġit
ECON	Kumitat għall-Affarijiet Ekonomiċi u Monetarji
EMPL	Kumitat għall-Impjiegi u l-Affarijiet Soċjali
ENVI	Kumitat għall-Ambjent, il-Klima u s-Sikurezza tal-Ikel
SANT	Kumitat għas-Saħħa Pubblika
ITRE	Kumitat għall-Industrija, ir-Riċerka u l-Enerġija
IMCO	Kumitat għas-Suq Intern u l-Ħarsien tal-Konsumatur
TRAN	Kumitat għat-Trasport u t-Turiżmu
REGI	Kumitat għall-Iżvilupp Reġjonali
AGRI	Kumitat għall-Agrikoltura u l-Iżvilupp Rurali
PECH	Kumitat għas-Sajd
CULT	Kumitat għall-Kultura u l-Edukazzjoni
JURI	Kumitat għall-Affarijiet Legali
LIBE	Kumitat għal-Libertajiet Ċivili, il-Ġustizzja u l-Intern
AFCO	Kumitat għall-Affarijiet Kostituzzjonali
FEMM	Kumitat għad-Drittijiet tan-Nisa u l-Ugwaljanza bejn il-Ġeneri
PETI	Kumitat għall-Petizzjonijiet
EUDS	Kumitat Speċjali dwar it-Tarka Ewropea għad-Demokrazija
HOUS	Kumitat Speċjali dwar il-Kriżi tal-Akkomodazzjoni fl-Unjoni Ewropea
DROI	Sottokumitat għad-Drittijiet tal-Bniedem
FISC	Sottokumitat għall-Kwistjonijiet Fiskali

Afkortingen van de commissies

NL

AFET	Commissie buitenlandse zaken
SEDE	Commissie veiligheid en defensie
DEVE	Commissie ontwikkelingssamenwerking
INTA	Commissie internationale handel
BUDG	Begrotingscommissie
CONT	Commissie begrotingscontrole
ECON	Commissie economische en monetaire zaken
EMPL	Commissie werkgelegenheid en sociale zaken
ENVI	Commissie milieubeheer, klimaat en voedselveiligheid
SANT	Commissie volksgezondheid
ITRE	Commissie industrie, onderzoek en energie
IMCO	Commissie interne markt en consumentenbescherming
TRAN	Commissie vervoer en toerisme
REGI	Commissie regionale ontwikkeling
AGRI	Commissie landbouw en plattelandsontwikkeling
PECH	Commissie visserij
CULT	Commissie cultuur en onderwijs
JURI	Commissie juridische zaken
LIBE	Commissie burgerlijke vrijheden, justitie en binnenlandse zaken
AFCO	Commissie constitutionele zaken
FEMM	Commissie vrouwenrechten en gendergelijkheid
PETI	Commissie verzoekschriften
EUDS	Bijzondere Commissie inzake het Europees schild voor de democratie
HOUS	Bijzondere Commissie inzake de huisvestingscrisis in de Europese Unie
DROI	Subcommissie mensenrechten
FISC	Subcommissie belastingaangelegenheden

Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych

PL

AFET	Komisja Spraw Zagranicznych
SEDE	Komisja Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony
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 Ochrony Środowiska Naturalnego, Klimatu i Bezpieczeństwa Żywności
SANT	Komisja Zdrowia Publicznego
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 Rozwoju Wsi
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 Równouprawnienia
PETI	Komisja Petycji
EUDS	Komisja Specjalna ds. Europejskiej Tarczy Demokracji
HOUS	Komisja Specjalna ds. Kryzysu Mieszkaniowego w Unii Europejskiej
DROI	Podkomisja Praw Człowieka
FISC	Podkomisja do Spraw Podatkowych

Significado das abreviaturas das comissões

PT

AFET	Comissão dos Assuntos Externos
SEDE	Comissão da Segurança e da Defesa
DEVE	Comissão do Desenvolvimento
INTA	Comissão do Comércio Internacional
BUDG	Comissão dos Orçamentos
CONT	Comissão do Controlo Orçamental
ECON	Comissão dos Assuntos Económicos e Monetários
EMPL	Comissão do Emprego e dos Assuntos Sociais
ENVI	Comissão do Ambiente, do Clima e da Segurança Alimentar
SANT	Comissão da Saúde Pública
ITRE	Comissão da Indústria, da Investigação e da Energia
IMCO	Comissão do Mercado Interno e da Proteção dos Consumidores
TRAN	Comissão dos Transportes e do Turismo
REGI	Comissão do Desenvolvimento Regional
AGRI	Comissão da Agricultura e do Desenvolvimento Rural
PECH	Comissão das Pescas
CULT	Comissão da Cultura e da Educação
JURI	Comissão dos Assuntos Jurídicos
LIBE	Comissão das Liberdades Cívicas, da Justiça e dos Assuntos Internos
AFCO	Comissão dos Assuntos Constitucionais
FEMM	Comissão dos Direitos das Mulheres e da Igualdade dos Géneros
PETI	Comissão das Petições
EUDS	Comissão Especial sobre o Escudo Europeu da Democracia
HOUS	Comissão Especial sobre a Crise de Habitação na União Europeia
DROI	Subcomissão dos Direitos Humanos
FISC	Subcomissão dos Assuntos Fiscais

Semnificația abrevierilor denumirilor comisiilor

RO

AFET	Comisia pentru afaceri externe
SEDE	Comisia pentru securitate și apărare
DEVE	Comisia pentru dezvoltare
INTA	Comisia pentru comerț internațional
BUDG	Comisia pentru bugete
CONT	Comisia pentru control bugetar
ECON	Comisia pentru afaceri economice și monetare
EMPL	Comisia pentru ocuparea forței de muncă și afaceri sociale
ENVI	Comisia pentru mediu, climă și siguranță alimentară
SANT	Comisia pentru sănătate publică
ITRE	Comisia pentru industrie, cercetare și energie
IMCO	Comisia pentru piața internă și protecția consumatorilor
TRAN	Comisia pentru transport și turism
REGI	Comisia pentru dezvoltare regională
AGRI	Comisia pentru agricultură și dezvoltare rurală
PECH	Comisia pentru pescuit
CULT	Comisia pentru cultură și educație
JURI	Comisia pentru afaceri juridice
LIBE	Comisia pentru libertăți civile, justiție și afaceri interne
AFCO	Comisia pentru afaceri constituționale
FEMM	Comisia pentru drepturile femeilor și egalitatea de gen
PETI	Comisia pentru petiții
EUDS	Comisia specială pentru Scutul democrației europene
HOUS	Comisia specială pentru criza locuințelor în Uniunea Europeană
DROI	Subcomisia pentru drepturile omului
FISC	Subcomisia pentru chestiuni fiscale

Skratky parlamentných výborov

SK

AFET	Výbor pre zahraničné veci
SEDE	Výbor pre bezpečnosť a obranu
DEVE	Výbor pre rozvoj
INTA	Výbor pre medzinárodný obchod
BUDG	Výbor pre rozpočet
CONT	Výbor pre kontrolu rozpočtu
ECON	Výbor pre hospodárske a menové veci
EMPL	Výbor pre zamestnanosť a sociálne veci
ENVI	Výbor pre životné prostredie, klímu a bezpečnosť potravín
SANT	Výbor pre verejné zdravie
ITRE	Výbor pre priemysel, výskum a energetiku
IMCO	Výbor pre vnútorný trh a ochranu spotrebiteľa
TRAN	Výbor pre dopravu a cestovný ruch
REGI	Výbor pre regionálny rozvoj
AGRI	Výbor pre poľnohospodárstvo a rozvoj vidieka
PECH	Výbor pre rybárstvo
CULT	Výbor pre kultúru a vzdelávanie
JURI	Výbor pre právne veci
LIBE	Výbor pre občianske slobody, spravodlivosť a vnútorné veci
AFCO	Výbor pre ústavné veci
FEMM	Výbor pre práva žien a rodovú rovnosť
PETI	Výbor pre petície
EUDS	Osobitný výbor pre Európsky štít na ochranu demokracie
HOUS	Osobitný výbor pre krízu bývania v Európskej únii
DROI	Podvýbor pre ľudské práva
FISC	Podvýbor pre daňové otázky

Pomen kratic odborov

SL

AFET	Odbor za zunanje zadeve
SEDE	Odbor za varnost in obrambo
DEVE	Odbor za razvoj
INTA	Odbor za mednarodno trgovino
BUDG	Odbor za proračun
CONT	Odbor za proračunski nadzor
ECON	Odbor za ekonomske in monetarne zadeve
EMPL	Odbor za zaposlovanje in socialne zadeve
ENVI	Odbor za okolje, podnebje in varnost hrane
SANT	Odbor za javno zdravje
ITRE	Odbor za industrijo, raziskave in energetiko
IMCO	Odbor za notranji trg in varstvo potrošnikov
TRAN	Odbor za promet in turizem
REGI	Odbor za regionalni razvoj
AGRI	Odbor za kmetijstvo in razvoj podeželja
PECH	Odbor za ribištvo
CULT	Odbor za kulturo in izobraževanje
JURI	Odbor za pravne zadeve
LIBE	Odbor za državljanske svoboščine, pravosodje in notranje zadeve
AFCO	Odbor za ustavne zadeve
FEMM	Odbor za pravice žensk in enakost spolov
PETI	Odbor za peticije
EUDS	Posebni odbor za evropski ščit za demokracijo
HOUS	Posebni odbor za stanovanjsko krizo v Evropski uniji
DROI	Pododbor za človekove pravice
FISC	Pododbor za davčne zadeve

Valiokunnista käytettävät lyhenteet

FI

AFET	Ulkoasiainvaliokunta
SEDE	Turvallisuus- ja puolustuspolitiikan valiokunta
DEVE	Kehitysvaliokunta
INTA	Kansainvälisen kaupan valiokunta
BUDG	Budjettivaliokunta
CONT	Talousarvion valvontavaliokunta
ECON	Talous- ja raha-asioiden valiokunta
EMPL	Työllisyyden ja sosiaaliasioiden valiokunta
ENVI	Ympäristön, ilmaston ja elintarvikkeiden turvallisuuden valiokunta
SANT	Kansanterveyden valiokunta
ITRE	Teollisuus-, tutkimus- ja energiavaliokunta
IMCO	Sisämarkkina- ja kuluttajansuojavaliokunta
TRAN	Liikenne- ja matkailuvaliokunta
REGI	Aluekehitysvaliokunta
AGRI	Maatalouden ja maaseudun kehittämisen valiokunta
PECH	Kalatalousvaliokunta
CULT	Kulttuuri- ja koulutusvaliokunta
JURI	Oikeudellisten asioiden valiokunta
LIBE	Kansalaisvapauksien sekä oikeus- ja sisäasioiden valiokunta
AFCO	Perussopimus-, työjärjestys- ja toimielinasioiden valiokunta
FEMM	Naisten oikeuksien ja sukupuolten tasa-arvon valiokunta
PETI	Vetoomusvaliokunta
EUDS	Eurooppalaista demokratian kilpeä käsittelevä erityisvaliokunta
HOUS	Asuntokriisiä Euroopan unionissa käsittelevä erityisvaliokunta
DROI	Ihmisoikeuksien alivaliokunta
FISC	Veroasioita käsittelevä alivaliokunta

Förkortningar för utskottens namn

SV

AFET	Utskottet för utrikesfrågor
SEDE	Utskottet för säkerhet och försvar
DEVE	Utskottet för utveckling
INTA	Utskottet för internationell handel
BUDG	Budgetutskottet
CONT	Budgetkontrollutskottet
ECON	Utskottet för ekonomi och valutafrågor
EMPL	Utskottet för sysselsättning och sociala frågor
ENVI	Utskottet för miljö, klimat och livsmedelssäkerhet
SANT	Utskottet för folkhälsa
ITRE	Utskottet för industrifrågor, forskning och energi
IMCO	Utskottet för den inre marknaden och konsumentskydd
TRAN	Utskottet för transport och turism
REGI	Utskottet för regional utveckling
AGRI	Utskottet för jordbruk och landsbygdens utveckling
PECH	Fiskeriutskottet
CULT	Utskottet för kultur och utbildning
JURI	Utskottet för rättsliga frågor
LIBE	Utskottet för medborgerliga fri- och rättigheter samt rättsliga och inrikes frågor
AFCO	Utskottet för konstitutionella frågor
FEMM	Utskottet för kvinnors rättigheter och jämställdhet
PETI	Utskottet för framställningar
EUDS	Särskilda utskottet för det europeiska demokratiförsvaret
HOUS	Särskilda utskottet för bostadskrisen i Europeiska unionen
DROI	Underutskottet för mänskliga rättigheter
FISC	Underutskottet för skattefrågor