

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 14 STYCZNIA 2015 R.**

(2022/C 447/03)

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 14 STYCZNIA 2015 R.

VORSITZ: MARTIN SCHULZ

*Präsident*

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

*(Die Sitzung wird um 9.05 Uhr eröffnet.)*

### 2. Program prac prezydencji łotewskiej (debata)

Als erster Punkt der Tagesordnung erfolgt die Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zum Tätigkeitsprogramm des lettischen Ratsvorsitzes (2014/2856(RSP)).

Ich begrüße die Premierministerin von Lettland, seit dem 1. Januar die amtierende Vorsitzende des Rates der Europäischen Union, Frau Laimdota Straujuma.

Herzlich willkommen, Frau Ministerpräsidentin!

**Laimdota Straujuma, pašreizējā Padomes priekšsēdētāja.** - Priekšsēdētāja kungs! Komisijas priekšsēdētāja kungs! Godātie deputāti! Godātie viceprezidenti! Godātie komisāri! Esmu pagodināta šodien būt šeit Strasbūrā un iepazīstināt Eiropas Parlamentu ar Latvijas prezidentūras prioritātēm Eiropas Savienības Padomē.

Šodien aprit 25 gadi, kopš Latvija atguva savu neatkarību, atbrīvojoties no padomju totalitārā režīma. Ir pagājuši desmit gadi, kopš Latvija pievienojās Eiropas Savienībai un gads kopš dalības eirozonā. Uzņemties prezidentūras pienākumus Eiropas Savienības Padomē ir ne tikai liels gods, bet arī liela atbildība.

To, cik liela šī atbildība ir, mēs īpaši skaidri sajūtām 7. janvārī, kas satricināja mūs visus līdz pašiem pamatiem. Tāpēc es vēlos sākt savu uzrunu, izsakot solidaritāti un visdziļāko līdzjūtību Francijai un Francijas tautai. Uzbrukums Francijā ir kārtējais uzbrukums vārda brīvībai un Eiropas vērtībām.

Svētdien piedalījās gājienā Parīzē. Visu tautību, reliģiju un kultūru cilvēki Francijā un plašajā pasaulē saliedēti izgāja ielās, lai apliecinātu skaļi — mēs demokrātiskajā pasaulē iestājamies par vērtībām, par cilvēka brīvu pašizpaušmi, par miermīlīgu dažādu kultūru un reliģiju līdzāspastāvēšanu. Tāpēc es izmantoju šo Eiropas tautu pārstāvniecības forumu, lai aicinātu ikvienu no mums un ikvienu iedzīvotāju uz vēl lielāku cieņu pret citu kultūru un uz jaunu uzticības līmeni starp tautām. Šajā spriedzes laikā, kad terorisms gribētu mums uzspiest arvien jaunu eskalāciju, arvien plašākas sadur-smes starp reliģijām, grūst mūs uz vardarbību, mums ir jātop vēl cilvēciskākiem. Mums ir jāturpina interesēties par citām kultūrām, lai mūsu prātus nebūtu iespējams aizmiglot ar demagoģiju vai greizu faktu interpretāciju.

Eiropas Savienībai ir jābūt gatavai aizstāvēt sevi, savus pilsoņus un savas vērtības. Mums visiem, visām Eiropas Savienības institūcijām un visām dalībvalstīm jāapvieno spēki, lai nodrošinātu adekvātu Eiropas Savienības atbildi izaicīnājumam, kas ir mests Eiropas kopā dzīvošanas modelim un līdz ar to — mums visiem.

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No 2. līdz 4. maijam Rīgā notiks liela mēroga Pasaules preses brīvības dienai veltīts forums, kurā būs iespējama plaša viedokļu apmaiņa par šobrīd tik aktuālajiem jautājumiem. Mums ir āiedarbina visi Eiropas Savienības rīcībā esošie mehānismi, kas izveidoti cīņai pret terorismu. Īpaša uzmanība jāpievērš gaidāmajai Eiropas iekšējās drošības stratēģijai. Lai mūsu instrumentu klāsts būtu pilnīgs, mums visiem kopā ir svarīgi nodrošināt efektīvu informācijas apmaiņu iesaistīto dienestu starpā.

Augsti novērtējam, ka ir atjaunota diskusija par pasažieru datu reģistru (PNR). Tā ir gan vietā, gan laikā pareiza. Mēs šeit runājam par ierobežotu datu apjomu, kas ļautu labāk izsekot noteiktu personu kustībām. Es apzinos, ka šis jautājums nav viennozīmīgs. Tāpēc vēlos apliecināt, ka neatkarīgi no progresa diskusijās par pasažieru datu reģistra izveidi, Latvijas prezidentūra turpinās virzīt Datu aizsardzības pakotni kā vienu no galvenajiem elementiem digitālās prioritātes kontekstā.

Esmu pārliecināta, ka Eiropas Parlaments būs ciešs sadarbības partneris Padomei un Komisijai, jo tikai kopīgiem spēkiem mēs spēsim sniegt spēcīgu Eiropas Savienības atbildi. Es ticu, ka Eiropa spēš parādīt vienotību un pārvarēt šos draudus. Es ticu, ka mēs neiekritīsim slazdā un neļausim terorismam sagraut mūsu ticību vienam pret otru, neļausim sarīdīt vienu pret otru dažādas izcelsmes vai reliģijas cilvēkus Eiropas sabiedrībā. Visi kopā mēs spēsim nosargāt Eiropas vērtības. No tā atkarīga Eiropas nākotne.

Godātie deputāti! Latvija uzņemas prezidentūru sarežģītā un izaicinājumiem pilnā laikā. Latvijas prezidentūras sākums sakrīt ar institucionālās pārejas Eiropas Savienībā veiksmīgu pabeigšanu. Mēs augstu novērtējam Itālijas prezidentūras un Eiropas Parlamenta paveikto un turpināsim darbu, lai pilnveidotu visu Eiropas Savienības institūciju sadarbību.

Eiropas Savienībā vēl joprojām jūtama finanšu krīzes ietekme. Dalībvalstis un Eiropas Savienības institūcijas ir smagi strādājušas, lai atjaunotu finanšu tirgu uzticību. Dalībvalstis joprojām turpina strukturālās reformas. Eiropa lēnām, bet pakāpeniski atgriežas pie ekonomiskās izaugsmes. Šogad visās Eiropas Savienības dalībvalstīs tiek prognozēta ekonomiskā izaugsme. Eiropas Savienība joprojām ir pasaules lielākā ekonomika ar spēcīgām pozīcijām augsto tehnoloģiju jomā. Eirozonas valstu kopējais budžeta deficīta līmenis turpina samazināties. Taču šis ir arī labs brīdis, lai izveidotu sistēmu, kas būtu noturīga pret potenciālajiem izaicinājumiem nākotnē. Eirozona paplašinās ar jaunām dalībvalstīm. Es vēlos apsveikt mūsu kaimiņvalsti Lietuvu ar pievienošanu eirozonai, kļūstot par tās 19. dalībvalsti. Eiropas Savienības iedzīvotāji bauda brīvības un labklājības līmeni, kas ir liegts iedzīvotājiem daudzās citās pasaules valstīs. Man ir pārliecība, ka ar mērķtiecīgu rīcību, ticību Eiropas vērtībām un vēlmi darboties kopā Eiropas Savienība spēš stāties pretī izaicinājumiem, pārvarēt grūtības un virzīties uz priekšu. Šajos Eiropas kontinentam nemierīgajos laikos ir svarīgi atcerēties, ka Eiropas Savienība ir nesusi mieru un pārliecību tās iedzīvotājiem. Pārāk bieži mēs to uztveram kā pašsaprotamu.

Godātie deputāti! Eiropas Savienības iedzīvotājus interesē konkrēti rezultāti, kas uzlabo viņu ikdienas dzīvi. To mēs varam sasniegt, tikai strādājot kopā — Padome, Eiropas Parlaments un Eiropas Komisija. Pagājušā gada laikā tika ieguldīts liels darbs, Eiropas Savienības institūcijām formulējot savas prioritātes jaunajam institucionālajam ciklam. Mēs vēlamies strādāt pie to ieviešanas, vienlaikus pievēršot uzmanību jaunajiem izaicinājumiem.

Latvijas prezidentūra iezīmējusi trīs skaidrus prioritāšu virzienus:

konkurētspējīga Eiropas Savienība,

digitāla Eiropas Savienība,

iesaistīta Eiropas Savienība globālajā līmenī.

Godātie deputāti! Pirmkārt, mēs vēlamies stiprināt Eiropas Savienības konkurētspēju un veicināt ekonomisko izaugsmi. Strukturālās reformas, fiskālā atbildība un investīcijas — tie ir "trīs vaļi", uz kuriem nākamajos gados jābalstās Eiropas Savienības izaugsmei. Izaugsmei, kas nodrošina jaunas darba vietas, nevis uzliek jaunus parādus nākamajām paaudzēm. Mēs atzinīgi vērtējam Eiropas Komisijas priekšsēdētāja piedāvāto Investīciju plānu. Esam gatavi aktīvi strādāt, lai Eiropas Stratēģisko investīciju fonds sāktu darbību jūnijā. Vakar ir iznācis Komisijas priekšlikums. Ceram uz labu sadarbību ar dalībvalstīm un Eiropas Parlamentu, lai nodrošinātu raitu likumdošanas procesu. Investīcijām pievilcīgas vides izveidošana ir mūsu kopēja atbildība. Jau ilgstoši Eiropā ir jūtama vajadzība pēc enerģētikas savienības. Mums ir nepieciešama uz solidaritāti, uzticību un drošību balstīta enerģētikas politika, labāk integrēta enerģētikas infrastruktūra un efektīvāka pārvaldība. Enerģētikas savienības izveide būs viens no prioritārajiem jautājumiem Latvijas prezidentūras laikā. Tāpat mēs turpināsim darbu pie vienotā tirgus pilnveides, nodrošināsim Eiropas semestra procesu koordināciju Padomes ietvaros. Latvijas prezidentūras laikā pārskatīsim stratēģiju "Eiropa 2020", veicināsim darbu pie rūpnieciskās konkurēt-

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spējas, strādāsim pie Ekonomikas un monetārās savienības stiprināšanas. Īpašu uzmanību pievērsīsim labākam regulējumam.

Otrkārt, mēs vēlamies padarīt Eiropu digitalizētāku. Mēs gribam pilnvērtīgi izmantot Eiropas digitālo potenciālu un strādāt pie efektīva vienotā digitālā tirgus izveides. Tiešsaistes patērētājiem jābūt vienlīdzīgai pieejai precēm un pakalpojumiem par labāko cenu, neatkarīgi no tā, vai viņi dzīvo Briselē vai Bratislavā, Rīgā vai Romā. Tāpat jāveicina digitālās vides drošība un uzticamība tai. Tas palīdzēs radīt darbvietas un veicinās izaugsmi, kā arī pārvērtīs Eiropu par pasaules vadošo uz zināšanām balstītu ekonomiku. Mēs plānojam strādāt pie digitālā vienotā tirgus stratēģijas un drīzumā sagaidām konkrētu Komisijas priekšlikumu. Digitālās programmas asambleja Rīgā būs lieliska iespēja satikties politikas veidotājiem un biznesam. Galvenie digitālā vienotā tirgus elementi ir datu aizsardzība un līdzsvarotas reformas telekomunikāciju tirgū. Mūsu uzmanības lokā būs arī kiberdrošība un patērētāju tiesības.

Treškārt, mēs vēlamies redzēt Eiropas Savienību vairāk iesaistītu un atbildīgu starptautiskajā līmenī. Mēs atbalstīsim Augsto pārstāvi un Eiropas Ārējās darbības dienestu, stiprinot Eiropas Savienības vienotību un veicinot reģionālo stabilitāti un mieru.

Eiropas kaimiņi būs mūsu prezidentūras prioritāte. Mēs atbalstīsim darbu pie Eiropas kaimiņattiecību politikas pārskata. Ir tikai dabiski, ka mūsu galvenā uzmanība pamatā ir pievērstā austrumiem, taču mēs tikpat nopietni strādāsim arī pie jautājumiem, kas svarīgi mūsu kaimiņiem dienvidos. Migrācijas radītie izaicinājumi būs mūsu dienaskārtībā.

Mēs nevarēsim izvairīties no sarunas par bezprecedenta notikumiem mūsu austrumu kaimiņvalstīs. Krievijas agresija pret Ukrainu ir apdraudējums Eiropas miera un tiesiskuma pamatiem. Ir pilnīgi izslēgts, ka Eiropas Savienība atzīs stiprākas tiesības, kas pārkāpj valstu teritoriālo integritāti.

Eiropas Savienības spēks ir rīcības vienotībā. Šajā sakarā es vēlos pateikties dalībvalstīm un Eiropas Savienības institūcijām par spēju saglabāt vienotību, kad bija jāpieņem lēmumi par Eiropas Savienības reakciju uz notikumiem Ukrainā un Krievijas agresiju. Daudziem pasaulē tas ir pārsteigums. Latvijas prezidentūra aktīvi darbosies, lai saglabātu šo Eiropas Savienības vienotību nemainīgu arī turpmāk.

Šā gada maijā Rīgā notiks Austrumu partnerības samits. Rīgas samits dos iespējas izvērtēt sasniegto kopš Austrumu partnerības samita Viļņā. Tam jākalpo kā skaidram signālam, ka Eiropas Savienība atbalsta Austrumu partnerības valstis.

Mums arī jāskatās plašāk attiecībā uz Centrālāzijas reģionu, kur Eiropas Savienības klātesamība un iesaiste nesasniedz savu pilno potenciālu. Mēs aktīvi darbosimies, lai pārskatītu Eiropas Savienības Centrālāzijas stratēģiju.

Eiropas Savienības starptautiskās lomas stiprināšana ietver arī globālos aspektus. Mēs palīdzēsim veicināt sarunas par tirdzniecības līgumiem ar Amerikas Savienotajām Valstīm, Kanādu un Japānu. Vērienīgā transatlantiskā tirdzniecības un investīciju partnerība ne tikai nodrošinātu vairāk nekā 100 miljardu eiro ieguvumu un Eiropas Savienības ekonomikas stimulēšanu, bet nestu arī ģeopolitiskus ieguvumus.

2015. gads ir Eiropas Attīstības gads. Mēs koncentrēsimies uz Eiropas Savienības ieguldījumu ANO samitam par ilgtspējīgas attīstības un nabadzības samazināšanas mērķiem 2015. gadā.

Latvijas prezidentūra strādās pie globālajiem izaicinājumiem atbilstošas kopējās drošības un aizsardzības politikas veidošanas.

Godātie deputāti! Latvijas prezidentūras mērķis ir konkurētspējīgas, digitālas un starptautiski spēcīgākas Eiropas veidošana. Mūsu mērķis ir nosargāt Eiropas vērtības, brīvības, drošības, tiesiskuma un savstarpējās tolerances telpu, kas raksturo Eiropu pasaulē. Mums ir svarīgi strādāt ciešā sadarbībā ar jums. Šis ir galvenais iemesls manai vizītei šodien — nostiprināt mūsu sadarbību un veidot saskaņotu Padomes un Eiropas Parlamenta darba kārtību.

Latvijas prezidentūra ir pragmatiska un apņēmīga. Dzirnakmens, ko mēs esam izvēlējušies par savas prezidentūras logo, reiz bija būtisks inovācijas elements. Tas nesa plašas izmaiņas māsaiņniecībām visā Eiropā. Man dzirnakmens nozīmē pārticību, stabilitāti un enerģiju. Es vēlētos, lai ar šīm vērtībām arī asociētos Latvijas prezidentūra. Mēs vēlamies stiprināt Eiropas Savienības virzību uz attīstību, stiprināt ticību Eiropas idejai un iedvesmot mūs uz gudru un tālredzīgu izaugsmi, uz cilvēkiem tuvu Eiropu. Paldies!

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**Jean-Claude Juncker**, *président de la Commission*. - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, chers collègues, nous sommes arrivés à un moment crucial de l'histoire récente de l'Union européenne. Voilà la Lettonie – ce qui n'était pas prévisible – qui prend la Présidence de l'Union européenne. Et déjà, comme nous oublions vite, nous trouvons cela tout à fait normal, évident et naturel, alors qu'il s'agit d'un petit miracle. Voici trente ans, personne, ni dans cet hémicycle, ni ailleurs, n'aurait pu imaginer que la Lettonie serait chargée de présider aux destinées de l'Union européenne.

Comme je l'ai dit hier, ceci est un grand moment de l'histoire européenne puisque la Présidence lettone symbolise à merveille la réconciliation entre l'histoire et la géographie européennes, mettant ainsi un terme à ce funeste décret d'après-guerre qui voulait que l'Europe soit divisée en deux parties pour le reste de l'histoire. Les Lettons ont échappé au diktat de l'histoire et ont dicté la marche à suivre à l'histoire. Par conséquent, l'Europe entière, tout le continent est redevable à l'égard de la Lettonie, qui est un grand peuple et une grande nation.

Nous avons commencé, il y a une semaine, le parcours lettone à Riga puisque la Commission s'y était déplacée pour examiner avec la première ministre et les ministres lettons le programme de travail de la Présidence lettone. Ce programme de la Présidence lettone trouve tout l'appui de la Commission, ne fût-ce que pour la raison que le programme de la Présidence lettone et le programme de travail de la Commission européenne sont strictement identiques. Cela prouve à quel point les bonnes volontés et les nobles inspirations peuvent se conjuguer en Europe pour faire en sorte que l'Europe puisse avancer.

Pour permettre à la Présidence lettone de travailler dans de bonnes conditions, la Commission a arrêté hier les textes législatifs et réglementaires en relation avec la mise en place du Fonds européen pour les investissements stratégiques. C'est une œuvre législative qui se caractérise par le fait qu'elle doit s'inscrire dans des circonstances particulières, parce que nous n'avons pas de temps à perdre. J'inviterai donc, comme je l'ai fait, il y a deux semaines, nos amis lettons, tout comme votre Parlement, à accélérer les travaux pour permettre au Fonds stratégique de trouver sa place dans l'arsenal de lutte contre la crise afin qu'il puisse être opérationnel au 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 2015.

Dans la foulée, la Commission a arrêté hier une communication sur la flexibilité du et dans le pacte de stabilité et de croissance. Je viens de lire les premiers articles de la presse internationale et cela me donne l'occasion de dire que le pacte de stabilité et de croissance reste le pacte de stabilité et de croissance. Nous n'avons pas changé les règles. Nous n'avons pas fait du pacte de stabilité et de croissance un pacte de flexibilité. Ce n'est pas un pacte de flexibilité, c'est un pacte de stabilité et de croissance qui prend appui sur ce que j'ai qualifié de triangle vertueux constitué à la fois de réformes structurelles, de la consolidation budgétaire, qui reste vitale, et de la relance des investissements en Europe, pour que nous puissions avoir en Europe une situation de croissance qui nous permette de stimuler l'emploi.

Tout comme la Présidence lettone, la Commission accorde beaucoup d'importance à l'Europe numérique. Nous allons, durant le semestre en cours, faire les premières propositions dans ce sens et j'ai prévu de discuter de l'Europe numérique lors de la réunion du collège du 25 février.

Nous ne restons pas inactifs en ce qui concerne l'Union de l'énergie. C'est plutôt l'Union de l'énergie qui enrichira l'ordre du jour du 25 février, l'Europe numérique étant prévue pour le mois de juin.

Nous avons été chargés par le Conseil européen d'octobre d'approfondir l'Union économique et monétaire. Il y aura, sous la conduite du président de la Commission, un rapport des quatre présidents, de l'Eurogroupe, de la Banque centrale européenne, de la Commission et du Conseil européen. Nous présenterons les premières idées en février, pour les approfondir jusqu'au mois de juin. Le Parlement est évidemment associé à ce travail des quatre présidents, puisque la présidence du Parlement, qui représente une des principales institutions de l'Union, a tout son rôle à jouer.

Voilà, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président, quelques remarques inspirées par l'exposé succinct de la première ministre lettone. Je suis convaincu que la Présidence lettone et la Commission sauront travailler en étroite collaboration sinon en complicité accomplie. Bonne chance!

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**Manfred Weber**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissionspräsident, liebe Ministerpräsidentin Straujuma! Ein herzliches Willkommen im Europäischen Parlament und danke für den Einstieg, für die Präsentation des Programms der lettischen Präsidentschaft.

Lettland ist Vorbild, ein junges Land, das hart um seine Freiheit und seine Demokratie kämpfen musste, ein Land, das weiß, welchen Wert Meinungs- und Pressefreiheit haben und dass dies nicht selbstverständlich ist, und ein Land, dessen Geschichte den Kern der Europäischen Union widerspiegelt, nämlich das Streben nach Freiheit, Frieden und nach gemeinsamem Wohlstand. Gerade in Zeiten – Sie haben darauf verwiesen –, in denen wir in Paris vor neue Fragen gestellt werden, ist dieses Erinnern an die Grundprägung Ihres Landes und an die Grundprägung unserer Europäischen Union wichtig. Deswegen besteht Hoffnung mit der Übernahme der Präsidentschaft durch Lettland.

Ein zweiter Gedanke, der zum Land und zu unserer jetzigen Situation in Europa passt, nämlich dass Ihr Land schwierige Zeiten kennt. 2009 kollabierte die Wirtschaft Lettlands mit einem Rückgang der Wirtschaftskraft um 14 Prozent, ein wirtschaftlicher Tsunami ist über Ihr Land hinweggezogen. Heute ist Lettland wieder auf Wachstumskurs. Das Bruttoinlandsprodukt ist in den letzten Jahren gestiegen, in den nächsten Jahren sieht es sogar noch besser aus bei der Vorausschau auf die Wachstumsdaten Ihres Landes, und die Arbeitslosigkeit sinkt in Lettland. Insofern ist auch Lettland in diesem Zusammenhang, in wirtschaftlich schwierigen Zeiten, ein Hoffnungsschimmer für die Europäische Union, wie man es richtig machen kann, wie man richtig Zukunft aufbauen kann.

Ich bedanke mich für die Sachlichkeit, mit der Sie, Frau Ministerpräsidentin Straujuma, auch das Programm vorgestellt haben. Die Sachlichkeit, an den Themen zu arbeiten, ist der Weg, auch die Menschen zu überzeugen, dass wir an die Arbeit gehen. Auch wir in Europa sind jetzt nach der Phase der Konstituierung – nachdem wir die Kommission ins Amt gebracht haben, die Wahlen abgeschlossen haben – jetzt, 2015, auf dem Weg wieder zurück in den normalen Arbeitsprozess. Dabei hat die lettische Präsidentschaft eine wichtige Aufgabe.

Die Sicherheit wurde von Ihnen angesprochen, ein Europa der Sicherheit zu schaffen. Wir als EVP unterstützen Sie auf dem Weg, das PNR-Thema anzupacken, aufzugreifen. Ich bitte Sie auch noch einmal, sich genau anzuschauen, was wir alles bereits beschlossen haben, und auch im Europäischen Rat bei den Ratstagungen insgesamt dafür zu werben, auch die bestehenden Maßnahmen zu implementieren, sie auch umzusetzen.

Das Investitionspaket haben Sie angesprochen. Wir verbinden das mit der Reformagenda, die in den Mitgliedstaaten notwendig ist. Sie haben auf die Digitale Agenda verwiesen, ein Megathema unserer Zeit. Ich bedanke mich für die klare Aussage, dass Sie bei der Datenschutzverordnung einen Schwerpunkt setzen wollen, dass bei der Datenschutzverordnung, die bereits auf dem Tisch liegt, die wir gesetzgeberisch ja bereits bearbeiten, wo wir im Europäischen Parlament eine große Mehrheit für die Datenschutzregelung, für den gemeinsamen Beschluss gefunden haben, im Rat auch Bewegung hineinkommt und dass wir bald wirklich zu fruchtbaren Gesprächen kommen, das ist uns ein großes Anliegen. Ich möchte damit auch die Ambition von uns Europäern verbinden, dass in der weltweiten Debatte, wie wir mit *Big Data*, wie wir mit Digitalisierung umgehen, die europäische Stimme gehört wird. Die europäische Stimme muss sein, dass nicht nur Freiheit im Netz gilt, sondern dass wir Regeln im Netz setzen, unsere Bürger schützen wollen im Netz.

Es wurde Wettbewerb, Binnenmarkt von Ihnen angesprochen. Ich möchte das, auch die klare Aussage zur TTIP, die Unterstützung für die TTIP, nochmal insofern aufgreifen, als wir ja auch in Europa eine Diskussion über das soziale Europa haben, darüber, dass wir unsere Bürger sozial abfedern. Für meine Fraktion ist wichtig, dass wir die soziale Debatte führen. Ich möchte aber auch sagen: Das Wichtigste, um soziale Sicherheit in Europa zu schaffen, ist, unseren Bürgern Arbeitsplätze zu garantieren. Es ist sozial, Arbeit zu schaffen. Das ist das wichtigste Prinzip, um soziale Gerechtigkeit zu erzeugen. Deswegen sind all die Maßnahmen, die Wirtschaft stärken, auch Sozialpolitik.

Der letzte Gedanke, den ich ansprechen will, ist die Nachbarschaftspolitik, Russland – Sie haben es angesprochen. Ich bedanke mich für die Klarheit. Europa muss da zusammenstehen und miteinander einen gemeinsamen Weg weitergehen.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Der Start ist gut, die Präsidentschaft hat gut begonnen, die Themenschwerpunkte sind richtig gesetzt. Die Bürger in den Mittelpunkt zu stellen, so wie Sie das machen, ist der richtige Akzent in diesen Tagen. Europa hat jetzt eine lettische Führung und ist damit in guten Händen. Ihnen alles Gute!

**Gianni Pittella**, a nome del gruppo S&D. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Presidente, come ha ricordato qualche attimo fa il Presidente Juncker, Lei assume la Presidenza in fase cruciale per l'Unione europea, una fase di speranze ma anche di paure e dalle decisioni che prenderemo tutti insieme dipenderà il destino delle nostre società, sceglieremo se far vincere la paura o se far vincere la speranza.

Se, di fronte alla minaccia del terrorismo, sceglieremo l'arroccamento, allora, la paura vincerà, se invece sceglieremo di associare sicurezza e libertà, se non accetteremo di snaturare la nostra società aperta, fondata sull'integrazione, allora, faremo prevalere la speranza. L'Europa è la terra dei diritti umani e delle libertà fondamentali, se l'Europa abbandona questi valori tradisce se stessa, perciò noi vogliamo rispondere alla domanda di protezione dei nostri cittadini restando fedeli a noi stessi.

Serve un nuovo approccio alla sicurezza, la sicurezza dell'Europa non si gioca soltanto dentro i nostri confini nazionali – l'ha detto Lei molto bene. Quando la guerra, per la prima volta dopo gli anni '70, si affaccia ai confini dell'Europa, non si può pensare di restare con le mani in mano! La sua Presidenza deve spingere per superare le resistenze degli Stati membri e costruire una strategia regionale che permetta di spazzare via le forze terroriste in Siria, in Iraq e in Libia. Il conflitto israelo-palestinese costituisce poi terreno di coltura per i radicalismi. Noi le chiediamo di sostenere gli sforzi compiuti dalla Vicepresidente Federica Mogherini perché l'Europa giochi davvero un ruolo di mediazione.

Dobbiamo poi sfruttare meglio i dati forniti dal sistema Schengen per poter identificare i *foreign fighter*. Su questo terreno voglio essere chiarissimo: Schengen non si tocca! Non c'è bisogno di modificarlo, ma solo di applicarlo bene! Se si tocca Schengen, si tocca il principio della libertà di movimento all'interno dell'Unione europea, che è un pilastro dell'Europa.

Sul PNR, anche qui con la massima chiarezza: noi non abbiamo una prevenzione ideologica negativa, ma restano valide le nostre stelle polari che dovrebbero essere di tutti, la tutela delle libertà fondamentali e dei diritti umani. Se non vogliamo cedere alla paura, dobbiamo anche tornar a parlare – come ha fatto il collega Weber – di giustizia sociale, cinque anni di austerità hanno depresso le nostre società: ieri è stato un buon giorno per l'Europa, per la prima volta con le decisioni dell'Unione europea – io ringrazio il Presidente Juncker, perché è stato ancora una volta di parola! – si sono create le condizioni per una svolta nella politica economica. Prodi disse che il patto di stabilità era stupido, con le vostre decisioni ieri avete reso il patto un po' più intelligente, siamo sulla strada giusta.

**Roberts Zīle**, ECR grupas vārdā. – Priekšsēdētāja kungs, premjerministres kundze, Komisijas priekšsēdētāja kungs! Man tiešām ir liels savijņojums runāt latviešu valodā tik svarīgā jautājumā šodien. Pirms 25 gadiem, pirms vienas paaudzes, daudzi no mums nevarētu iedomāties, ka šāds notikums varētu būt šodien šeit, Strasbūrā. Tādēļ es novēlu Latvijas prezidentūrai sekmes — esmu pārliecināts, ka tā būs — gan tajos jautājumos, kas jau ir ilgi plānoti, gan saistībā ar reakciju uz tādiem notikumiem kā notikumi Parīzē. Es domāju, ka prezidentūra būs ļoti veiksmīga. Dažām lietām, kas man liekas ļoti akcentējamas, es gribētu šodien arī pieskarties daudz dziļāk.

Mr President, in this House we all care about growth and prosperity and the development of our economies. When we ask ourselves what could be the strongest instrument in, say, making transparent progress on TTIP – which is important not only from a geopolitical point of view and for the development of western values, but also for economic growth on both sides of the Atlantic, and of course in Europe – it will, I think, create more sustainable growth in Europe, if it is a successful process, than the Strategic Investment Plan – perhaps necessary but a bit ad hoc – which was approved yesterday by the Commission.

I would like to point out that the Presidency has to work on this plan for six months to turn it into a reality. I do not want to go into too many details, but there are still a lot of questions about this investment plan. One of my main worries is that profitability-driven investment can create more disparities in the European Union than there are now and may perhaps cause a younger generation of Europeans to move to the most developed Member States in the future. We have to be very careful about such outcomes.

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The second issue, of course, is Russia and Ukraine. There have been some comments from responsible persons saying that we cannot impose more and more sanctions on Russia and that the only way to stop the madness is via negotiations. But when we talk about how we can help in dealing with negotiations in a situation of madness, the only way is to tell the mad ones what they want to hear and make promises that work on it, not in our favour. We can ask European citizens if this is what they expect from our behaviour as politicians in Europe or we can ask the Ukrainians if they are happy with European partners who just want to implement the Minsk Agreement and then quickly remove all the sanctions. But what about the rule of law, and behaviour which is not compatible with the 21<sup>st</sup> century; what about compliance with international treaties, and what about Crimea in that case?

I believe there is an alternative option. An 'engaged Europe', which is also a priority of the Latvian Presidency, means that we will show solidarity with the Ukrainian nation and government. A stable, democratic and free Ukraine is a very good example for other Eastern Partnership countries to show that European values are real values. Eastern Partnership countries can choose this way – the western way – rather than its opposite, the Eurasian Union way, and it is I think very important that we understand this. Let us be under no illusions: the weaker the EU's actions, the stronger the Eurasian Union will become.

Coming back to values, the millions who marched in Paris in solidarity against terror last weekend, on Sunday, showed that European values are values for citizens and that we have to hold on to them very proudly and very strongly in the case of the situation in Ukraine too and in other Eastern Partnership member countries, and in our relationship with Russia.

**Sophia in't Veld**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Mr President, Madam Prime Minister, President Juncker, ALDE welcomes the priorities of the Latvian Presidency: competitiveness, the digital economy, a stronger presence of Europe in global affairs. ALDE fully shares all of these objectives. But how serious are priorities if there is such a huge backlog in the Council, so many legislative proposals still pending and so many blocked for many, many years? The Council is a bit like the Bermuda triangle. We send in a legislative proposal and it disappears, never to be heard of any more. We do not want any more grand designs for the future; we need action.

Do not talk about an investment plan but put your money where your mouth is, quite literally. Do not talk about the digital economy: just adopt the telecoms package and the data protection package. No lip service to security and law enforcement: just adopt the Europol Regulation. Do not talk about democracy: just adopt the Transparency Regulation. Let us stop talking and deliver. The Council is a legislator, so legislate. If no agreement can be found on a proposal then the Council should simply decide to reject it and not keep it pending for ever.

ALDE welcomes the special summit on the security package next month, and we consider that sharing information must be the first priority. It must be stepped up drastically. It should never happen again that attacks take place and we realise afterwards that the killers were known to the intelligence services. That is unacceptable. We build a huge haystack of personal data but information is not being shared and information that is not being shared is useless information. ALDE wants real security for citizens, not fake security and politics of symbolism.

On the particular issue of PNR, the facts are that PNR data are being collected and shared in Europe today. They are available to law enforcement and security authorities, so I can reassure those who are worried about that. But there is no proper legislative framework with all the required legal safeguards. A vote was taken in Parliament in the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs on the proposals of the Commission and they were deemed inadequate, so now the ball is firmly in the court of the Commission and the Council. They should present a revised proposal and adopt the Data Protection Directive as quickly as possible and not just ask Parliament to vote again and again on identical proposals until they get the outcome that is to their liking. We should not make the same mistake as in 2005 when we adopted the Data Retention Directive under great pressure and it was subsequently scrapped by the courts last year, as we know. We cannot afford to be sloppy again, in particular when it is about our security. What irritates me, President Juncker, is that in the meantime, in the absence of an agreement on PNR, the Commission is simply pushing ahead, funding the creation of an EU PNR with EU money and creating a *fait accompli*. I wonder if this is the Commission's idea of better law-making. I would call it legislation by stealth.



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Finally, I would call on the Latvian Presidency to make the adoption of the horizontal Anti-Discrimination Directive an absolute priority, Madam Prime Minister. Finally adopting a European law on equal treatment after so many years would really be the best possible answer to the homophobic and derogatory remarks of the President of Latvia on LGBTI people and the EuroPride event in June this year in Riga. Madam Prime Minister, I hope the Latvian Presidency will achieve that and put the European motto into practice. We are united in diversity – and I see you agree.

**Δημήτριος Παπαδημούλης**, εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL. – Κυρία Πρωθυπουργέ, άκουσα με προσοχή την ομιλία σας για τους στόχους της Λετονικής Προεδρίας. Δεν άκουσα να αναφέρετε ούτε μία φορά τη λέξη «συνοχή». Δεν σας άκουσα να λέτε μία λέξη για τον κίνδυνο του αποπληθωρισμού. Δεν μιλήσατε ούτε μία φορά για την ανησυχητική αύξηση της ανεργίας και της φτώχειας μέσα στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και στην ευρωζώνη.

Μία ημέρα μετά την απόφαση της Επιτροπής για κάποια ευελιξία στην εφαρμογή του Συμφώνου Σταθερότητας – που, κύριε Pittella, δεν το κάνει «έξυπνο», απλώς ενδεχομένως να το κάνει λιγότερο «ηλίθιο», όπως είχε πει ο κύριος Pronti – δεν σας άκουσα, κυρία Πρωθυπουργέ, να παίρνετε θέση. Πιστεύετε ότι οι επενδύσεις πρέπει να εξαιρεθούν από τον υπολογισμό του ελλείμματος των κρατών μελών για να δοθεί μια ώθηση στην ανάπτυξη; Η θεωρία ότι με σκληρή μονόπλευρη λιτότητα, με περικοπές μισθών, συντάξεων και κοινωνικού κράτους θα έρθουν οι επενδύσεις δοκιμάζεται έξι χρόνια και έχει διαψευστεί. Οι επενδύσεις στην ευρωζώνη είναι 15% λιγότερες από ό,τι ήταν το 2009. Πώς θα έρθει αυτή η ανάπτυξη;

Για το «πακέτο Juncker» είπατε, γενικώς, ότι το υποστηρίζουμε. Επανελημμένα έχω πει, εκ μέρους της πολιτικής μας Ομάδας, ότι εμείς το θεωρούμε ανεπαρκές και θεωρούμε και τη μόχλευση 1 προς 15 πάνω στην οποία στηρίζεται εξωπραγματική. Αλλά εσείς, εδώ, εκπροσωπείτε το Συμβούλιο. Πρέπει να μας πείτε πώς το υποστηρίζετε. Θα ζητήσει το Συμβούλιο από τα κράτη μέλη να καταβάλουν επιπλέον πόρους, φρέσκο χρήμα; Πόσα και με ποια κριτήρια; Πού θα πάνε οι επενδύσεις του «πακέτου Juncker»; Θα πάνε στις χώρες που αντιμετωπίζουν μεγαλύτερα προβλήματα ύφεσης, ανεργίας, αποεπένδυσης; Ή «business as usual»;

Έρχομαι για λίγο στα θέματα της εξωτερικής πολιτικής. Άκουσα με ανησυχία μια δήλωση του Λετονού Υπουργού Εξωτερικών ότι θα «σπάσετε» τα στερεότυπα στις σχέσεις με τη Ρωσία. Τι σημαίνει αυτό; Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει ανάγκη να δίνει λύσεις εκεί που υπάρχουν εντάσεις με τον δρόμο της πολιτικής και της διπλωματίας. Έχουμε συμφέρον να εκτονώσουμε αυτήν την ένταση. Να οικοδομήσουμε φιλερηνικές σχέσεις με βάση τις αξίες και τους κανόνες της δημοκρατίας.

Όσον αφορά την ΤΤΙΡ, πέρα από το γεγονός ότι την υποστηρίζετε ισχυρά, τι απαντάτε στις ενστάσεις για αδιαφάνεια και σε αυτούς που διαφωνούν και λένε ότι έτσι όπως το ετοιμάζουν θα καταργήσει πυλώνες του ευρωπαϊκού δικαίου προς όφελος των πολυεθνικών; Υπάρχει ανάγκη μιας στροφής στην οικονομική πολιτική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για να δημιουργήσουμε βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη στη θέση της μονομερούς λιτότητας, και για αυτό δεν ακούσαμε τίποτε από τη Λετονική Προεδρία.

**Philippe Lamberts**, au nom du groupe Verts/ALE. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, Madame la Première ministre, bienvenue dans cette Assemblée. Je vous ai écoutée attentivement et j'ai entendu un langage que j'entends ici tous les jours. Depuis cinq ans que je suis membre de ce Parlement, j'entends parler de responsabilité budgétaire, de réformes structurelles et d'investissement. S'agissant de l'investissement, il est clair que cette Commission s'y est attelée sérieusement. Mais le reste – responsabilité budgétaire et réformes structurelles – est un langage commun et l'objectif de toutes ces mesures est le même: la croissance.

Je voudrais m'intéresser deux minutes à cette croissance. Si nous regardons la période 1985-2008, c'est-à-dire les vingt-cinq années qui ont précédé la crise financière, que constatons-nous? Nous avons eu 2 % en moyenne de croissance annuelle en Europe et l'OCDE nous dit que, pendant ce quart de siècle, nous avons connu une augmentation concomitante des inégalités en Europe. Mais depuis la crise, il y a au moins un pays européen, celui qui nous a fourni l'actuel président du Conseil européen, qui a une performance de croissance un peu exceptionnelle. Il s'agit de la Pologne, avec 2,7 % de croissance annuelle en moyenne depuis la crise financière. Or, en Pologne, le taux d'emploi n'a pas augmenté – 2,7 % de croissance annuelle et pas d'augmentation du taux d'emploi.

Alors, allons voir ce qui se passe aux États-Unis, pays qui a enregistré une croissance de 5 % l'an dernier. Que constate-t-on? 5 % de croissance et une diminution du chômage. Cependant, le bureau américain de statistiques nous dit: «Le chômage diminue non pas parce que les chômeurs trouvent du travail, mais parce qu'ils quittent les statistiques car ils ont abandonné la recherche d'un travail». Autrement dit, le taux d'emploi n'augmente pas aux États-Unis. Et qu'en est-il des salaires? Vont-ils augmenter? Pas du tout, les salaires diminuent!

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Avec les recettes que vous préconisez, qu'observons-nous? Que le problème n'est pas résolu et que les inégalités et la pauvreté augmentent – 25 % de pauvreté et d'exclusion sociale en Europe. Je me pose donc des questions quand vous dites qu'il faut revenir à la croissance. Je me réjouis d'entendre que c'est le cas en Europe, mais – je porte des lunettes depuis quelque temps et elles ne sont peut-être pas bonnes – moi je ne l'observe pas, ou alors c'est une croissance derrière la virgule.

Vous dites que la confiance des marchés est revenue. Je voudrais vous poser une question. Sommes-nous élus pour satisfaire les marchés? Ne serait-il pas intéressant de se poser la question de la confiance, toute bête, de nos concitoyens? Nos concitoyens ont-ils confiance dans l'action que nous menons pour finalement réaliser la promesse de l'Europe d'une prospérité partagée, c'est-à-dire une prospérité pour tous, et pas juste pour 1 %, pour 5 % ou pour 20 % de la population? C'est la question que je vous pose!

Je vous invite à revisiter votre programme et votre langage, et peut-être que les réformes structurelles dont nous avons besoin ne portent pas sur un abaissement des services publics, des salaires et de la protection sociale. Ce sont peut-être des réformes structurelles qui remettent l'économie au service du bien commun.

**Rolandas Paksas, EFDD frakcijos vardu.** – Ponai pirmininkai, gerbiami kolegos, ponio ministro pirmininke, mano klausimas yra: ar šiandien neatėjo laikas iš esmės peržiūrėti esminius principus dėl pirmininkavimo? Nes dažniausiai mažos pirmininkaujančių valstybės interesai yra visiškai kitokie nei didžiųjų Sąjungos valstybių, o mes apsimetame, kad taip nėra. Nes ta nedidelė valstybė kol kas yra didžiųjų interesų zonos žaidėjas, kuri ir darbotvarkę formuluoja pagal svetimas madas. Ir svarbiausia, kad visos Europos Sąjungos pirmininkavimo darbotvarkės turi vieną bruožą – jos yra itin biurokratinės, jos yra itin formalios, ir jų sprendimai yra niekuomet neįgyvendinami.

Kolegos, turėtume pripažinti, kad Europos saugumo strategija, kuri grindžiama vien stabilumu prie rytinių Europos Sąjungos sienų, yra atgyvenusi, ir šiandien reikia naujos sugyvenimo ir išgyvenimo aštrėjančių konfliktų pasaulyje strategijos. Strategijos, kuri būtų gerokai efektyvesnė, visa apimanti ir sutaikanti. Sutarimą, o ne priešpriešą iššaukianti strategija. Taikos ir pasitikėjimo strategija. Kolegos, reikia kurti darbo vietas ir skatinti ekonomikos augimą. Tačiau pirmiausia mes turėtume orientuotis į kuo skubesnį vieningos energetikos rinkos Europos Sąjungoje sukūrimą, nes tai yra garantas ne tik gamtinių ar ekonominių, bet ir karinių ar teroristinių kataklizmų atveju. Kaimynystės politikos klausimu, manau, turėtume orientuotis anaip tol ne vien į atskiras valstybes, bet mes turėtume orientuotis į kaimyniškus santykius. Būtent sutarimas su valstybe, jos politiku, kiekvienu žmogumi, nepriklausomai nuo kalbos, jo tautybės ar gyvenamos vietos, jo odos spalvos ar išpažįstamos religijos, yra mūsų tolesnio taikaus sambūvio garantas. Tai yra tie dalykai, į kuriuos turėtų orientuotis šiandien pirmininkaujanti Latvija ir į tai turėtų orientuotis visos Bendrijos šalys. Tą ir darykime čia šiandien visi kartu ir vėliau kiekvienas atskirai savo valstybėse. Ir tepadedu mums Dievas sutarti ir susitarti.

**Iveta Grigule (NI).** - Priekšsėdėtāja kungs! Latvijas prezidentūras īpašu prioritāro jomu sarakstā ir attiecību paplašināšana ar Centrālāziju. Šobrīd Centrālāzijas valstīm vairāk kā jebkad iepriekš ir nepieciešama mūsu palīdzība un atbalsts, lai palīdzētu tām līdzsvarot pieaugošo Krievijas spiedienu. Tieši sadarbības saišu stiprināšana ar šīm valstīm veicinās ekonomisko izaugsmi un jaunu darba vietu radīšanu ne tikai Eiropas Savienībā, bet arī attiecīgajā reģionā. Aktuāla ir mūsu palīdzība, lai reģionu valstis varētu pārvarēt terorismu, robežu drošības un narkotiku kontrabandas jomas izaicinājumus. Tāpat izšķiroša nozīme ir transporta jomas projektiem, enerģētikai un proaktīvai Eiropas Savienības rīcībai jaunu kopdarbības virzienu meklēšanā.

Jau šobrīd šis reģions ir izpelnījies pasaules lielvaru uzmanību. Ķīna veiksmīgi attīsta tirdzniecības saites, kļūstot par stratēģiski nozīmīgāko dabas resursu noieta tirgu. Pēc NATO spēku aizvešanas, izešanas no Centrālāzijas, Krievija ir palielinājusi savu militāro klātbūtni reģionā. Amerikas ieinteresētība reģionā tā stabilitātes un drošības vārdā ir ļoti liela.

Tāpēc, lai veicinātu un paplašinātu sadarbību ar šo Eiropai tik nozīmīgo reģionu, mums ir jāspēj piedāvāt individuālu sadarbības mehānismu katram no mūsu partneriem. Mums jāspēj izmantot ikvienu iespēju nostiprināt un palielināt Eiropas Savienības labo slavu un reputāciju reģionā. Mums jāstiprina savstarpējā uzticēšanās. Bet mēs taču zinām, ka uzticēšanās balstās uz cieņu — uz cieņu pret tradīcijām un paražām, uz cieņu pret kultūru un reliģiju. Un šie izaicinājumi Latvijas prezidentūrai ir pa spēkam! Paldies par uzmanību!

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Krišjānis Kariņš (PPE).** - Priekšsēdētāja kungs, Komisijas priekšsēdētāj Junkera kungs, ministru prezidente Straujumas kundze, kolēģi! Man liekas — pa laikam mums ir jāuzdod sev jautājums: “Kāpēc mēs vispār šeit esam?” Un atbilde ir, protams, tas, ka mēs kalpojam mūsu iedzīvotājiem. Un ko mūsu iedzīvotāji saka, kas ir vajadzīgs? Protams, tās ir darbavietas, un tā ir arī drošība. Jautājums ir — kā mēs šos mērķus varam sasniegt? Daudz jau Straujumas kundze minēja Latvijas prezidentūras mērķu sakarā. Es gribu vēl uzsvērt vienu otru punktu.

Par konkurētspēju. Protams, Eiropai ir jāpalielina sava konkurētspēja. Bet kā to darīt? Vienkāršā atslēga ir noārdīt esošos šķēršļus. Mēs zinām, ka digitālajā tirgū, arī tai skaitā preču un pakalpojumu tirgos, mums ir saskaldītība, mums ir visādu veidu ierobežojumi. Noārdot šos šķēršļus, mēs palielināsim Eiropas konkurētspēju. Otrkārt, mums ir jāveicina investīcijas. Tas mums, protams, ir jādara. Kā to darīt? Manuprāt, Junkera Komisijas plānam, kādā veidā atbrīvojot privāto kapitālu, lai tas atkal ieplūst mūsu tautsaimniecībā, ir labākais priekšlikums, ko es ilgā laikā esmu dzirdējis. Latvijas prezidentūras uzdevums ir šo te plānu no idejas līmeņa ieviest realitātē, lai atbrīvotu privāto kapitālu investīcijām. Tas radīs mums darbavietas.

Un ko par drošību? Drošībā mums ir divi aspekti, kas ir ļoti svarīgi. Viens, ko Parīzes notikumi mums ļoti labi atgādina, — iekšējā drošība, drošība pret terorismu. Un šeit ir svarīgi dalībvalstīm turēties kopā, apmainīties ar informāciju un kopā strādāt, lai novērstu šos potenciālos draudus mūsu iedzīvotājiem. Bet ir arī ārējā drošība, kur, iespējams, lielākais faktors šobrīd ir enerģētiskā drošība. Ir jāveido šī Eiropas enerģijas savienība. Savelkot savus spēkus kopā, mēs būsim daudz lielākā drošībā, un, manuprāt, Latvijas prezidentūra ir ļoti labi pozicionēta turēt Eiropas Savienību kopā, lai mēs varētu panākt šos mums visiem nepieciešamos mērķus. Paldies par uzmanību!

## PRESIDE: RAMÓN LUIS VALCÁRCEL

*Vicepresidente*

**Maria João Rodrigues (S&D).** - Mr President, first of all it is a great pleasure to have a woman prime minister at the head of the EU Presidency.

Welcome, Madam Prime Minister. Let me tell you that your programme seems promising. But I would like to underline the main expectations and the main objectives of the S&D Group. We think we need a turning point in Europe. We need a big push for investments, and that is why we need to commit these funds for strategic investment as soon as possible – at the latest by June, as is being proposed by President Juncker. You can count on us for this, but you know very well that you need more national contributions to make this fund really work.

Let me underline that I believe that investments should be driven by a powerful vision for a competitive economy in Europe, focusing on citizens' well-being. We need new products and new services, and this also applies to the Digital Agenda. The Digital Agenda should become a leverage for well-being in Europe by providing new solutions.

Last but not least, do not forget about jobs and quality jobs. In the end, Europe must remain a continent of high-quality jobs, for our young people but also for those who are in long-term unemployment.

**Hans-Olaf Henkel (ECR).** - Herr Präsident! Frau Ministerpräsidentin! Herr Weber hat zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass Sie eine sehr sachliche Rede gehalten haben. Das war in einem sehr starken Kontrast zu der Einführungsrede Ihres Vorgängers, Herrn Renzi.

Herr Renzi ist hier als Tiger gestartet, und ich muss Ihnen sagen, gestern hat er sich hier verabschiedet, er ist als Kaninchen gelandet. Herr Renzi hat statt Reformen in Italien bei Herrn Juncker Flexibilität durchgesetzt. Herr Renzi hat dafür gesorgt, dass aus einem Stabilitäts- und Wachstumspakt jetzt ein Flexibilitäts- und Schrumpfungspakt geworden ist.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Frau Ministerpräsidentin, die Eurozone wollte einmal in Richtung Maastricht fahren. Durch Herrn Draghi von der EZB und durch Herrn Renzi aus Italien fährt sie jetzt in Richtung Rom. Helfen Sie mit, ins Steuer zu greifen, und bringen Sie diese Euro-Zone wieder in Richtung Maastricht.

**Pavel Telička (ALDE).** - Mr President, I wish the Prime Minister the very best and offer her my congratulations on Latvia's programme. I still remember the event at the Baltic Prime Ministers' meeting more than a year ago to which I was invited, and I felt some freshness in that room there with the three Baltic States. I must say that it is quite a success story for all three Baltic States, and I very much hope, Prime Minister, that you will bring some of that freshness into the European Union too.

You have said that European citizens want concrete results; you have also spoken of the fact that we need further digitalisation of Europe. While yes, citizens want concrete results and your programme will be credible, what you have said today will be credible if we see the situation on roaming and net neutrality unblocked in the Council. This, I think, is an early message that you need to send in the very near future.

We have also spoken about better regulation, and that is the second and final point I would like to raise, and on both I would appreciate a comment. Better regulation: the Commission has made progress in the last couple of years, and we feel that Vice-President Timmermans has a certain ambition. Parliament has made progress, but there is one institution in the European Union which has a zero record – and that is the Council.

The Council is amending legislation and negotiating, and none of that is assessed. There is no impact assessment. I mean that if we are to have better regulation, there is no impact assessment in the Council; and if we are to have better regulation, the Council has to match the Commission and Parliament, otherwise it will not be better regulation, it will be no good regulation at all.

**Miguel Viegas (GUE/NGL).** - Senhor Presidente, a Letónia é-nos apresentada como um exemplo de sucesso, mas é um exemplo que não desejamos a ninguém e, muito menos, ao povo deste país. Na sequência da crise de 2008, o governo, seguindo as orientações da União Europeia, impôs ao povo um plano draconiano de austeridade. Despediu um terço dos funcionários públicos, encerrou escolas, hospitais, baixou os salários em 30%, aumentou brutalmente os impostos. Em resultado destas medidas o país perdeu, em dois anos, um quarto da sua riqueza, perdeu 5% da sua população com uma emigração forçada de mais de 40 000 jovens, só em 2010!

Pergunto se este é o modelo de austeridade que tão mal fez ao seu povo que pretende impor aos restantes Estados-Membros? Nas suas prioridades fala de competitividade da economia e de política estrangeira. São conhecidas as consequências da intervenção da União Europeia e da NATO na Ucrânia. Estamos agora a pagar uma enorme fatura importando aquilo que a Ucrânia exportava para a Rússia, pagando as faturas do gás e concedendo empréstimos atrás de empréstimos. Gostaria de saber qual a avaliação que faz desta aventura.

**Yannick Jadot (Verts/ALE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, chers collègues, vous avez conclu votre discours, Madame la Première ministre, en vous engageant à rendre l'Europe plus proche des citoyens. Hier, dans cette Assemblée, tout le monde a rendu hommage aux citoyens européens qui se sont levés contre la barbarie, contre la peur et pour la solidarité.

Je vais vous parler du traité transatlantique, parce que nous ne pouvons pas rendre hommage aux citoyens européens lorsqu'ils se lèvent contre la terreur et vouloir les effacer lorsqu'ils se lèvent contre ce traité. Il y a eu une consultation publique sur le mécanisme investisseurs-État – dit «ISDS» –, qui va transférer la souveraineté des citoyens vers les entreprises. Et la Commission européenne a décidé hier que 97 % des interrogés, soit 145 000 citoyens qui se sont exprimés contre l'ISDS, avaient répondu à côté de la question qui portait en fait sur la manière d'améliorer un système et non sur le mécanisme d'investissement. Dès lors, M. Juncker qui, devant tout le monde ici, s'était opposé à ce système, a refilé le bébé à M. Timmermans, pour qui nous avons bien compris que *better regulation*, c'était surtout *better regulation* pour le business et non pour les citoyens.

Alors, Madame la Première ministre, le Conseil va-t-il prendre en considération les 97 % des citoyens européens qui se sont exprimés contre l'ISDS et supprimer ce chapitre du TTIP?

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Petr Mach (EFDD).** - Vážená paní premiérko, vy jste zmínila, že Lotyšsko se před 25 lety vymanilo ze sovětského systému, a jedním dechem říkáte, že podpoříte nový Evropský investiční fond. Nevidíte v tom trochu paradox? Opravdu si myslíte, že když budou o investicích rozhodovat nebo spolurozhodovat politici a úředníci, se naše ekonomika zlepší? Nepřipadá Vám to ani trochu jako návrat do toho starého systému?

Vy ve své řeči říkáte, že Vaším cílem je zvýšit konkurenceschopnost, že se chcete zasadit o digitalizaci a o lepší regulaci. Nepřipomíná Vám to ani trochu staré sovětské fráze o zlepšování systémů? Nejsou to jenom prázdné fráze? Říkáte, že se chcete zasadit o revizi plánu Evropa 2020, nepřipomíná Vám to staré sovětské pětileté plány? Vždyť Evropská unie si vytyčila v roce 2000 plán, který nazvala Lisabonská strategie. Kdo si na to vzpomenete – do roku 2010 se stát nejdynamičtější a nejkonkurenceschopnější ekonomikou světa. A v roce 2010 se Evropská unie stala nejpomaleji rostoucí ekonomikou světa. Takže dejme si pozor na to, abychom se nevraceli do těch sovětských dob, které nefungovaly.

**Marine Le Pen (NI).** - Monsieur le Président, les accords de Schengen interdisent à un État de surveiller les personnes qui entrent sur son territoire ou qui en sortent, tant qu'il s'agit d'un passage entre deux pays signataires. Il affaiblit donc gravement la surveillance des individus dangereux qui traversent l'Europe.

L'ensemble des capitales européennes nous alertent de la présence de djihadistes au sein de l'espace Schengen. Il est temps d'appliquer l'article 2 du traité: «lorsque l'ordre public ou la sécurité nationale l'exigent, une partie contractante peut, après consultation des autres parties contractantes, décider que, durant une période limitée, des contrôles frontaliers nationaux adaptés à la situation seront effectués aux frontières intérieures.»

La France a subi plusieurs attaques de terroristes islamiques depuis le mois de décembre. De nombreux Français ont été tués ou gravement blessés. Quel événement plus grave attendez-vous pour suspendre Schengen? Ce traité laxiste a déjà permis à Mehdi Nemmouche, l'auteur de l'attentat dans le musée juif de Bruxelles, de passer librement les frontières entre la France et la Belgique.

Mesdames et messieurs les députés européens, il est temps de prendre toute les mesures nécessaires à l'ordre public et à la sécurité de chacun de nos pays. Il est temps de suspendre le traité de Schengen pour, enfin, surveiller nos frontières!

**Herbert Reul (PPE).** - Herr Präsident! Herr Kommissionspräsident, Frau Ministerpräsidentin! Das war ein sehr präziser, sehr erfrischender und glaubwürdiger Einstieg in Ihre Ratspräsidentschaft, das will ich sagen. Es war ein anderes Denken. Das war ein Denken für eine Politik, die auf Wachstum, auf eigene Verantwortung setzt, die darauf setzt, Investitionen anzureizen, nicht nur ständig davon zu reden, und dann auch den Beweis dafür zu liefern, dass man es hinbekommt.

Sie sprechen für ein Land – wie ich finde, mit verdientem Stolz –, das gezeigt hat, dass man Schwierigkeiten auch selber überwinden kann, wenn man sich anstrengt, dass man die solide Finanzierung von Haushalt hinbekommen kann, dass man Wachstum wieder hinbekommen kann, wenn man auch in Schwierigkeiten ist. Das ist erfolgreich – übrigens im Gegensatz zur Auffassung des Kollegen von den Grünen, der, glaube ich, jetzt nicht mehr da ist, ist Wachstum die Chance auf Arbeitsplätze und damit auf Wohlbefinden von Menschen. Die Menschen sind nämlich daran interessiert, dass wir etwas hinkriegen, nicht nur, dass wir es ständig besprechen und bequatschen, dass wir Leistungen liefern.

Ich finde, Sie können stolz darauf sein, was Sie in Ihrem Land hinbekommen haben. Wenn das Maßstab für Ihre Präsidentschaft ist und wenn der Maßstab ist, ein investitionsfreundliches Klima in Europa zu schaffen, dann, kann ich Ihnen nur sagen, werden Sie die volle Unterstützung aus unserer Fraktion haben. Das ist genau das, was wirkt – das ist an Ihrem Beispiel zu sehen – und was erfolgreich sein wird. Das ist auch der Unterschied zu dem, was wir gestern als Präsidentschaft verabschiedet haben. Ich stimme da durchaus Hinweisen auch aus diesem Parlament zu: Das war allgemeines Gerede, aber nichts geleistet. Und Sie haben erst geleistet und wollen das, was Sie jetzt selber geleistet haben, auch als Beitrag in die europäische Familie zurückgeben. Ich wünsche mir und hoffe, dass das, was Sie vorhaben – ein investitionsfreundliches Klima zu schaffen, dafür zu sorgen, dass Menschen das Geld, das sie haben, auch investieren, weil sie Vertrauen in Politik haben – am Ende dann für die breite Masse von Menschen in Europa auch die Chance bedeuten wird auf Arbeitsplatz, auf Wohlstand und auf Zufriedenheit.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Ich bedanke mich für Ihre Rede und habe ein riesiges Vertrauen in Ihre Präsidentschaft. Passen Sie gut auf!

**Andrejs Mamikins (S&D).** - Priekšsēdētāja kungs, godātais Junkera kungs, cienījamā premjerministres kundze, man ir liels gods, ka mana valsts Latvija kļuvusi par prezidējošo valsti Eiropas Savienības padomē. Tas uzliek manai valstij, tās ierēdņiem un politiķiem lielu atbildību, vienlaicīgi dod arī lielas priekšrocības, un tas dod iespēju Latvijai parādīt sevi kā valsti un iepazīstināt ar savu Eiropas Savienības attīstības redzējumu.

Ir divas lomas, kādās prezidējošā valsts var pozicionēt sevi šajā procesā. Viena no tām — kļūt par vienkāršu moderatoru, kas pieņem un izklaidē viesus, organizē pasākumus. Nu, šī loma nav slikta, bet, manuprāt, prezidējošai valstij tomēr jābūt savam nākotnes redzējumam. Tai jāizrāda iniciatīva, jāpieliek pūles, lai šo redzējumu realizētu dzīvē.

Ir daudz problēmu, kurām Latvija varētu pievērst pastiprinātu uzmanību. Manuprāt, bezdarba, sociālās atstumtības un nevienlīdzības apkarošana varētu būt šīs prezidentūras uzmanības centrā. Pašlaik Eiropas Savienībā 24,6 miljoniem cilvēku nav darba. Nabadzības riskam pakļauti 25 % Eiropas iedzīvotāju. Un, piemēram, manā valstī — Latvijā — 35 % iedzīvotāju dzīvo nabadzībā. Tāpēc būtu loģiski, ka Latvija, izmantojot prezidējošās valsts lomu, varētu uzņemties papildu dzinēja lomu šīs kopīgās problēmas risināšanā.

Un vēl daži vārdi par stratēģiju "Eiropa 2020". Bija izvirzīts ambiciozs mērķis desmit gadu laikā par 20 miljoniem samazināt to cilvēku skaitu, kuri dzīvo nabadzībā. Gandrīz puse no stratēģijas mērķu realizēšanas laika ir pagājusi, bet rezultāti diemžēl joprojām nedod pamatu optimismam. Ar šīs stratēģijas realizāciju varētu būt divas problēmas — vai nu plāni pārāk ambiciozi vai nav reālistiski, vai nu tās izpildījums nav efektīvs.

Es aicinu izmantot arī šo iespēju. Liels paldies!

**Sampo Terho (ECR).** - Arvoisa puhemies, rouva pääministeri, Latvian puheenjohtajakauden ohjelmasa on todellakin paljon hyvää, kuten täällä on todettu. On tärkeää, että pidätte talouden kilpailukykyä esillä, sillä se on kasvun ja työllisyyden perusta. Siihen perustuu myös koko eurooppalainen yhteisö ja toiminta.

Energian sisämarkkinat on hyvä prioriteetti. Ne edistävät edellä mainittua kilpailukykyä ja omavaraisuuttamme sekä turvallisuuuttamme. Myös digitaaliset sisämarkkinat ovat hyvä tavoite. Tämä on yksi keskeinen sisämarkkinoiden osa-alue, joka on yhä täysin keskeneräinen. Digitaalisia sisämarkkinoita kehittämällä voidaan nimenomaan luoda Eurooppaan edellä mainittua kilpailukykyä ja kasvua.

Rouva pääministeri, EU:n reformia kannattavan ryhmän jäsenenä kuitenkin totean, että kaikkein keskeisimmän asian sanoitte puheenne lopussa. Eurooppa on tuotava lähelle kansalaisia. Tämä tapahtuu keskittymällä sääntelyssä entistä harvempiin asioihin kuin aiemmin, purkamalla turhaa olemassa olevaa sääntelyä ja kunnioittamalla jäsenmaiden kansanvaltaisuutta ja itsenäisyyttä. Näin EU saavuttaa tuloksia ja kansalaisten luottamus Euroopan unioniin paranee.

**Marielle de Sarnez (ALDE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, vous nous l'avez dit au début de cette intervention, ce sont les valeurs européennes qui ont été attaquées à Paris. Les valeurs de liberté, de liberté d'expression, de liberté de culte, de liberté de vivre ensemble dans la différence et de liberté de conscience. Pour dire non à la terreur et au fanatisme, il y a eu une formidable mobilisation, il y a eu l'expression d'une vraie solidarité européenne dans les rues de Paris. Vous y étiez. Et je pense que cette mobilisation est aujourd'hui une exigence pour l'Europe d'agir. Nous devons agir, car les menaces, intérieures comme extérieures, sont encore devant nous. La réponse de l'Europe doit être une réponse de fermeté dans le cadre naturel de notre état de droit.

Nous devons renforcer le système Schengen et le contrôle effectif de nos frontières extérieures et améliorer la coordination et le partage des informations, c'est une évidence. Cela passe notamment par le PNR européen dont il a été question. Nous devons renforcer les pouvoirs d'Eurojust et d'Europol, activer la nomination d'un procureur européen et nous devons – nous Européens – nous saisir de la question d'internet parce que c'est aujourd'hui le terrain de recrutement de tous les terroristes et que cela, nous – l'Europe – ne devons pas et ne pouvons pas l'accepter.

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Il y a également un volet extérieur dont nous devons parler. Il nous faut avoir une stratégie commune, cohérente et concertée sur l'ensemble des terrains de conflit qui aujourd'hui nourrissent le fanatisme et le terrorisme. Je pense bien sûr à la Syrie, à l'Iraq, au Yémen, à la Libye, au Sahel où à la France, je le rappelle est aujourd'hui est en première ligne. Là aussi, il faut qu'avec la France la solidarité européenne se manifeste.

Enfin, la meilleure façon de lutter contre le fanatisme et le terrorisme c'est d'être fiers de ce que nous sommes, de nos valeurs, de ce que nous défendons. Au fond, l'esprit de démocratie est le meilleur des esprits de résistance.

**Matt Carthy (GUE/NGL).** - Mr President, Madam Prime Minister, I am disappointed that the programme of activities of the Latvian Presidency fails to offer in any real sense an alternative to the fiscal austerity policies which have been championed by all the European institutions for far too long. The programme, of course, endorses President Juncker's investment package without, on the other hand, any real commitment to move away from the austerity policies, which have basically caused absolute devastation to domestic economies across Europe.

There are now serious questions to answer in terms of how this investment package is going to be funded, for example. As it stands, the presidency programme provides little evidence that peripheral countries like Ireland will benefit, in terms of jobs or economic growth, from the financial measures proposed in the package. What we really need is a rejection of austerity policies. We need, among other things, a new fiscal and social agenda to ensure that we have real and substantial economic growth for all the EU Member States.

**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** - Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa rouva puheenjohtaja, haluaisin muistella itsekkin sitä, miten 80-luvun lopulla pieni, kirkas tähti syttyi minun kartallani. Se oli Latvia. Ihmisten vapaudentahto syytti tämän pienen tähden minun kartallani.

Teidän puheenjohtajakaudellenne sattuu tärkeä itäisen kumppanuuden uudistus ja Rion huippukokous. Haluaisin kuulla hieman enemmän siitä, miten Te aiotte ratkaista tämän tilanteen, jossa meillä on paljon ongelmia.

Ensimmäiseksi haluaisin kiinnittää huomion siihen, että meidän itäiset kumppanimaamme ovat tehneet hyvin vaikeita valintoja, jos ovat valinneet lähestymisen kohti Euroopan unionia. Samalla ne ovat menettäneet itselleen hyvin tärkeitä kauppasuhteita Venäjän kanssa, koska Venäjä on rankaissut näitä valtioita siitä, että ne haluavat liittyä Euroopan unionin piiriin. Kuinka me tulemme ratkaisemaan sen, että liittyminen Euroopan unionin naapurustoon ja lähentyminen Euroopan unioniin ei rankaise näitä valtioita?

Toiseksi, miten pidämme kaikki kuusi itäisen kumppanuuden jäsenvaltiota yhdessä, kun kolme on tehnyt assosiaatiosopimukset, siten ettemme jaa itäistä kumppanuutta kahteen ryhmään?

Kolmanneksi, miten palautamme kunnioituksen Helsingin päätösasiakirjan periaatteisiin, joita Venäjä nyt räikeästi rikoo? Uskon, että Latvia puheenjohtajavaltiona on hyvin merkittävässä asemassa, kun näistä asioista keskustellaan.

**Rosa D'Amato (EFDD).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Presidente il suo lavoro può partire da un dato incoraggiante o sconsigliato, a seconda dei punti di vista, ossia, difficilmente potrete fare peggio di chi vi ha preceduti. Già, perché il governo italiano ha fatto tante promesse, ma non ha portato a casa nessun risultato. Parliamo di disoccupazione e di sviluppo, preferiamo parlare di sviluppo e non di crescita: il grande piano per gli investimenti presentato da Juncker è salutato dalla Presidenza italiana come una vittoria è, in realtà, un bluff! Poche risorse, tra l'altro, distratte da altri capitoli di spesa e nessuna concreta idea di sviluppo.

Se vogliamo dare un futuro all'Europa e combattere davvero la disoccupazione, bisogna dare l'opportunità ai territori di investire. Ma, il tanto atteso documento sulla flessibilità non ha risolto alcunché: le regioni non riescono a spendere i fondi per via del cappio del patto di stabilità che, diciamo, non è stato tolto. Per questo, vi chiediamo un impegno forte, almeno il cofinanziamento dei fondi sia scomputato dal patto di stabilità.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Anche sul piano ambientale, c'è tanto da fare: l'Unione europea ha deciso di frenare sulla riduzione delle emissioni di gas e sulla costruzione di un'economia più verde ed efficiente dal punto di vista delle risorse. Con che credibilità andremo a Parigi? Con che credibilità potremo chiedere agli altri paesi, soprattutto a quelli in via di sviluppo, di fare di più per la lotta al riscaldamento globale. Penso poi a ciò che accade nel Mediterraneo dove è ripartita la corsa al petrolio, sulle trivellazioni l'Unione europea lascia carta bianca agli Stati membri e questa è una grande ipocrisia. Si fa tanto per la pesca sostenibile ma se a inquinare e a distruggere il Mediterraneo sono le trivelle, l'Europa che fa? Si gira dall'altra parte! Un'ipocrisia che mette in pericolo anche strategie importanti, come la strategia della regione adriatico-jonica.

Politiche come questa sono importanti, eppure nell'Adriatico la Croazia che fa? Ha dato da poco l'OK a 10 concessioni per trivellare. Faccia sì che sviluppo e occupazione siano realmente al centro del semestre e all'interno di un quadro di rispetto dell'ambiente e delle risorse, oltre che delle peculiarità dei singoli Stati: peculiarità sociali, economiche e culturali dei territori.

**Mara Bizzotto (NI).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la strage di Parigi ha colpito il cuore dell'Europa e quello dei suoi cittadini: la nostra libertà, i nostri valori, la nostra civiltà sono entrati nel mirino del fondamentalismo islamico e nessuno di noi si sente più al sicuro. L'Europa deve svegliarsi, ci hanno dichiarato guerra e in guerra bisogna combattere! Non basta essere in prima fila come ha fatto Lei, come hanno fatto i leader europei domenica a Parigi, serve agire subito perché è già troppo tardi! Serve il coraggio, nelle parole e negli atti! Dobbiamo sospendere subito il trattato di Schengen perché l'Europa ha dimostrato di non saper proteggere i propri cittadini.

E poi, basta clandestini! Perché l'ufficio di polizia ha quantificato che ogni 1.000 clandestini sbarcati vi è un potenziale terrorista. Serve costituire finalmente il comitato di analisi strategico antiterrorismo. Basta, discorsi legati a possibili violazioni della privacy e della libertà! Perché a essere liberi sono i terroristi islamici! Europol parla di 5.000 combattenti che sono o che arriveranno in Europa. Dobbiamo togliere subito dal patto di stabilità le spese per la sicurezza.

Cara Presidente, serve più coraggio, che non ho sentito nelle sue parole, serve il coraggio della Commissione, del Consiglio e serve il coraggio del Parlamento europeo, che purtroppo non c'è!

**Andrzej Grzyb (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Premier! Chciałbym pogratulować prezydencji łotewskiej. Europa konkurencyjna, cyfrowa, zaangażowana globalnie – wydaje się, że to są zadania, które ciągle są aktualne. Potrzebujemy rzeczywiście tego, co już wielokrotnie podkreślano – chcemy mieć w Europie przede wszystkim poczucie bezpieczeństwa i żeby obywatele mieli zatrudnienie. To, co zwraca uwagę w priorytetach prezydencji łotewskiej, to skupienie się na lepszym stanowieniu prawa. To jest też jeden z priorytetów Komisji Europejskiej na rok 2015. Popieram tę tezę, należy ciągle o tym mówić, bowiem niestabilność w stanowieniu prawa źle świadczy o ustawodawcy, źle świadczy również o kolejnych prezydencjach. Jeżeli będziemy zmieniali te zasady w trakcie gry – ostatnio dyskutujemy między innymi o reformie uprawnień do emisji dwutlenku węgla – świadczyć to będzie również o tym, że odbiorcy, a więc również przemysł i więc obywatele, nie będą z tego zadowoleni.

Z zadowoleniem również przyjmuję podkreślenie wagi, jaką ma wdrożenie celów unii energetycznej. O tym, jak jest to ważne nie trzeba Łotwy przekonywać. Podkreślono również wagę polityki pro wzrostowej wraz z inwestycjami. Dyskutowaliśmy wczoraj również o tym mówiąc o konkluzjach Rady Europejskiej z grudnia. Jestem również przekonany, że wszystko to, co dotyczy rozwoju wspólnego rynku, jest chyba najmniej kontrowersyjne. Jednolity rynek jest chyba najmniej kontrowersyjny ze względu na efekty, jakie przynosi wszystkim krajom członkowskim, również tym, które sceptycznie patrzą na Unię Europejską.

Chcę również szczególnie podkreślić kontynuację przez prezydencję wzmocnienia polityki sąsiedztwa. Z nadzieją oczekujemy szczytu Partnerstwa Wschodniego w Rydze. Ważny jest również zamiar prezydencji uczynienia procesu negocjacji TTIPu – a więc tej umowy o strefie wolnego handlu i inwestycji ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi – procesem bardziej przejrzystym, procesem, w którym również obywatele będą wiedzieli, jakie przyniesie on efekty.

**Jörg Leichtfried (S&D).** - Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau Premierministerin! Sie übernehmen die Ratspräsidentschaft in schwierigen Zeiten. Es gibt sehr, sehr viele Probleme, die sich auftürmen.



Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Ein ganz großes Problem ist natürlich der Terrorismus in der Europäischen Union. Einige Kollegen haben gemeint, ja, man muss jetzt so schnell wie möglich und so viel wie möglich Überwachungsinstrumente einführen. Ich denke, wir müssen da achtgeben. Es geht nicht darum, wie schnell man etwas einführt, sondern was Sinn ergibt.

Es ist ein schmaler Grat: auf der einen Seite Sicherheit zu garantieren – soweit es geht –, auf der anderen Seite aber auch nicht das einzuschränken, was Europa ausmacht: unsere bürgerlichen Grundfreiheiten, unsere Demokratie.

Und wenn ich von Demokratie spreche, möchte ich noch etwas Zweites ansprechen: Sie haben über die TTIP gesprochen. Ich bin der Meinung, dass Sondergerichte für Konzerne heutzutage nicht rechtstaatlich sind, dass in so einem Fall keine Gleichheit vor dem Gesetz besteht. Darüber müssen wir auch diskutieren. Selbstverständlich brauchen wir Freihandel, selbstverständlich brauchen wir die Amerikaner als Partner – aber nur dann, wenn wir das bewahren können, was Europa ausmacht: unsere Freiheit!

**Peter van Dalen (ECR).** - Grexit ja, brexit nee: die twee punten moeten hoog op uw agenda staan. Waarom? U ziet dat de Griekse schuld meer dan 300 miljard euro bedraagt, dat is bijna twee keer het bruto nationaal product. Om ook nog maar in de buurt van een terugbetaling te komen, zal het land vele jaren meerdere procenten economische groei moeten scoren. Dat gaat helaas niet lukken. Daarom is een grexit met een gedeeltelijke schuldafschrijving en terugkeer naar de oude munt met devaluatie het beste instrument. Dan is er nog enige hoop. Die is er niet als het land onder de zware tucht blijft van de eisende eurozone.

Voorts moet te allen prijze voorkomen worden dat de Britten de Europese Unie verlaten. Dan verliest de EU een van haar kernlanden. Dat zal niet alleen verregaande financiële en sociaal-economische effecten hebben maar ook sociologische effecten. De Britse nuchterheid en de bereidheid tot hervormingen moeten velen tot voorbeeld strekken. Dat voorbeeld moeten wij in de EU houden. Er is dus veel werk aan de winkel voor uw voorzitterschap.

**Jean Arthuis (ALDE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, pour inspirer confiance, l'Union européenne doit disposer des moyens de son ambition. Vous appelez de vos vœux une Europe compétitive et vous avez raison car la croissance et l'emploi en dépendent. Et, comme nous, vous vous réjouissez du plan d'investissement de Jean-Claude Juncker. Croyez bien que nous nous mobilisons pour vous donner rapidement les instruments juridiques dont vous avez besoin. Le dispositif est fondé sur la garantie que l'Union européenne donnera aux investisseurs privés qui s'impliqueront dans des projets judicieux, certes, mais risqués. L'Union européenne doit donc être en mesure de tenir ses engagements en se substituant aux porteurs de projets qui seraient en défaut de paiement.

À cet égard, je voudrais vous rappeler, Madame la Première ministre, que l'Union européenne est confrontée à une dette sournoise, qui s'élève sans doute à près de 30 milliards d'impayés au 31 décembre 2014. Après six semaines de vaines conciliations et de trilogues ardues, nous avons trouvé un accord sur le budget 2015, accord conditionné par un plan d'apurement de ces dettes.

Madame la Première ministre, je n'ai pas trouvé trace dans votre programme de cet engagement du Conseil. Ce qui est ici en cause, c'est la crédibilité de notre engagement. La confiance des investisseurs privés en dépend, c'est-à-dire la réussite du plan Juncker.

Madame la Première ministre, je vous souhaite la réussite!

**Marina Albiol Guzmán (GUE/NGL).** - Señor Presidente, los próximos seis meses, sin duda, van a venir marcados por las negociaciones que se están llevando casi en secreto para ese Acuerdo sobre comercio e inversión entre la Unión Europea y los Estados Unidos, la santa alianza de las multinacionales a ambos lados del Atlántico, la ruptura de cualquier norma legal que ponga obstáculos a su tasa de beneficio.

Se pretende dar un duro golpe a los derechos laborales, a las normas medioambientales y alimentarias, un golpe a nuestros servicios públicos y un golpe a la democracia, con unos tribunales de arbitraje que tendrán más poder que los gobiernos elegidos democráticamente. Con este tratado pretenden que no podamos hacer políticas de izquierdas aunque ganemos en las urnas.

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Un tratado para dejarlo todo bien atado, porque tienen miedo a gobiernos que pongan freno a sus privilegios. Tienen miedo porque el pueblo está decidido a recuperar su dignidad. Y empezamos por el sur, por Grecia.

**Tatjana Ždanoka (Verts/ALE).** - Priekšsēdētāj! Straujumas kundze! Kolēģi! Man kā Latvijas pilsoni ļoti gribas, lai mūsu valsts prezidentūra būtu veiksmīga. Man kā reģionālistu — Eiropas Brīvās apvienības — grupas pārstāvei ļoti gribas, lai Latvijas prezidentūra veicinātu Eiropas Savienības kultūras un valodu daudzveidību, ņemot vērā, ka visas Eiropas kultūras ir vienlīdz vērtīgas un cienījamas un ka valodu daudzveidības jēdziens attiecas ne tikai uz Eiropas Savienības oficiālajām valodām, bet arī uz reģionālajām valodām un valodām, kas daļībvalstīs nav oficiāli atzītas.

Man kā Latvijas Krievu savienības priekšsēdētājam ļoti gribas, lai Latvijas valdošās partijas, savas tagadējās augstās misijas Eiropas Savienībā iedvesmotas, pārskata savu līdz šim īstenoto lingvistiskās diskriminācijas un iedzīvotāju segregācijas politiku, piešķir Latvijas nepilsoņiem visas pilsoņu tiesības un garantē oficiālo statusu krievu valodai, kura ir dzimtā valoda 40 % iedzīvotāju. Es ceru uz šo vēlmju piepildīšanos, jo tikai sabiedrības, kuras garantē kultūras daudzveidību un veicina dažādu kultūru pārstāvju savstarpējo cieņu, ir spējīgas tikt galā ar mūsdienu izaicinājumiem. To lieliski pierādīja nesenie notikumi Francijā. Es gribu, lai mums veiktos.

**Paul Nuttall (EFDD).** - Mr President, I predict that the next six months will prove a rocky road for the Latvian Presidency. There will be many difficult issues to deal with, including Mr Juncker's fantasy financial plan, Greece's possible exit from the euro, dealing with the instability in Ukraine – encouraged by the European Union, of course – and finally, a continent coming to terms with the Islamic extremism that we witnessed last week.

But in many ways Latvia is a microcosm of all that has gone wrong in the EU. Your economy tanked in 2008, followed by one of the worst recessions on the planet. You had to receive a bail-out even before you joined the ailing currency that is the euro – against the wishes of your people, of course. You are still the fourth poorest country in the EU. You have lost 20% of your population since 1992, so much so that the Baltic is now depopulating faster than anywhere else in the world. Your brightest, best and young are fleeing west in their droves.

And where are they going? Well, considering that one in every 30 Latvians lives in the UK, that is pretty easy to answer. You have a brain drain, an ageing population, which means that there will be a skills, pensions and healthcare crisis not far down the road. In all, freedom of movement and the EU's economic policies have been a disaster for Latvia, and may I suggest that you get your own house in order first before you take on the problems of an old, tired and out-of-date European Union.

**Krisztina Morvai (NI).** - Miniszterelnök Asszony! Mélyen megdöbbenett Önnek az a kijelentése, miszerint nagy baj, hogy az Európai Unió nem elég egységes és nem elég egységesen áll szemben Oroszországgal. És az előttünk álló fél év egyik legfontosabb feladatának nevezte, hogy ezt az egységet, vagyis az Oroszországgal szembeni fellépésnek a keménységét erősíteni kell. Miniszterelnök asszony, ne haragudjon az éles megfogalmazásért, hogy jön Ön ehhez? Nem gondolja, hogy ez a fajta hozzáállás a feszültséget növeli, a hidegháborús hangulatot növeli, a valóságos háború veszélyének a közvetlenségét vetíti előre? Amikor az egyre nagyobb nyomorúságban élő emberek azt kérdezik, hogy mire is jó az Európai Unió a sok nehézség és fájdalom ellenére, mindig azt mondják, hogy hát a béke megőrzésére.

Valóban a békét kívánja Ön megőrizni? Nagyon kérem, hogy nyugtasson meg bennünket e felől, és adjon választ arra a kérdésemre, mit kíván tenni azért, hogy az Ön hazája, Lettország, az én országom, Magyarország és egész Európa továbbra is békében élhessen. Várom válaszát, miniszterelnök asszony!

**Danuta Maria Hübner (PPE).** - Mr President, the beginning of 2015 has brought dramatic events in France, and we are also seeing an upsurge in fighting in eastern Ukraine. Madam Prime Minister, Europe will need to respond during your Presidency to those and other challenges, offering our citizens more freedom through better security.

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The Latvian Presidency promises to be a challenging one, yet I am convinced it will be a fruitful time for the Union. While listening to your programme, Madam Prime Minister, I was happy to hear that your Presidency will focus on better exploitation of existing mechanisms and procedures and ways of improving them. This approach should be praised and encouraged.

I also see a chance that in the coming months we will witness more cooperation between European institutions, leading to a better functioning of the Union. We look forward to a fruitful interinstitutional dialogue and joint action. I personally hope that you will manage to increase the appetite of the Member States for serious steps forward on eurozone economic governance. I hope to have a constructive debate on closer coordination of economic policies in the EMU in early 2015. I hope to see commitments to the streamlining of existing procedures within the European Semester and increasing the involvement of national parliaments in the process. I hope to see the strengthening of national ownership of structural reforms. You promised to put the spotlight on labour market issues. We need more investment in the employability of female workers and young people, especially in the context of emerging technologies and new sectors where growth will take place.

Lastly, the first half of 2015 will also be a challenging one for the TTIP. The Commission has just released the results of its public consultation on ISDS with an overtly negative sentiment on its inclusion in the negotiated agreement. We will need to work together – all three institutions – to have an ISDS that will, at the end of the day, attract much-needed investment to Europe. I know there are many challenges on your table. I wish you a fruitful Presidency.

**Pervenche Berès (S&D).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, après ce qui s'est passé dans mon pays, votre Présidence, comme le programme politique de tous les démocrates, est bousculée. Mais, comme tous les parlements du monde, il nous appartient d'être mobilisés autour de ce que sont les valeurs des démocrates. Et, comme tous les parlements du monde qui se veulent démocratiques, nous devons armer la démocratie face aux terroristes et nous devons le faire dans le respect de nos valeurs. C'est la raison pour laquelle ce Parlement soutiendra un PNR dès lors qu'il permettra de défendre nos valeurs et c'est ici, dans ce Parlement, que vous devrez avoir ce débat. Oui à un PNR européen, un PNR qui permette aussi de défendre les valeurs de la démocratie et de la protection des libertés individuelles et des données.

Puis, Madame la Présidente, il y a dans votre Présidence une question que nous, démocrates et socialistes, attendons de vous voir saisir avec détermination car elle mine notre modèle social. C'est la question de la fiscalité. Ce Parlement est convaincu que, dans le domaine fiscal également, il nous faut agir avec efficacité à l'échelle européenne et, là aussi, le chantier est totalement ouvert. Nous attendons de votre part des engagements en phase avec ce que ce Parlement attend du programme de travail de la Commission.

Je vous souhaite bonne chance!

**Νότης Μαριάς (ECR).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, ο παλιός πολιτικός κόσμος της Ευρώπης, αυτοί που ηγήθηκαν στις κυβερνήσεις και στα θεσμικά όργανα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, όπως ο κύριος Juncker, αφού γέμισαν την ευρωπαϊκή κοινωνία με στρατιές φτωχών και ανέργων, τώρα νίπτουν τας χείρας τους και σαν νέοι μαθητευόμενοι μάγοι υπόσχονται ένα επενδυτικό πακέτο που δήθεν θα οδηγήσει στην ανάπτυξη. Όμως επενδύσεις δεν γίνονται με αέρα κοπανιστό, αλλά με κεφάλαια τα οποία δεν διαθέτει το «σχέδιο Juncker».

Επενδύσεις στον ευρωπαϊκό Νότο, που πλήττεται από την ανεργία, δεν πρόκειται να γίνουν εάν δεν λυθεί το πρόβλημα του δημόσιου χρέους, που σαν μυλόπετρα, κυρία Πρωθυπουργέ, συνθλίβει τις χώρες αυτές. Για αυτό πρέπει να γίνει διαγραφή του επονειδιστού χρέους στην Ελλάδα και κούρεμα του δημόσιου χρέους στις υπόλοιπες χώρες του ευρωπαϊκού Νότου. Γιατί μόνον έτσι θα απελευθερωθούν δημόσιοι πόροι που, αντί να πηγαίνουν στις τσέπες των τοκογλύφων δανειστών, θα επενδυθούν στην ανάπτυξη, η οποία δεν θα πρέπει να στοχεύει στην ευημερία των αριθμών και των κερδών, αλλά στη δημιουργία θέσεων εργασίας. Τέλος, ανάπτυξη δεν πρόκειται να επιτευχθεί χωρίς την κατάργηση της λιτότητας και την τόνωση της ζήτησης.

**Lola Sánchez Caldentey (GUE/NGL).** - Señor Presidente, señora Primera Ministra, yo también voy a hablar del Tratado Transatlántico de Comercio e Inversión porque es una de sus prioridades y también es una de las mías, pero en sentido totalmente opuesto.

Usted solo hablaba de inversión, inversión y más inversión. Pero estos tratados solo benefician a los de arriba, en detrimento de la gente que sufre de forma dramática las consecuencias de una crisis que, además, no ha provocado.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Los Gobiernos europeos, además de recortar y recortar, ya han pagado más de 3 500 millones de euros -que se dice pronto- a inversores privados por cláusulas tipo ISDS, que otorgan a las multinacionales una vía para exigir indemnizaciones a los gobiernos si una nueva legislación representa un obstáculo para la rentabilidad de sus inversiones.

La consulta de la Comisión publicada ayer, precisamente, muestra claramente que existe una enorme oposición —hasta el 97 %— a los mecanismos ISDS porque suponen una amenaza para la democracia, el medio ambiente, los consumidores, los derechos laborales. Son todo un ataque a la soberanía de los Estados.

Me gustaría, señora Primera Ministra, que reconsidere la política comercial y prioricen de una vez a la gente sobre los beneficios de los grandes. Porque el mundo es de las personas.

**Claude Turmes (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, Madam President of the Council, first I think the Latvian Presidency needs a chapter on climate change. Preparing for Paris is not just a six-month story for the Luxembourg Presidency: it must be more present in your Presidency. The other big topic should be energy. With Russia we tend to have a conflicting relationship, so we need to review our energy policies. However, we have a kind of hypocrisy here: everyone is calling for an energy union but every government is saying 'Do not interfere in my national energy mix'. The only way to overcome this blockage is a new style of governance in the energy field, and that new style of governance is regional cooperation on energy.

Latvia has benefited, Madam President of the Council, from being involved in the EU's Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan programme, in which we helped you in the Baltic regional market to get more gas pipelines and more electricity lines, and I think that, during your Presidency, you should promote this model of regional energy governance, because we need this for south-east Europe too. We are in a complete political vacuum after Nabucco and South Stream, so regional energy governance is the new form of governance which we need.

**Barbara Kappel (NI).** - Herr Präsident, Frau Ministerpräsidentin! Sie haben mit Ihren Zielen, die Sie uns heute für die lettische Ratspräsidentschaft genannt haben, nämlich ein wettbewerbsfähiges, digitales und außenpolitisch engagiertes Europa, sicherlich ins Schwarze getroffen. Das sind Prioritäten, die auf der europäischen Agenda ganz oben stehen. Sie haben sicherlich auch im Energiekapitel – es wurde gerade angesprochen – mit der Energieunion im ersten Halbjahr große Herausforderungen vor sich, die sie umsetzen können.

Ich würde Ihnen aber empfehlen, dass Sie einen weiteren Punkt als Agenda oder als Priorität dazu nehmen: Das ist nämlich der, dass Sie Ihr Land, nämlich Lettland, als Best Practice verkaufen für eine gelungene Austeritätspolitik. Sie haben es geschafft, in wenigen Jahren als großer Sieger aus der Krise hervorzugehen. Sie haben es mit harten Sparmaßnahmen durchgesetzt, dass Sie im letzten Jahr ein Wirtschaftswachstum von 3,8 % hatten, während die Euro-Zone bei 0,8 % lag. Das ist ein Vorbild für Europa, das ist ein Modell. Sie sollten mit diesem Modell eine Roadshow durch ganz Europa machen, damit die Länder sehen, wie wichtig es ist, Strukturreformen umzusetzen, um wieder Vertrauen zu gewinnen und Wachstum zu generieren.

**Pilar del Castillo Vera (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, señora Primera Ministra, como ya se ha reiterado, se inicia esta Presidencia en unas circunstancias excepcionales, como consecuencia del atentado terrorista de París, que ha conmocionado tan profundamente a los ciudadanos franceses, pero también al resto de los ciudadanos de la Unión Europea. Esta circunstancia, en mi opinión, urge a que la Unión Europea refuerce instrumentos comunes para prevenir acciones terroristas y lo haga de una manera más eficiente. Me interesa subrayar mucho que instrumentos comunes en este caso es igual a más eficiencia. Por eso, creo que es inexcusable, por ejemplo, que el plan nacional de registro de viajeros de la Unión Europea sea una realidad cuanto antes.

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Ustedes, por otro lado, señalan que una Europa digital es una de sus prioridades, y no puedo estar más de acuerdo. Y creo que es así porque la competitividad de la economía europea está fuertemente determinada por el desarrollo digital. Esto quiere decir que hay que abordar la seguridad, la confianza, la formación y el acceso a redes de nueva generación. Hay dos propuestas, incluso tres, sobre alguno de estos aspectos clave que provienen de la legislatura anterior. Usted misma los ha mencionado. Está el Reglamento de protección de datos, la Directiva sobre seguridad de redes de la información y también el Reglamento sobre el mercado único de las telecomunicaciones, que afecta a temas tan decisivos como la neutralidad de la red y el fin de las cargas de *roaming*.

El fin de los costes del *roaming*, señora Presidenta, será una señal inequívoca y tangible para toda la Unión Europea de que hay un valor añadido. Y en ese sentido, es una decisión que aporta integración a la Unión Europea y también permite a pymes y a *start-up* afrontar mejor y acceder a un mercado de quinientos millones de personas.

Dice un antiguo proverbio letón que todo hombre forja su destino. La Presidencia de Letonia tiene ahora la oportunidad de hacer honor, rendir tributo, a ese proverbio, y estoy segura de que lo va a hacer contribuyendo a que haya un mercado europeo mucho más competitivo. Convencida estoy de que no van a ahorrar esfuerzos en ello.

*(La oradora acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» (artículo 162, apartado 8, del Reglamento))*

**Jonathan Arnott (EFDD), blue-card question.** – Ms del Castillo, you mentioned making access for new start-ups to 500 million consumers easier within the European Union. The problem – as we see for example with the new VAT MOSS regulations – is that quite often we are making things much harder for consumers; we now have the requirements for VAT for online businesses to be paid to countries across Europe.

We are making things harder for businesses. I have businesses in my constituency coming to me saying that they are going to have to close thanks to new EU legislation. Do you agree that is unacceptable?

**Pilar del Castillo Vera (PPE), respuesta de «tarjeta azul».** – Creo que hay que hacer un desarrollo legislativo, cuando sea necesario, para evitar la extraordinaria fragmentación legislativa que hay en la Unión Europea con el objetivo de desarrollar mejor el mercado interior y, en este caso, el mercado interior digital.

Yo me he referido específicamente a lo que supondría el fin de las cargas que supone el *roaming* para aquellos más desfavorecidos, desde el punto de vista de los recursos económicos —como son las pequeñas empresas y las *start-up*—, cuando, intentando acceder a un mercado potencial de 500 millones de consumidores, tienen que afrontar unos costes de comunicación a través de Internet que son excesivamente elevados. En ese sentido, creo que el fin del *roaming* también será beneficioso para desarrollar el mercado interior digital.

**Iratxe García Pérez (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, señora Primera Ministra, decía mi colega Pilar del Castillo, haciendo referencia a un proverbio letón, que todo hombre puede hacer frente a su destino. Yo digo: todo hombre y toda mujer. Y sobre esta cuestión quiero hablar, sobre las políticas de igualdad.

He estado repasando el programa de trabajo de la Presidencia y he podido ver que hay muy pocas referencias a la necesidad de impulsar las políticas de igualdad en el ámbito de la Unión Europea. Hay alguna referencia a cuestiones relativas a la igualdad y la cooperación, y sí que hay un apartado relativo a la cuestión referida a la participación de las mujeres en los consejos de administración, sobre la que ayer debatimos.

Pero hay muchas otras cuestiones sobre las que esta Presidencia tiene que insistir. Hablamos de la mayor lacra social que hay en estos momentos en el mundo y en Europa, como es la violencia de género. Hablamos de la necesidad de conciliar la vida familiar y laboral. Las mujeres están siendo las víctimas de esta crisis económica, sufriendo el recorte y el deterioro de los servicios públicos. Hablamos de políticas fundamentales para las mujeres.

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Y le lanzo una propuesta, señora Primera Ministra: creen un grupo de trabajo con el trío de presidencias para poder desbloquear y continuar con los trabajos relativos al permiso de maternidad, porque creo que es algo fundamental e importante para los hombres y las mujeres, para la conciliación en Europa, y, por lo tanto, es un reto que está hoy en nuestras manos.

*(La oradora acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» (artículo 162, apartado 8, del Reglamento))*

**Bill Etheridge (EFDD)**, *blue-card question*. – Would you agree with me that the difficulty that we find when we try to impose legislation and rules on equality is that often we focus too much on equality of outcome, whereas what we should be looking for is equality of opportunity, because not everyone is equal in whatever task they undertake to perform? You have the right to have an equal opportunity, but some will do better than others. That is human nature, and that is where government legislation falls down. Would you agree?

**Iratxe García Pérez (S&D)**, *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»*. – No voy a permitir que, con la excusa de la naturaleza humana, permitamos que la mitad de la población europea siga sufriendo una situación de desigualdad de oportunidades. Por supuesto, todos somos diferentes, pero todos somos iguales en oportunidades y en derechos, y hoy es una evidencia que en el mundo y en Europa las mujeres sufren por ser una parte desigual de la población.

Por lo tanto, son necesarias medidas dirigidas a potenciar la igualdad porque, en caso contrario, estaremos desperdiciando la mitad de los recursos, la mitad de la población europea. No vamos a permitir excusas. Tenemos que ponernos de acuerdo, igual que lo hemos hecho en otras materias, para favorecer que las mujeres puedan estar en situación de igualdad, tanto en el mercado laboral como en materia de derechos reconocidos para toda la ciudadanía europea.

**Marek Józef Gróbarczyk (ECR)**. - Pani Przewodniczący! Pani Premier! Łotewska prezydencja stoi przed ważnymi zadaniami. Przede wszystkim chodzi o realizację dwóch zasadniczych celów. Pierwszy dotyczy bezpieczeństwa energetycznego Unii, drugi związany jest z zapewnieniem miejsc pracy i godziwego poziomu życia mieszkańcom. Mowa tu przede wszystkim o odbudowie przemysłu dającego miejsca pracy i godziwe wynagrodzenie. Należy jednoznacznie przeciwstawić się unijnym wytycznym zmierzającym do likwidacji zakładów pracy. Takim przykładem jest mój kraj, Polska, gdzie w ostatnich latach zlikwidowano tysiące miejsc pracy, m.in. w przemyśle okrętowym. Z tego samego powodu obecnie rząd likwiduje kolejne miejsca pracy w sektorze węglowym i przemyśle ciężkim. Wzywam więc Komisję i Radę do podjęcia działań skutkujących zahamowaniem procesów deindustrializacji powodujących zwiększenie bezrobocia i poszerzenie się biedy.

*(Mówca zgodził się odpowiedzieć na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie „niebieskiej kartki” (art. 162 ust. 8 Regulaminu)).*

**Maria Grapini (S&D)**, *Întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”*. – Adevărat, dezindustrializarea Europei a dus la scăderea locurilor de muncă și, sigur, pe toți ne preocupă acest lucru. Întrebarea mea este: nu credeți că ar trebui adoptate reguli de apărare comercială pentru piața unică a Uniunii Europene? Măsuri de apărare comercială? Pentru că nu poți să crești locuri de muncă în industrie dacă nu ai piață și nu ai piață pentru că intră pe piața unică a Uniunii Europene produse necontrolate.

**Marek Józef Gróbarczyk (ECR)**, *odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki*. – Oczywiście pełna zgoda. Naszym celem jest stworzenie takich warunków, aby Unia Europejska mogła się rozwijać w równy sposób. Mówię tutaj przede wszystkim o zrównoważonym rozwoju. Nie może być tak, że w niektórych państwach prawo dopuszcza pewnego rodzaju ułatwienia dla przemysłu, dla rozwoju miejsc pracy, a w innych jest traktowane jako rzecz niedopuszczalna. Z tym raz na zawsze trzeba skończyć.

**Marcel de Graaff (NI)**. - De verschrikkelijke gebeurtenissen in Parijs en Nigeria de afgelopen week hebben pijnlijk duidelijk gemaakt dat het islamitisch terrorisme van het hart van Afrika tot in het hart van Europa reikt. Het zaait dood en verderf in de niets ontziende drang om de wereld te onderwerpen aan een islamitisch kalifaat.

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Daarom moet het Letse voorzitterschap volledig in het teken staan van de strijd tegen het islamitisch extremisme. Ik roep de voorzitter op om de samenwerking te zoeken met Israël en Egypte, de twee staten die kunnen zorgen voor stabiliteit in het Midden-Oosten. Ik wijs op de toespraak van president Al-Sisi tot de clerus aan de Al-Azhar- universiteit van Caïro, waarin hij heeft gevraagd om de islam radicaal om te keren, zodat het ook voor niet-moslims in plaats van een bron van geweld en chaos tot een voorbeeld van vrede en orde wordt. Ik wijs ook op zijn historisch bezoek aan de Koptische kerk met kerstmis.

Ik vraag de Letse voorzitter aandacht te hebben voor het onderwijs in Egypte, dat van essentieel belang is om het radicaliseringsproces om te keren. En ik vraag speciale aandacht voor de strijd tegen extremisme in Libië. Libië is op dit moment het gebied waar terroristen vrij spel hebben, het gebied van waaruit Mali, Nigeria en Egypte, maar ook Europa worden bedreigd door gewetenloze, zwaar bewapende moordenaars. Daarom moet ook het stoppen van de massa-emigratie uit Noord-Afrika onder dit voorzitterschap prioriteit krijgen. De Europese landen, Egypte en Israël, kunnen de strijd

[De Voorzitter ontnemt spreker het woord.]

#### VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND

*Vizepräsident*

**Alain Lamassoure (PPE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, en tant que député européen français je vous remercie pour votre participation à la marche historique de Paris, dimanche dernier. Cette marche a rappelé la chaîne humaine qui avait relié les capitales des trois États baltes en lutte pour leurs libertés.

La tragédie de Paris va obliger bien sûr la Présidence lettone à introduire la lutte contre le terrorisme en haut de notre ordre du jour européen. Mais à partir de cet exemple, ma remarque principale portera sur la méthode de gouvernance de l'Union et ses résultats médiocres dans la communication avec les médias et l'opinion publique. Qu'a-t-on vu jusqu'à l'an dernier? De temps en temps, le Conseil européen se réunit, il se fixe un objectif grandiose, lointain et irréaliste. Il adopte vingt pages de conclusions que personne ne lit, puis la Commission consulte. Elle produit des livres verts. Le Parlement adopte des résolutions et l'application législative s'étale sur des années, tout se perd dans les sables, personne n'y comprend rien.

Voilà pourquoi la stratégie de Lisbonne a échoué, l'ordre du jour de la stratégie Europe 2020 est en train d'échouer et les objectifs de capacités militaires *Headline Goals* n'ont jamais vu le jour. Voilà pourquoi l'Union s'est ridiculisée dans des domaines aussi essentiels que l'énergie, la politique d'asile et la politique d'immigration. Nous en parlons et nous votons tout le temps, mais nous ne réglons rien.

Je me réjouis que, sous l'impulsion de la Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, ce modèle de gouvernance commence à changer. Hier, la Commission a adopté un ensemble complet de mesures pour soutenir la croissance, qui nous sera soumis en bloc. Le Conseil européen du 14 février sera uniquement consacré au terrorisme, puis viendront l'énergie et l'économie numérique. Organisons-nous toutes institutions ensemble pour traiter les grands sujets seulement, mais un par un, en une fois et sous tous les aspects. Alors, les parlements nationaux, les médias et les citoyens comprendront l'Europe et reprendront confiance en elle.

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**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D).** - Pone Pirmininke, Premjere L. Straujuma, sveikinu Latvijā, nes pirmas pirmininkavimas yra rimtas išbandymas valstybei, kuri kartu su prisijungimu prie euro zonos tikrai vainikuoja integracinį procesą. Ir tikiu, kad po pusės metų Lietuva ir Latvija kartu galės pasidžiaugti iš naujokių abi tapusios patyrusiomis Europos Sąjungos valstybėmis narėmis. Labai svarbu, kad Latvija rengs Rytų partnerystės viršūnių susitikimą. Tai bus tąsa Vilniaus viršūnių susitikimo, nes geopolitinė situacija išlieka labai sudėtinga. Taigi itin svarbu, kad mes, Europos Sąjunga, užtikrintume strateginę tęstinę paramą Rytų partnerystės šalims. Raginu Latviją užbaigti platformos kovai su nelegaliu darbu kūrimą. Privalome ne tik didinti investicijas Europoje, bet ir efektyviai kovoti su nelegaliu darbu, kuris nusineša ne tik valstybių pajamas, bet ir darbuotojų socialinę apsaugą. Pirmininkaudami atkreipėte dėmesį į socialinės apsaugos ir socialinių paslaugų svarbą. Tai iš tikrųjų yra labai svarbu.

**Anneleen Van Bossuyt (ECR).** - Het Lets voorzitterschap zal ijveren voor een "Europa voor zijn burgers", gebouwd op vrede en vrijheid. De terroristische aanslag in Parijs heeft aangetoond dat deze waarden allerminst verworven zijn. Samen kunnen we hier sterker uitkomen. Wij moeten de Europese waarden en vrijheden blijven verdedigen, niet alleen met woorden, maar ook met daden. Concreet denk ik dan aan een betere bescherming van onze buitengrenzen en een Europese lijst van terreurverdachten.

Daarnaast staat op het Lets programma de versterking van de interne markt, één van de hoekstenen van het Europees project. Een verdere voltooiing daarvan is dan ook onontbeerlijk. Dit is allerminst een pleidooi voor meer Europese wetgeving. Neen, wij moeten gaan voor minder, maar betere regelgeving die focust op groei, jobs en concurrentievermogen.

**Ildikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE).** - Tisztelt Miniszterelnök Asszony! Nagy tisztelettel köszöntöm az Európai Parlamentben, és nagy örömmel hallottam az Ön beszédében azokat a gondolatokat, ami arról szólt, hogy a 2004-es – azt kell mondjam, közös – csatlakozásunktól mennyi minden történt az Önök országa életében. Hogyan csatlakoztak az eurózónához, és most milyen kihívásokkal szembesülnek az első soros elnökségükkel kapcsolatban. Elsősorban azzal kezdem, hogy hálával tartozunk Önnek, és megköszönjük azt a viselkedést, azt a gyors alkalmazkodást, amit a párizsi terrorcselekmények kapcsán tettek. És azt az intézkedéssort, amit az EU belügyminisztereivel sikerült elindítani mindannyiunk biztonságának növelése érdekében, és az igazságügyi hatóságoknak a jó együttműködése érdekében.

Olvastam az Önök programját és látom, hogy mennyire összetett. Mint ahogy Ön is mondta, óriási kötelezettségvállalást tettek és ez nagyon dicsérendő. Szeretném, hogyha ez a kötelezettségvállalás teljesülésbe is menne át. Egy pontot szeretnék kiemelni ebből: a digitális piacot. Ez a gyors alkalmazkodás – amit Ön is említett – nagyon fontos a digitális piacban. A digitális piac az Európai Unió számára egy óriási tartalék. Egy tanulmány szerint 520 milliárd euróval tudná gyarapítani a belső piac, egy szorosabb belső piac, egy jobban működő belső piac a 28 országnak a GDP-jét. Ez egy óriási tartalék jelen pillanatban. Nem kiaknázni ezt a lehetőséget vétek. Azt gondolom, hogy a félév elnökségének a programját arra kellene fókuszálni, sok más mellett természetesen, hogy ezt a potenciált ki tudjuk aknázni. Ebben az időszakban minden országnak erre kifejezetten szüksége van. Arra biztatom miniszterelnök asszonyt, hogy tegye meg a szükséges lépéseket és éljen javaslatokkal.

|(A felszólaló hozzájárul egy „kékkártyás” kérdés megválaszolásához (az eljárási szabályzat 162. cikkének (8) bekezdése).|

**Krisztina Morvai (NI), Kékkártyás kérdés.** – Kedves Képviselőtársnőm! Elismeréssel nyilatkozott arról, hogy Lettország – aki ugyanakkor csatlakozott az Európai Unióhoz, mint közös hazánk, Magyarország – milyen jelentős eredményeket ért el. Többek között az euróövezetbe csatlakozott, gazdaságilag nagyon sikeres és így tovább. Szeretettel kérdezem, minek tudja be azt, hogy Magyarország ennyire más helyzetben van? A rossz nyelvek szerint elképzelhető, hogy esetleg a hazai politikusok az elmúlt években az úgynevezett rendszerváltás óta ott kevesebbet loptak, mint nálunk. Illetőleg kevésbé szolgáltatták ki saját állam... (Az elnök megvonta a szót a képviselőtől.)



Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Ildikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE), Kékkártyás válasz.** – Köszönöm a képviselő asszony kérdését. Képviselő asszony is tudja, hogy nincsenek egyenreceptek. Amikor 2004-ben csatlakoztunk, mi is más várakozással tekintettünk a jövő elé. Magyarországnak is volt cél dátuma az eurózónához való csatlakozásra. Nálunk 2002-ben a hazánk életében egy olyan törés következett be, ami után a gazdaságunk mélyrepülésbe kezdett. Sokkal hamarabb ért el bennünket az a válság, ami belülről indítódott. A szocialista kormányok ténykedése következtében majdnem csődbe kerültünk. Ilyen körülmények között örülünk annak, ahol jelenleg vagyunk, és perspektivikus... *(Az elnök megvonta a szót a képviselőtől.)*

**Tibor Szanyi (S&D), Kékkártyás kérdés.** – Alelnök asszonyhoz szeretném intézni azt a kérdést, ha a digitális piacról beszélt, hogy vajon az egységes európai digitális piachoz képest egy úgynevezett digitális unióval is tudna-e a képviselő asszony barátkozni? Azaz, a digitális piac az egyféle kivételként tekintve, minden országban ugyanazon szabályok vonatkoznának a digitális piacra?

**Ildikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE), Kékkártyás válasz.** – Óriási a lemaradásunk a digitális piac vonatkozásában, például az Európai Egyesült Államok vonatkozásában. Én azt gondolom, hogy kellő mértékletességet kell tanúsítani és fokozatosságot ezen a területen. Nyilvánvaló lehetne egy ilyen óriási lépést tenni, mint amit Ön is mond, én megelégednék azzal, hogy ha ebben a ciklusban vagy a Soros elnökség alatt, vagy kitekintve a következő hét évre, a digitális belső piacot a szakpolitikák fókuszába tudnánk állítani, és minél inkább meg tudnánk valósítani azt, amit a programunkban célul tűztünk ki.

**Marlene Mizzi (S&D).** - Sur President; Sinjura Prim Ministru, Il-Prezidenza tal-Latvja se tibda fi żminijiet diffiċli, fejn l-instabilità tal-pajjiżi fil-Lvant u n-Nofsinhar, kif ukoll l-attivitàjiet ta' estremisti u terroristi qed iħassbu mhux f'it liċ-ċittadini tagħna.

Napprezza nara li l-Prezidenza Latvjana għamlet bħala prijorità l-impenn li l-Ewropa tkun punt ta' riferiment globali u tindirizza l-problema tal-immigrazzjoni fil-qafas ta' solidarjetà u responsabilità minn kulhadd. Però, donnu li l-Prezidenza Latvjana tat aktar importanza lill-problema tal-Lvant tal-Ewropa, meta din hi wkoll problema tar-regjun tal-Mediterran.

Nistaqsi: kif ser jiġu indirizzati l-isfidi politiċi, ta' sigurtà u ambjentali li jolqtu direttament pajjiżi bħal Malta, l-Italja u l-Greċja?

Se naraw fl-aħħar azzjoni serja fejn jidhol il-garr tar-responsabilità minn kull Stat Membru, jew dan se jibqa' biss diskors sabiħ imma fiergħ?

Rigward il-Frontex; se tara l-Prezidenza jekk dan huwiex effettiv u jekk hemmx il-bżonn li jinkludi pajjiżi Afrikani?

Hemm bżonn li l-momentum li ntlahaq mill-Prezidenza Taljana fl-oqsmha li semmejt ikompli jikber biex il-beżgħat taċ-ċittadin jiġu indirizzati.

Irridu nifhmu li dawn .....*(il-bqija tad-diskors ma jinstemx billi l-President qatgħalha l-mikrofonu).*

**Dubravka Šuica (PPE).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, želim pozdraviti gospođu predsjednicu, i ako bi se moglo govoriti o kurikulumu neke zemlje onda su 25 godina od odcjepljenja od Sovjetskog Saveza, 10 godina od ulaska u Europsku uniju i godina dana u eurozoni zaista fascinantni podaci. Želim vam na tome zahvaliti.

Posebno vas razumijem jer dolazim iz Hrvatske, zemlje koja je prošla sličan put, ali možda malo kompleksniji nego što je to bio put Latvije. Vi ste uspjeli postati zemlja uzor i ja vam na tome zaista želim zahvaliti. Zahvaljujem se na govoru koji ste jutros imali ovdje, u kojem ste kazali koji su vaši prioriteti, ali prije svega imajući u vidu situaciju u kojoj se trenutno nalazimo i referirajući se na događaje u Parizu i na vaše prioritete koji će biti veća humanost, veća solidarnost, veća briga za druge kulture i za suživot. To je ono što svi moramo graditi. Ali, naravno da svega toga neće biti bez gospodarski jake Europe. Stoga su vaši prioriteti vrlo važni i posebno me veseli što podržavate Junckerov plan za investicije, i što je najvažnije, da je vaš program kompatibilan s programom Europske komisije. To je prvi put da će, nadam se, sve institucije nekako raditi zajedno i da nema velikih razlika u ovom trenutku niti između Vijeća i Komisije. Iz ovog Parlamenta možda ćete čuti neke kritične tonove, ali Parlament želi dobro i svjestan je da moramo raditi svi zajedno, svjestan je da moramo imati jedan *mainstream* koji će učiniti da Europa zaista bude konkurentna. Ono što također želim pohvaliti je opredijeljenost za digitalnu uniju i digitalnu ekonomiju, ali i energetske uniju iz poznatih razloga. Što se tiče vaše globalne angažiranosti, ona je vrlo važna imajući u vidu vašu geopolitičku situaciju, dakle odnos prema teritorijalnom integritetu Ukrajine, što smatram vrlo važnim. Također, ne treba zaboraviti migracije na jugu. Ja vam zaista želim čestitati, i slažem se s naslovima koji su izašli ovih dana: „*small country with big agenda*”.

Šroda, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Marju Lauristin (S&D).** - Ma tahaksin tõepoolest kogu südamest õnnitleda Läti naabreid, kellest on nüüd saanud suure Euroopa Liidu eesistujamaa. Meil on olnud ka väga hea meel jälgida, et Läti on tõesti oma viimaste aastate arengus ise neid põhimõtteid järginud: tõstnud oma konkurentsivõimet, suurendanud inimeste kindlustunnet. Ja ma arvan, et Eesti ja Läti teevad väga tugevat ühistööd ka teie eesistumise põhisihis ja digitaalse arengu kõikide nende takistuste ületamiseks, mida me praegu näeme.

Siin juba öeldi, et väga suured probleemid on praegu ju nõukogu käes. Meie oleme valmis, komisjon on valmis, nii et me väga loodame, et Läti viib ka nõukogus need asjad niikaugele, et me saame alustada dialoogiga, mis puudutab andmekaitse probleeme. Mul on väga hea meel näha, et Läti on kavandanud väga mitmeid selliseid üritusi, kus erinevad maad saavad kokku Riias ja saavad oma kogemusi vahetada ja ma ootan väga digitaalarengu tegevuskava nõupidamist. Ma loodan väga (*sõnavõtt katkestati*)

**Tunne Kelam (PPE).** - Mr President, I would like to say to the Prime Minister how happy I am that Latvia is here as a European leader because, Madam Prime Minister, your country has not only overcome its occupation in times past, but it has indeed proven how to come out of economic crisis, how to conduct structural reforms and how to balance the budget and regenerate growth. Your predecessor, Mr Dombrovskis, has proven that this is doable, and that austerity and growth are not exclusive but are actually complementary. Your task is to resist attempts to transform the Stability Pact into a sort of flexibility pact.

It is crucial for Latvia to keep the EU united in relations with Ukraine and Russia, because our unity and consistency are the only means to enhance the EU's political impact and moral credibility. Even limited sanctions have had a greater effect than expected. Now there is a temptation to relax them, even before the Minsk Agreements have been fully implemented. I think this is, above all, a battle of nerves, and I trust that Latvians have got strong nerves.

One of the Latvian priorities should be to overcome the fragmentation of the digital single market. The EU needs an ambitious strategy on clearing the main bottlenecks like data protection, authors' rights, applying common European sales law, achieving agreements on the telecom single market, and the rest.

Finally, I hope that the Riga Summit in May will send our Eastern partners – which have successfully done their homework, of course – a clear message on that EU perspective, and that the visa-free regime with Georgia could also be agreed to.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Κώστας Χρυσόγονος (GUE/NGL),** ερώτηση «γαλάζια κάρτα». – Κύριε Kelam, μας αναφέρατε τη Λετονία ως παράδειγμα για το ότι η ανάπτυξη και η δημοσιονομική σταθερότητα μπορούν να συμβιβασθούν, αλλά φοβάμαι ότι αγνοείτε πως η Λετονία ξεκίνησε από ένα δημόσιο χρέος σχεδόν ανύπαρκτο, μόλις στο 8% του Ακαθάριστου Εθνικού της Προϊόντος, το 2007 και εκτινάχθηκε σήμερα σε επίπεδα άνω του 40%. Αν είχε ξεκινήσει από επίπεδα της τάξεως του 100%, η εκτίναξη που θα συνέβαινε λόγω της λιτότητας και της μείωσης του εθνικού προϊόντος θα την έδιωχνε από τις αγορές και θα ήταν αδύνατη η επιτυχία της λετονικής προσαρμογής.

**Tunne Kelam (PPE),** *blue-card answer.* – I think it is true about balancing economic policy. I am happy that Latvia and Estonia have not expanded – this is easier for us. It was easier to come out of the economic crisis. But there are differences of course. We have solidarity with Greece. Greece is continuing its reforms, hopefully, and we look forward to Greece overcoming its debt problems with the solidarity of the European Union.

**Glenis Willmott (S&D).** - Mr President, I would like to thank Prime Minister Straujuma for outlining her plans to this Parliament. On behalf of the British Labour delegation I welcome much of what you will be prioritising for the coming months, Prime Minister, especially on issues such as energy security and the implementation of the Investment Plan. However, much like the Commission work programme, it is not what is in the programme that is disappointing but what has been left out.

The question I would like to ask is: why will no-one in the Council or the Commission put forward a real plan to reform the EU's exploited social model? For instance, where is your commitment to take action on zero-hour contracts, to protect those who are under contract without any guarantee of paid work? Where is the commitment for a full revision of the Posting of Workers Directive to help those who have seen wages being undercut? Unemployment is high across all parts of the EU, but even those people in employment are feeling squeezed and vulnerable. We must take action in this area, otherwise we will miss a vital opportunity. It is our responsibility to show by our actions that this EU works for everyone.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Jonathan Arnott (EFDD), blue-card question.** – I find it, I must say, astonishing to hear a Labour MEP in this Chamber talking about zero-hours contracts because, of course, Tony Blair, in 1995, pledged that if he came to power, the Labour Party would end zero-hours contracts. Well, you had 13 years in power; you did not do it then. Are you actually going to do it if you get back into power this time?

**Glenis Willmott (S&D), blue-card answer.** – We have actually been talking about zero-hours contracts for a long time. I have not heard UKIP talk about it. We have said quite clearly that we will stop the abuse of zero-hours contracts. That is something we are determined to do and it is something everybody in Britain should be determined to do.

**Bernd Lange (S&D).** - Herr Präsident, Frau Ratsvorsitzende! Ich finde es völlig richtig, den Schwerpunkt auf die Frage der Beschäftigung, der Revitalisierung von Industrie zu setzen. Dazu gehören natürlich auch gute Handelsverträge, weil wir eine sehr stark exportorientierte Wirtschaft haben und in der globalen Wertschöpfungskette eingebunden sind. Bis zu 40 % der Wertanteile unserer Exporte sind ja schon Importe. Also brauchen wir klare und gute Handelsverträge. Deswegen bitte ich Sie eindringlich, zu prüfen, dass wir gute Handelsverträge gerade bei der TTIP und beim CETA nicht in Frage stellen durch – wie ich finde – politisch und wirtschaftlich unnötige außergerichtliche Investitionsschiedsstellen. Diese außergerichtlichen Investitionsschiedsstellen helfen keine einzige Investition zu tätigen in Europa, in den USA oder in Kanada, die brauchen wir nicht. Deswegen: Lassen Sie uns die Abkommen durch solche Schiedsstellen nicht gefährden!

**Sergio Gaetano Cofferati (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Presidente, il semestre lettone si apre in una fase molto delicata per l'Europa: dovremo fronteggiare il terrorismo con azioni efficaci comuni – spero che quest'azione sia basata sull'intelligence e sulla costruzione di una cultura, anzi al rafforzamento della cultura della libertà. Guai se mettesse in discussione le libertà fondamentali per i cittadini europei, se riducesse i loro diritti, se portasse a un'involuzione della democrazia invece che al suo rafforzamento!

Nel contempo, dovremo affrontare insieme il problema della crescita: l'Europa non è uscita dalla gravissima crisi che l'ha colpita. Servono politiche di investimento mirato e serve flessibilità nella gestione della spesa pubblica e dei conti di ciascun paese, fatti certo in quadro definito, ma con la flessibilità e la ragionevolezza che serve. Noi abbiamo bisogno di una crescita per i nostri figli, il semestre suo sarà molto impegnativo anche per questa ragione.

**Tanja Fajon (S&D).** - Latvija svojo pot začinja z določeno grenkobo. Ne zaradi vas gospa predsednica. Riga bo morala predsedovanju nujno dodati globalno in pa socialno razsežnost. Stopnjevanje nestrpnosti, nacionalizma, ekstremizma in drugih skrajnih obnašanj je danes razlog za veliko skrb.

Vzroke za radikalizacijo moramo iskati v naši družbi in prevzeti odgovornost. To nam je zausnica, da premalo pozornosti namenjamo multikulturalnosti in vključevanju priseljencev v našo družbo. Več naporov moramo vložiti v pomiritev in pa vzpostavitev premirja med zahodom in muslimanskim svetom in prvi tak pogumen korak bi bil – k sožitju narodov – priznanje Palestine.

Šokiralo me je nedavno poročanje francoskih medijev, da se v šolah stopnjuje nasilje med otroki in da nekateri celo niso želeli pristopiti k minuti molka. Evropa pa si prisluži tudi rdeči karton zaradi strogih varčevalnih ukrepov, zlasti na račun izobraževanja in sociale, še posebej za najranljivejše skupine v naši družbi.

**Patrizia Toia (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Presidente è bello che la Lettonia guidi l'Europa, perché ciò dimostra come l'unità degli europei – io vengo dal Sud, dall'Italia – può far camminare la storia e che una donna sia capo del Consiglio è un segno della *leadership* femminile. Auspicio e le chiedo di guidare il Consiglio in continuità con il lavoro della Presidenza italiana, che ha posto con forza e perseguito la priorità della crescita e degli investimenti, perché noi abbiamo bisogno di una governance economica europea forte ma finalizzata alla crescita, al lavoro non a deprimere l'Europa e a ingabbiarla.

Sulla politica industriale è importante quanto Lei dice, perché noi dobbiamo rafforzare la capacità produttiva del nostro continente mantenendo l'innovazione nei settori più eccellenti ma diffondendola in tutti i settori – le segnalo anche l'importanza del *made in*, come hanno fatto altri colleghi. Sul digitale, le dico che per la chiusura del pacchetto Telecom sono importanti le indicazioni del Parlamento europeo, che ha parlato chiaro: roaming zero, servizi accessibili e sicuri per i cittadini e investimenti per la banda larga. Un'ultima parola su EXPO e gli obiettivi del Millennio che sono pure ricompresi nel suo piano di lavoro.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Andi Cristea (S&D).** - Mr President, Prime Minister, the EU is confronted with many domestic challenges. During the debate this morning we have identified the priority issues and the way ahead, but today we cannot decouple domestic priorities from external challenges. The political and security landscape on the very doorstep of the Union is one of crisis and outright conflict, both to the east and to the south.

If the EU's success or credibility is determined in our own neighbourhood, then today the Union is called upon to make the ultimate effort for peace and prosperity on the European continent. I know that the Eastern Partnership summit in Riga constitutes a top priority for the Latvian Presidency. I am glad that Commission Vice-President Timmermans is here, because the Commission is already working on the review of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

This year we have a unique opportunity to make a fresh start. The Union needs bold action within and beyond its borders. Prime Minister, I wish you and the Latvian Presidency every success in this important test.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D).** - Senhor Presidente, no Ano Europeu do Desenvolvimento a prioridade dada pela Presidência da Letónia à agenda digital merece ser saudada. Há quem olhe para o digital como uma plataforma estritamente tecnológica. Não é. É sobre a plataforma energética e digital que a União Europeia tem que encontrar respostas para os nossos desafios de crescimento, de emprego, de conectividade e de segurança.

A União Europeia foi perdedora no ciclo tecnológico que está agora a chegar ao fim. Por isso ficámos expostos, económica e socialmente, e fomos desviados para a periferia geoestratégica. O novo ciclo tecnológico é uma oportunidade, uma oportunidade ao nível da segurança, uma oportunidade ao nível da cibersegurança, uma oportunidade na proteção de dados, uma oportunidade de criação de mais transparência, regulação de mercados, fiscalidade, uma oportunidade para a criação de novos produtos, de novos serviços geradores de riqueza, geradores de emprego.

Senhora Presidente, o sucesso da sua agenda será também o sucesso do Ano Europeu do Desenvolvimento e terá implicações dentro e fora da União Europeia. As maiores felicidades.

**Isabelle Thomas (S&D).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Première ministre, la réussite du plan d'investissement pour relancer la croissance et l'emploi est affichée dans votre programme comme une priorité et je m'en réjouis. Mais un plan de relance a besoin d'argent frais et – nous le voyons dans le montage et les discussions autour du plan Juncker – c'est difficile. Depuis plusieurs années, nous interpellons le Conseil sur l'urgence pour l'Union de retrouver des ressources propres. C'est une condition sine qua non pour sortir le budget de l'Union de la logique du juste retour, logique mortifère qui tue toute ambition communautaire.

La crise des paiements n'est rien d'autre qu'un endettement sournois de l'Union et les factures impayées, plus lourdes d'année en année, alimentent la méfiance et le discrédit vis-à-vis de nos institutions. Votre Présidence devra travailler sur des solutions concrètes proposées par la Commission. La proposition d'échéancier sur la crise des paiements et le premier rapport d'étape du groupe à haut niveau sur les ressources propres doivent figurer, me semble-t-il, parmi vos priorités.

Madame la Première ministre, avec la lourde tâche de prioriser les travaux du Conseil..

*(Le Président retire la parole à l'oratrice)*

**Enrique Guerrero Salom (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, señora Primera Ministra, señor Vicepresidente de la Comisión, en el debate de ayer sobre el anterior Consejo, el Consejo de diciembre, yo señalé que la Comisión había mostrado prontitud, pasión y determinación por llevar adelante su trabajo, había presentado a tiempo el programa de inversiones, había —ayer— aprobado la regulación del Fondo de inversiones estratégicas y, sobre todo, había declarado y puesto en práctica su voluntad de trabajar con el Parlamento a través del procedimiento legislativo ordinario.

Sin embargo, el Consejo de diciembre no fue un Consejo equivalente en ambición y en compromiso. No se asumieron compromisos de destinar fondos públicos a este fondo de inversión, a este plan de inversión. Yo pido a la Presidencia letona que utilice, desde el principio, su presión sobre los Estados miembros para que contribuyan con estos fondos al plan de inversión.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Respecto al Año Europeo del Desarrollo, se produce justamente en el período de su Presidencia la preparación de dos cumbres sumamente importantes para el desarrollo, como son la Cumbre sobre el Cambio Climático, en París, y la Cumbre, al final del año, en Nueva York, sobre los objetivos post 2015. Como ponente permanente del Parlamento Europeo para la ayuda humanitaria, quiero subrayar la necesidad de incluir la ayuda humanitaria, la perspectiva de la ayuda humanitaria, en lo que se refiere al año ..

*(El Presidente interrumpe al orador)*

*Catch-the-eye-Verfahren*

**Alojz Peterle (PPE).** - Vesel sem, da vidim na delu uspešno in ambiciozno Latvijo, prvič v vodilni evropski vlogi. Moje iskrene čestitke in najboljše želje. Latvija se je kvalificirala za to vlogo kot zgled države, ki je z odločnimi reformami premagala globoko krizo.

Kolegu, ki je nespoštljivo govoril o uspehu Latvije, bi rad rekel tole: če naš nekdanji kolega Dombrovskis pred nekaj leti s svojo ekipo ne bi prevzel odgovornosti za vladanje, bi ostala Latvija bolnik z bistveno višjo depopulacijo.

Pozdravljam ambicijo, celovit koncept in prioritete latvijskega predsedovanja. Pozdravljam tudi programsko usklajenost s Komisijo. Zelo mi je všeč napoved pregleda strategije 2020. Pričakujem, da bo strategija lepih ciljev nadgrajena z novimi integralnimi medsektorskimi razvojnimi koncepti.

Vidim izrazito potrebo, da pride do takega koncepta v trojčku energija, kmetijstvo in okolje. Posebno dodano vrednost želim Latviji glede prihodnosti vzhodnega sosedstva.

**Κώστας Μαυρίδης (S&D).** - Κυρία Πρωθυπουργέ, η ενέργεια είναι κύριος πυλώνας του «επενδυτικού πακέτου Juncker», όπως έχει ονομασθεί. Ταυτοχρόνως, η ενέργεια και η Ενεργειακή Ένωση είναι ένας στρατηγικός στόχος για όλη την Ευρώπη. Έχετε αναφέρει ότι λόγω της γεωγραφικής θέσης της χώρας σας, θα απευθυνθείτε, εκ του φυσικού, προς την Ανατολή. Ωστόσο, στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, στη νότια πλευρά της Ευρώπης, έχουμε σημαντικές εξελίξεις. Ένα κράτος μέλος μας, η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, της οποίας το ένα τρίτο του ευρωπαϊκού της εδάφους κατέχεται από την Τουρκία, προσπαθεί να εξορύξει και να αξιοποιήσει το φυσικό αέριο και την ενέργεια για τα στρατηγικά συμφέροντα της ίδιας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Με ένα πολύ ισχυρό ψήφισμά μας, εδώ, αναγνωρίσαμε τα κυριαρχικά της δικαιώματα και ταυτοχρόνως καταδικάσαμε τις ενέργειες της Τουρκίας. Έχουμε όμως και νέες παράνομες ενέργειες. Σας ζητώ να μας πείτε τι θα πράξετε επ' αυτού.

**Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski (ECR).** - Szanowna Pani Premier! Też bardzo chcę podziękować i pogratulować tego oszczędnego i solidnego wystąpienia. Bardzo się cieszę, że naród, który potrafił wyzwolić się od sowieckiej reprezentacji, może dziś przewodzić Unii Europejskiej, i cieszę się również, że podtrzymała Pani europejską politykę wschodnią tak wyraźnie, mówiąc szczerze i z odwagą, iż europejskiemu bezpieczeństwu i europejskiej solidarności grozi niebezpieczeństwo ze strony imperializmu rosyjskiego. To nie jest – jak mówiła jedna z moich przedmówczyń – wywoływanie wojny, to jest po prostu realna, solidarna odpowiedź na zagrożenie nie tylko dla Europy Wschodniej, ale także dla całego Starego Kontynentu. Dziękuję za te słowa. To było rzeczywiście wystąpienie solidne i oszczędne. Chciałbym przede wszystkim pogratulować też tego fragmentu, który dotyczył oszczędnej legislacji, jasnej, oszczędnej legislacji.

**José Inácio Faria (ALDE).** - Senhora Primeira-Ministra, bem-vinda. Ouvimos hoje aqui as principais áreas de prioridade para a Presidência letã, sendo que uma delas se prende com uma União Europeia mais competitiva para apoiar o crescimento, maior bem-estar para os cidadãos e mais desenvolvimento futuro. Não podemos estar mais de acordo quanto a estes objetivos.

Quero, no entanto, referir-me a uma proposta legislativa de que sou relator e que toca nestes pontos: a diretiva da transparência das medidas que regulamentam os preços dos medicamentos para uso humano à qual V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> não faz qualquer referência. Razão tem a minha colega Sophia in 't Veld quando diz que há muitas propostas legislativas bloqueadas no Conselho. Trata-se, Senhora Presidente do Conselho, com esta diretiva, de facultar aos doentes um acesso mais rápido aos medicamentos inovadores melhorando o seu bem-estar. Trata-se de acelerar a entrada no mercado de medicamentos genéricos, o que significa menores custos para os sistemas nacionais de saúde. Trata-se ainda de diminuir o peso burocrático às empresas num setor industrial que é estratégico para a competitividade europeia.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Recordo, Senhora Primeira-Ministra, que o Parlamento Europeu assumiu já a sua posição em primeira leitura e que nesta legislatura, eu e os meus colegas...

*(O Presidente retira a palavra ao orador)*

**Lidia Senra Rodríguez (GUE/NGL).** - Senhora Presidente, hoje na União Europeia, sobretudo nos povos do Sul - a Galiza entre eles - muitas pessoas sofrem de pobreza, fome, e exclusão social. A Presidência letã deveria encaminhar os trabalhos para estabelecer a renda básica universal.

A saúde e o acesso a medicamentos. Hoje em dia há pessoas doentes com hepatite C que não recebem medicamentos por causa da especulação e da Troica. Não acha que um dos objetivos da Presidência deveria ser recuperar os serviços públicos e garantir o acesso de todas as pessoas à saúde?

Do desemprego que atinge os jovens, nada foi dito também.

Em 31 de março acabam as quotas leiteiras. Há uma grande preocupação no setor. A redução dos preços na origem já é uma realidade. Não acha que deveria ser um objetivo da Presidência propor que continuem as políticas públicas para o controlo da produção?

Juntemo-nos ao vento do sul, que chegará da Grécia com Syriza, para impulsionar as mudanças de que a União Europeia tanto precisa.

**Gianluca Buonanno (NI).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io mi rivolgo a chi oggi inizia questa avventura del semestre europeo. Al di là di tutti i paroloni che si fanno, facendo anche il sindaco, vedo gente tutti i giorni che mi chiede aiuto, che chiede delle risposte sia alla mia città, alla mia nazione, l'Italia, ma anche all'Europa.

Abbiamo visto in questi anni quanto la gente sia diventata più povera, le politiche europee l'hanno fatta diventare più povera. Allora io le dico: facciamo una cosa molto concreta. Lei lo sa che in Europa negli ultimi mesi e negli ultimi anni è diminuita la possibilità di mangiare la carne mentre è aumentato l'acquisto delle uova perché sono molto più economiche? Forse qua dentro nessuno capisce che cosa sia la carne? Queste sono due fettine di carne, la gente europea, milioni di persone, non riescono più a mangiare questo perché è diventato un miraggio, perché non ci sono i soldi. In compenso mangiano solo uova! Allora fate la politica per i piccoli, aiutate le famiglie, aiutate la gente che non ha la possibilità di comprare neanche più le fettine di carne e facciamo in modo che le uova vanno bene consumate ma ..

*(Il presidente interrompe l'oratore)*

**Marek Plura (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowna Pani Premier! Cieszę się, że prezydencja łotewska uwzględniła w swoich priorytetach kwestię praw człowieka i włączenie społeczne, a także, że planuje się zająć sytuacją osób niepełnosprawnych. Wierzę, że działania prezydencji przyczynią się do znaczącego postępu prac nad wprowadzeniem Europejskiej Karty Osoby Niepełnosprawnej. Dzięki Karcie osoby niepełnosprawne przemieszczając się mogłyby w pełni korzystać z udogodnień oferowanych w poszczególnych krajach, co przyczyni się do większej mobilności i pełniejszego dostępu do pracy i nauki zagranicą dla tej grupy obywateli Europy. Mam też nadzieję, że projekt wprowadzenia Karty znajdzie się w programie spotkania wysokiego szczebla na temat niepełnosprawności, które odbędzie się w maju.

**Neena Gill (S&D).** - Mr President, my congratulations to Latvia for taking over the first Presidency of the EU.

Prime Minister, I welcome your programme and in particular the importance you have placed on the financial services sector and the need to get the framework right. However, as a rapporteur for the money market funds, I am disappointed not to see this more clearly in your programme. This is important legislation that has been on the table since September 2013, and the main concerns and possible solutions are well established. The Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of this House will vote on this in March this year. Therefore I would like your commitment that your Presidency will work with us to conclude on this issue.

A quick second point: you place great emphasis on developing relations with Central Asia. I would ask you to expand this to the whole of Asia, especially India and China, and I hope you will set the framework for re-establishing EU-India summits.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE).** - W najbliższym półroczu Unia będzie próbowała powrócić na ścieżkę wzrostu gospodarczego. Plan Junckera jest ambitny, a oczekiwania związane z jego wdrożeniem niemałe. Przed prezydencją stoi ważne, ale trudne zadanie sprawnego przeprowadzenia prac nad utworzeniem Europejskiego Funduszu na rzecz Inwestycji Strategicznych. Wniosek ustawodawczy w tej sprawie Komisja ma przedstawić jeszcze w styczniu.

Drugą, równie ważną kwestią jest bezpieczeństwo i stabilność polityczna naszego kontynentu. Nasza wspólnota nie będzie bezpieczna, jeśli za wschodnią granicą wciąż będzie się toczył konflikt zbrojny. Dlatego zgadzam się z panią premier, że Europa musi być bardziej zaangażowana w skali międzynarodowej. Europejska polityka sąsiedztwa wymaga wzmocnienia i być może także przeformułowania, a planowany na maj szczyt Partnerstwa Wschodniego będzie w tym kontekście kluczowy.

Łotwa przedstawiła rozsądny program i wybrała dobre priorytety. Każde działanie Unii, aby było efektywne, musi odbywać się przy współpracy Komisji, Parlamentu i Rady.

**Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D)** - Moja krajina, Slovenská republika, bude v roku 2016 tiež predsedať prvýkrát Európskej únii. Vy prichádzate v čase, keď je situácia v Európe veľmi dramatická z pohľadu zahraničnopolitických, ale aj z pohľadu ekonomických a sociálnych záležitostí. Máme tu ťažkú situáciu v Grécku, máme ťažkú situáciu na Ukrajine. To všetko bude súčasťou vašej agendy a to všetko budete musieť riešiť možno rýchlejšie ako veľmi ušľachtilú myšlienku digitálnej agendy, ktorú ste si do svojho programu dali.

Ja by som vám teda chcela zaželať, aby sa vám to všetko dobre podarilo. Pretože občanom členských štátov Európskej únie musíme ukázať, že robíme niečo pre nich; že všetko to, o čom tu rokujeme, má nielen byrokratický a administratívny rozmer, ale má to priamy dopad na ich životy. Pochádzate tiež z krajiny, kde situácia zamestnaných a ich mzdy nie sú také dobré, ako niekde v západnej Európe, takže dúfam, že sa bude aj táto situácia zlepšovať. U nás na Slovensku by sme to ocenili.

*(Ende des Catch-the-eye-Verfahrens)*

**Frans Timmermans, First Vice-President of the Commission.** - Mr President, I note with great satisfaction that there is a lot of expectation in Parliament for the Latvian Presidency, and you do not have such a level of expectation without an equal level of trust in the ability of the Latvian Presidency to perform that duty. The Commission fully shares the trust in the Latvian Presidency. We know from experience that there is only one way Europe moves forward, and that is if the three institutions responsible for moving Europe forward work together, hand in hand, with a joint programme and with joint ideas about the future.

I want to come back to an issue which was raised by one of the honourable Members about the ability of Latvia to play its part, in the context of its history and its difficult paths in the last couple of years. Exactly 24 years ago I was in Riga when the oppressor, the Soviet Union, tried to prevent Latvia from fulfilling its destiny of being a free country again, and violence was used on the streets of Riga. I was there, I witnessed it, and it is a moment of great pride and joy for me to be standing here today, 24 years later, seeing in this institution the Latvian Presidency with its ambitions, its talent and its ability to take the European Union ahead with our ambitions and with everything we need to do in the next six months.

If you had told me in that cold January in 1991 that this was going to happen in January 2015, I would have probably called medical services to have you committed – but here is what has been achieved, thanks to the ambitions of the Latvian people to be free. They did not choose to become members of the European Union because they wanted somebody in the European Commission, because they wanted somebody in the European Parliament or because they wanted to be part of institutions. They wanted to be members of the European Union because they shared the values upon which the European Union is based. That was the European family they wanted to belong to, and they have made these ambitions come true.

Today those values are being challenged from the outside as well as from the inside of the Union, and the ambition of the Latvian Presidency, mirrored by the ambition I hear today in Parliament and by the ambition of the Commission, is to face the challenges and give an answer to them: to make sure that more people get jobs in Europe, that our rule of law is strengthened in Europe, that we are stronger in order to face outside threats, and that we use the potential of the energy union, of the digital single market and of all the things that will create a stronger European economy.

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I want to conclude by saying that the Commission has full trust in the excellence of the Latvian Presidency and its ability actually to deliver what all of us here today want for the European Union.

**Laimdota Straujuma**, *Amatā esošā Padomes priekšsēdētāja*. - Cienījamie deputāti! Komisijas locekļi! Vispirms es gribu pateikt lielu paldies jums par interesi, viedokļiem un jautājumiem. Un gribu pateikt paldies Frans Timmermans kungam par atgādinājumu par to, kas notika tieši janvāra dienās Rīgā. Es zinu, ka viņš bija tieši tajā vietā, kur tai mirklī šāva visvairāk. Tā kā tas ir zināms emocionāls mirklis. Es mēģināšu atbildēt uz jūsu jautājumiem, bet vispirms gribu pateikt, ka ir ļoti svarīgi, ka Eiropas Parlaments, Komisija un Padome strādā kopā. Un tikai kopā mēs varēsim panākt to, ko daži no Parlamenta locekļiem teica, proti, ka mēs strādāsim mūsu cilvēku — Eiropas cilvēku — labā. Savas atbildes uz politisko grupu un deputātu komentāriem un jautājumiem es sagrupēju trīs daļās: pirmkārt, drošība, tad — iesaistīta vai globāla Eiropa un, treškārt, izaugsme.

Par drošību. Tā ir visu mūsu atbildība sniegt atbildi drošības izaicinājumiem, un šajā ziņā es uzskatu, ka Šengenas sistēma un brīva personu kustība ir nenoliedzams Eiropas Savienības pamatprincips. Nevaru piekrist deputātiem, kuri aicina apturēt Šengenas darbību. Apturot Šengenas darbību, mēs demonstrēsim savu vājumu un parādīsim tiem, kas uzbrūk mūsu vērtībām, ka viņi var gūt virsroku un panākt savu. Varu tikai vārds vārdā atkārtot Gianni Pitella kunga teikto par Šengenu. Attiecībā uz daudz pieminētā pasažieru reģistra datiem aicinu vēlreiz paraudzīties uz šiem jautājumiem. Saprotam, ka jautājumi ir politiski jutīgi elementi; mēs varam diskutēt par modalitātēm, bet mums ir jārikojas.

Par iesaistītu Eiropu. Es absolūti piekrītu, ka mums vienlīdz liela uzmanība jāpievērš mūsu kaimiņiem gan dienvidos, gan austrumos. Vēlos vēlreiz uzsvērt, ko jau minēju savā uzrunā, proti, ka Krievijas agresija Ukrainā nav tikai divpusējs Krievijas un Ukrainas jautājums, bet tas ir jautājums arī par Eiropas un pasaules drošību. Labākais veids, kā risināt šo krīzi no Eiropas Savienības puses, ir saglabāt Eiropas Savienības vienotību šajā jautājumā. Eiropai, Eiropas Savienībai jāturpina aizstāvēt savi principi gan vārdos, gan arī darbos. Mēs uzskatām, ka mums jāstrādā trijos virzienos. Vispirms jāsniedz praktiskais un politiskais atbalsts Ukrainai un citām Austrumu partnerības valstīm. Protams, mēs sagaidām arī reformas, kas notiek šajās valstīs. Otrkārt, jārisina attiecības ar Krieviju, turpinot diplomātisko dialogu un spiedienu, ievērojot starptautiskās tiesības un Minskas vienošanos. Treškārt, ir jānostiprina sava iekšējā un ārējā drošība.

Prezidentūras laikā mēs centīsimies veidot politisko procesu un panākt, meklēt miermīlīgu un ilgtspējīgu risinājumu konfliktam Ukrainā, respektējot valstu neatkarību, suverenitāti un teritoriālo integritāti. Mums visiem ir svarīga — un es uzskatu, ka arī Krievijai ir svarīga — stipra un stabila Ukraina. Tāpēc (un te saku paldies Komisijai, kas to šogad jau ir izdarījusi) jāsniedz atbalsts Ukrainas ekonomikai.

Tālāk, atbildot uz deputāta Dimitrios Papadimoulis jautājumu par transatlantisko tirdzniecības un investīciju partnerību (TTIP), mēs uzskatām, ka TTIP jābūt abpusēji izdevīgam līgumam. Mums jābūt abām pusēm vienlīdzīgiem partneriem — Eiropas Savienībai un Amerikas Savienotajām Valstīm. Ņemot vērā pieaugošo sabiedrības interesi par TTIP, mēs aktīvi sadarbosimies, lai sarunas, ko veiks Komisija, būtu arī saistītas un tiktu atspoguļotas sabiedrībai. Ir ļoti svarīgi informēt sabiedrību un nodrošināt daudz lielāku caurskatāmību šajās sarunās.

Ja runājam par izaugsmi, tad, kā jau daži no kolēģiem teica — un arī to atbalsta Komisija —, nākamajos gados Eiropas Savienības izaugsmes pamatā jābūt strukturālām reformām, fiskālajai atbildībai un investīcijām. Un investīcijas un sociālā dimensija ir savstarpēji saistītas. Ja nav izaugsmes, ikvienai valdībai ir grūti būt sociālai. Tāpēc es uzskatu, ka ir jāprot domāt par abām dimensijām. Mēs esam ilgstoši runājuši par investīcijām teorētiski, un šodien es gribu apsveikt Komisiju un Jean-Claude Juncker kungu, ka Komisija ir piedāvājusi priekšlikumu investīcijām Eiropas Savienībai, un tā ir Latvijas prezidentūras, Komisijas misija, un man ir lūgums arī Parlamentam uzskatīt to par savu misiju, lai šīs investīciju programmas risinājumi būtu pieejami mūsu uzņēmējiem jau šā gada nākamajā pusgadā.

Es dzirdēju daudzus vārdus par Latvijas krīzes pārvarēšanu. Paldies par novērtējumu, un es pieņemu arī kritiku, bet ir skaidrs, ka Latvija krīzi ir pārvarējusi un Latvijas izaugsme turpinās, un mēs ar to lepojamies. Katrai valstij, kurā ir krīze, es nevaru teikt, ka Latvija būs piemērs visām valstīm, kā rīkoties. Katra valsts ir unikāla, un katra valsts izvēlas pati savu ceļu, kā rīkoties krīzes pārvarēšanā. Mēs esam izvēlējušies savu ceļu, un tas ir bijis veiksmīgs. Un es gribu teikt, ka ne tikai taupība bija Latvijas krīzes pārvarēšanas ceļa pamatā. Tās bija arī investīcijas, tā bija veiksmīga kohēzijas līdzekļu izmantošana, tās bija strukturālās reformas, tas bija vesels pasākumu komplekss. Un te — Manfred Weber kungs aizgāja, bet, kā jau teicu, es gribētu piekrist arī tam, ko Weber kungs un vairāki citi kolēģi teica, ka izaugsme iespējama tikai tad,



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ja mēs atrodam šo pareizo balansu starp fiskālo disciplīnu, strukturālām reformām un investīcijām ekonomikā. Šis ir ne tikai Latvijas, bet gan mūsu visu kopējs izaicinājums.

Tālāk deputāts Dimitrios Papadimoulis par kohēziju. Kā jau minēju iepriekš, mums kohēzija ir ļoti svarīga. Mēs to saprotam, mēs to izmantojam, un mēs Latvijā ļoti labi redzam, kā gan kohēzija, gan struktūrfondi veicina mūsu ekonomikas izaugsmi. Par 315 miljardu investīciju plānu. Vēlos vēlreiz apliecināt, ka Latvijas prezidentūra strādās, balstoties uz decembra Eiropadomē nolemtu, lai veicinātu savlaicīgu vienošanos. Un vienlaikus es gribu piekrist Robertam Zīles kungam un Matt Carthy kungam par to, ka mums jāmeklē veidi, kā veicināt investīcijas ikvienā Eiropas Savienības dalībvalstī. Un, protams, es arī piekrītu Jean Arthuis kungam par investīciju vides sakārtošanu. Un ir skaidrs, ka, lai mēs ieviestu šo investīciju plānu, mums ir vajadzīga, es jau atkārtoti minēju, mums būs vajadzīga trīspusēja sadarbība. Un ne tikai trīspusēja Padome. Tas nozīmē visas 28 valstis.

Vairāki deputāti pieskārs jautājumam par Grieķiju. Vēlos teikt, ka mēs cieši sekojam notikumu attīstībai Grieķijā. Mums jāņem vērā un jārespektē Grieķijas iedzīvotāju izvēle, kuru tie veiks 25. janvārī. Mēs pieņemam, ka pēc vēlēšanām Grieķija īstenošos to, ko paredz vienošanās, un turpinās reformu programmu, par kuru tā vienojusies ar starptautiskajiem līderiem vai valstu vadītājiem. Izmaiņas programmā var tikt veiktas, bet tikai tad, ja ir visu pušu piekrišana. Pēc Grieķijas vēlēšanām būs nepieciešams rast Grieķijai un Eiropas Savienībai abpusēji pieņemamu risinājumu. Es uzskatu, ka mēs visi esam ieinteresēti, lai Grieķija paliktu eirozonā un turpinātu tos solījumus, ko tā ir devusi, virzoties uz ekonomisko atlabšanu.

Tālāk, vairāki kolēģi mūs uzrunāja ar jautājumiem par enerģētikas savienību. Gribu pateikt paldies visiem, kuri atbalstīja šo mūsu prioritāti, kas ir viens no konkurētspējas nosacījumiem, un Latvijas prezidentūra turpinās strādāt pie enerģētikas savienības izveides. Esam gandarīti, ka tās izveide sāksies Rīgas procesa ietvaros. Jaunajā enerģētikas savienībā svarīgākajiem elementiem ir jābūt dalībvalstu solidaritātei, funkcionējošam, labi savienotam enerģētikas iekšējam tirgum, spēcīgai enerģētikas diplomātijai, konkurētspējīgai enerģijai un enerģētiskajai neatkarībai, kā arī, kā jau daži minēja, pārvaldības jautājumiem.

Atbildot uz deputātu Sophia in 't Veld un Pilar del Castillo Vera jautājumu par telekomunikāciju vienoto tirgu, prezidentūra turpinās darbu pie priekšlikuma un strādās pie kompromisa panākšanas Padomē. Saprotu, ka tas nav vienkārši, bet turpmākajam darbam jākoncentrējas uz tiem priekšlikuma elementiem, kas sniegs pievienoto vērtību, proti, viesabonēšanu un tīklu neitralitāti. Vēlamies panākt kvalitatīvu risinājumu — tādu, kas radīs ieguvumus. Mums jāizvairās no mobilo sakaru izmaksu kāpuma dalībvalstu iekšienē. Atbildot uz deputātes Sophia in 't Veld jautājumu par datu aizsardzību, mūsu prezidentūras prioritāte ir aktīvi strādāt pie datu regulas ar mērķi panākt vispārēju pieeju Tieslietu un iekšlietu ministru padomē. Uzskatām, ka digitalizācijas laikmetā vienots datu aizsardzības regulējums stiprinās datu aizsardzību Eiropā. Vienlaikus Latvija pilnībā apzinās diskusiju sarežģītību par atlikušajiem problēmjautājumiem un šo projektu kopumā.

Deputāts Pavel Telička runāja par labāku likumdošanu. Es pilnīgi atbalstu pirmā viceprezidenta Frans Timmermans darbu, lai mēs tiešām nonāktu pie labākas likumdošanas, lai mēs vienmēr būtu izvērtējuši pašu piemērotāko risinājumu un lai mūsu pieņemtās politikas būtu visperspektīvākās.

Vēl es gribētu izmantot iespēju un aicināt Eiropas Parlamentu atjaunot darbu pie Eiropas pasažieru datu reģistra. Es aicinu un ticu, ka Eiropas Parlaments būs ciešs sadarbības partneris Padomei un Komisijai.

Cienījamie deputāti! Cienījamā Komisija! Es gribu vēlreiz pateikt paldies visiem par interesi, par uzdotajiem jautājumiem. Tas iedvesmos Latvijas prezidentūru tālākam darbam. Mēs — katrs no mums — esam gatavi strādāt kopā ar jums, lai izveidotu labāku Eiropu, kura ir labvēlīga katram Eiropas Savienības iedzīvotājam. Paldies jums visiem!

**Der Präsident.** - Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 162 GO)*

**Biljana Borzan (S&D), napisan.** – Kao izvjestiteljica u sjeni za regulativu o In vitro medicinskim uređajima i direktivu o transparentnosti mjera za određivanje cijena lijekova, nadam se da će latvijsko predsjedanje Europskim vijećem donijeti zakonodavni napredak koji Europski parlament i europski pacijenti već predugo čekaju. Pozivam kolege iz Vijeća da se uhvate u koštac sa sve većim problemom prekomjernog uživanja alkohola u Europi, pogotovo među mladima. Alkoholizam košta europska gospodarstva oko 150 milijardi eura godišnje, dok je društvena šteta nemjerljiva. Nadam se da će latvijski kolege pokazati malo političke hrabrosti i predložiti nova rješenja za ovaj problem. Pozdravljam najave da će jedan od prioriteta biti reguliranje i razvoj eHealth i mHealth tehnologija. To su alati koji nacionalnim zdravstve-

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nim sustavima mogu pomoći u situaciji u kojima su troškovi sve veći, a proračunska sredstva sve manja.

**Κώστας Χρυσόγονος (GUE/NGL), γραπτώς.** – Θα ήθελα να ευχηθώ καλή επιτυχία στη Λετονική Προεδρία, αλλά φοβάμαι ότι το πρόγραμμα το οποίο κατέθεσε δεν προσιωνίζεται τίποτα τέτοιο. Η νέα Προεδρία ξεκινάει από ουτοπικές παραδοχές, όταν μας βεβαιώνει ότι τα σύμφωνα οικονομικής διακυβέρνησης Six-Pack και Two-Pack του 2011 και του 2013 βοήθησαν δίδεν στην καλύτερη αντιμετώπιση του υπερβολικού δημόσιου χρέους των κρατών-μελών της Ένωσης. Στην πραγματικότητα το συνολικό δημόσιο χρέος των 18 κρατών-μελών της ευρωζώνης σημείωσε μεγάλη αύξηση στα χρόνια της κρίσης, από 83% του ΑΕΠ τους το 2010 στο 95% το 2014, πολύ μακριά από τον στόχο της Συνθήκης του Μάαστριχτ για δημόσιο χρέος κάτω του 60% του ΑΕΠ. Από την άλλη πλευρά εξάλλου οι ακολουθούμενες πολιτικές σκληρής λιτότητας διογκώνουν την ανεργία και οδηγούν ολοένα μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό του πληθυσμού στο κατώφλι της φτώχειας ή κάτω από αυτό. Εκείνο που χρειαζόμαστε για να καταστεί βιώσιμη η νομισματική ένωση είναι μια γενικευμένη αναδιάρθρωση του δημόσιου χρέους με ευθύνη και πρωτοβουλία των ευρωπαϊκών θεσμών. Εάν δεν υπάρξει ουσιαστική ελάφρυνση με τον τρόπο αυτόν του δημόσιου χρέους ιδίως των μεσογειακών κρατών-μελών είναι μακροπρόθεσμα αδύνατη η επιβίωση της ευρωζώνης.

**Carlos Coelho (PPE), por escrito.** – Os ataques terroristas a Paris levaram a que fosse transformada em prioridade horizontal da presidência Letã algo que deve estar sempre no núcleo da actuação da União: a defesa dos valores europeus. A Presidência colocou também como prioridade a resolução do dossier PNR o que já me parece mais discutível. Importa lembrar que, ao longo dos últimos anos, a UE tem vindo a aprovar diversos instrumentos de combate ao terrorismo. Em particular desde 2001, temos dedicado particular atenção a este fenómeno. Nomeadamente com o fortalecimento da Europol, dos mecanismos de cooperação entre polícias ou o desenvolvimento do novo Sistema de Informação Schengen. Além das diversas propostas já em discussão, a Presidência letã definiu como prioridade a revisão da estratégia europeia de segurança interna, que identificará os desafios, princípios e orientações dentro da União Europeia. Espero que a Presidência mantenha uma abordagem equilibrada e não coloque em causa, em nome da segurança, o valor que esta visa proteger: a Liberdade. Se, em nome da luta contra o terrorismo, aceitarmos limitar as nossas liberdades estaremos a conceder aos terroristas a vitória com que eles sonham: destruir as nossas sociedades e os valores que nos definem.

**Viorica Dăncilă (S&D), în scris.** – Salut programul Președinției letone și apreciez atenția acordată domeniului siguranței alimentare. Suntem siguri că Uniunea Europeană are nevoie de revizuirea regulamentelor privind siguranța alimentelor. Avem nevoie de reguli clare care să prevină situațiile neplăcute în care anumiți producători sunt acuzați pe nedrept de încălcarea regulilor europene din domeniu. Exemplul concludent este cel al României. În ianuarie 2013, producătorii din țara mea au fost implicați, pe nedrept, în scandalul etichetării greșite a produselor din carne de cal. Este nedrept ca producători cinstiți să aibă de suferit de pe urma greșelilor sau relei-voințe a unor agenți comerciali necinstiți. Regulamentele și procedurile ar trebui să fie astfel create încât autorii faptelor să fie identificați cât mai repede, fără a exista victime colaterale. În ceea ce privește creșterea competitivității agriculturii europene și crearea de noi locuri de muncă în acest domeniu, consider că o atenție sporită ar trebui acordată exploatațiilor mici, fermelor familiale, de până în 10 hectare, care constituie o bună parte a suprafeței agricole cultivate în special în Europa de Est.

**Martina Dlabajová (ALDE), in writing.** – Mr President, first of all congratulations to Latvia, one of the smallest EU Member States, which has been entrusted – for the first time – with the great honour and responsibility to lead the Union for the next six months. I am pleased to see that the Presidency is pursuing a significant agenda in the field of employment and social affairs. As a priority, Latvia should set as a goal to call on the Member States struggling with high unemployment to implement, as a matter of urgency, structural reforms in their labour markets to improve the situation, with a specific focus on young people. Another aim should be to further facilitate labour mobility in the EU. Latvia should aim to conclude an agreement with the European Parliament on EURES regulation (the EU job search portal) as part of this wider objective. This should be accompanied by a Presidency-led communication campaign to inform the European citizens about their rights as well as job opportunities in the other Member States. Paldies!

**András Gyürk (PPE), írásban.** – Abban a „szerencsés” helyzetben vagyok, hogy Magyarország képviselőjeként egy balti állam képviselőjének nem kell magyaráznom az energetikai függőség problematikáját, az alternatív beszerzési lehetőségek és az infrastruktúraépítés fontosságát. Habár az lett elnökség három hivatalos célkitűzése között nem szerepel közvetlenül az energiabiztonság, a versenyképes Európai Unió megteremtésének egyik záloga a versenyző energiaforrások és az egységes, integrált energiapiac kiépítése. Aggodalommal tölt el, hogy mennyire nehézkes, lassú az energetikai célkitűzéseink megvalósítása: az egységes energiapiac megvalósításának céldátuma 2014 volt – mostanra világosan látjuk, hogy ezt nem sikerült teljes mértékben teljesíteni. A harmadik energiacsomag mihamarabbi végrehajtása elengedhetetlen a

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piacok teljes integrációjához. A másik nehezen alakuló terület az egy hangon szólás a külső partnerek felé. Az ukrán helyzet kezelése kihívás az Európai Unió részére, ezért is kiemelten fontos a megfelelő egyeztetési protokollok, gyakorlat kiépítése. Úgy látom, hogy mind a versenyképességi szempontok, mind az ellátásbiztonsági megfontolások miatt gyors cselekvésre van szükség. Ezért is tekintek várakozással az energiaunió-dosszié megvitatására a következő hónapokban.

**Ian Hudghton (Verts/ALE), in writing.** – I welcome the acknowledgement by the Latvian Prime Minister of the need for greater transparency in the TTIP negotiation, in recognition of the growing public interest in this proposed EU/US trade deal. In my view it is crucial that TTIP does not limit the ability of the Scottish Parliament to organise public services in the way that best fits the needs of the people of Scotland. This applies most of all to health services. TTIP must not be allowed to impede the Scottish Government's freedom to manage healthcare in Scotland. In a broader sense TTIP must not curtail the ability of the Scottish Parliament to bring public services back into the public domain if that is the democratic will of the Scottish people, and to manage them in the way the Scottish people see fit. If these criteria are not met then the treaty would clearly be undemocratic. This will be of particular importance within areas such as procurement which could be too easily overlooked, particularly the promotion of local economic activity and local supply of food to public institutions like schools. I would not support TTIP if public services and local democracy were to be undermined.

**Jarosław Kalinowski (PPE), na piśmie.** – Priorytety prezydencji łotewskiej dotyczą ze strategicznego punktu widzenia najważniejszych obszarów rozwoju Unii Europejskiej. Skupienie się na zapewnieniu konkurencyjności naszej gospodarki i stabilności rynku wewnętrznego to zdecydowanie właściwa decyzja. W obliczu strasznych zawirowań wynikających z rosyjskiego embarga na produkty rolne pochodzące z państw członkowskich to właśnie rynek wewnątrz Wspólnoty stoi przed największymi wyzwaniami. Gorąco liczę na to, że prezydencja łotewska nada sprawom rolnym najwyższy priorytet. Efektywne wykorzystanie zasobów naturalnych oraz uproszczenia we wdrażaniu reformy Wspólnej Polityki Rolnej to także istotne zagadnienia, którym Łotwa zamierza poświęcić wiele uwagi na posiedzeniach Rady ds. Rolnictwa i Rybołówstwa. Niewątpliwie zapewnienie bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego oraz energetycznego Unii to podstawy dalszych działań. Cieszy również zwrócenie uwagi na rozwój polityki sąsiedztwa i wzmocnienie Partnerstwa Wschodniego, a także obietnice przywrócenia do kalendarza prac dyrektywy dotyczącej walki z terroryzmem. Prezydencja łotewska w Radzie UE przypada na okres dość szczególny, z uwagi na zmianę na stanowisku przewodniczącego Rady Europejskiej, nowy skład Komisji, a także ze względu na aktualne wydarzenia w Europie i jej bliskim sąsiedztwie. Mam nadzieję, że współpraca z najważniejszymi instytucjami UE będzie efektywna, a priorytety Łotwy dotyczące kluczowych zagadnień pozwolą kierować pracami Rady w taki sposób, by najbliższe półrocze przyniosło Europie i jej mieszkańcom wiele dobrego.

**Ádám Kósa (PPE), írásban.** – Mindenekelőtt szeretném megköszönni az elnökségnek, hogy fogyatékoságügyben és különösen a katasztrófák és természeti csapások kezelésekor a fogyatékos emberek szempontjait is figyelembe veszi – és itt csak utalnék az év elején megrendezett magas és szakmai szintű elnökségi rendezvényre, ahol a DRR (Disaster Risk Reduction) elemei megvitatásra kerültek fogyatékoságügyi szempontból. Ez a téma nemcsak azért fontos, mert a 112-es hívószám kapcsán már eddig is aktív volt az Európai Parlament, hanem mert a fogyatékos személyek jogairól szóló ENSZ egyezmény (CRPD) is kiemelten kezeli ezt a kérdéskört. Európában elsősorban a hőség és az árvizek okoznak katasztrófális állapotokat szemben Ázsiával (földrengés és szökőár), azonban ázsiai partnereink a stratégiai tervezés és gondolkodás téren előbbre járnak és érdemes tőlük tanulni. Ezért is üdvözlöm, hogy egy magas szintű találkozót tervez fogyatékoságügyben a jelenlegi elnökség munkájának végeztével és remélem, hogy ebben a kérdéskörben már előrelépésekről lehet majd beszámolni.

**Krystyna Łybacka (S&D), na piśmie.** – Cieszy mnie fakt, że prezydencja łotewska zamierza wzmocnić istotną rolę edukacji i szkoleń w promowaniu wzrostu gospodarczego, inwestycji i dobrobytu obywateli. To bardzo ważne deklaracje w kontekście przeglądu strategii Europa 2020 oraz realizacji planu inwestycyjnego Junckera. W programie wymienia się również przegląd realizacji procesu bolońskiego w ramach spotkania ministrów szkolnictwa wyższego w Erywaniu. Zaangażowanie prezydencji w odpowiednie przygotowanie tego spotkania jest kluczowe dla dalszego rozwoju procesu bolońskiego oraz tworzenia Europy opartej na wiedzy. Należy zauważyć, że pomimo iż zmiany będące wynikiem tego procesu zachodzą głównie na uczelniach, to jednak inicjatywa ta ma w znacznie mierze charakter polityczny. Stanowi on próbę wypracowania wspólnej reakcji na problemy występujące w większości krajów, w tym m.in. bezrobocie młodej, niewystarczające dostosowanie systemów kształcenia do rynku pracy czy bariery utrudniające mobilność.

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Między innymi z tych względów proces boloński i europejski obszar szkolnictwa wyższego mają do odegrania kluczową rolę w tworzeniu gospodarki Unii opartej na wiedzy i innowacyjności, stymulowaniu inwestycji, wzmacnianiu zatrudnienia oraz budowaniu tożsamości europejskiej. Istnieje pilna potrzeba kontynuacji i konsolidacji procesu bolońskiego, określenia nowych wyzwań i kierunków działań, zwiększenia jego finansowania, podkreślenia wymiaru społecznego i skoncentrowania się na przygotowaniu absolwentów do potrzeb rynku pracy.

**David McAllister (PPE)**, *schriftlich*. – Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Europäischen Parlament und dem Kongress der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika sind langjährig und intensiv. Daher finden jährlich zwei interparlamentarische Treffen statt zwischen Vertretern des Kongresses und Mitgliedern der Delegation für Beziehungen zu den Vereinigten Staaten des Europäischen Parlaments, deren Vorsitzender ich bin. Im Dezember haben wir uns mit der amerikanischen Seite darauf geeinigt, die Stärkung der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungszusammenarbeit in den Mittelpunkt der Diskussionen innerhalb des nächsten interparlamentarischen Treffens zu setzen. Die amerikanische Ko-Präsidentschaft des Transatlantischen Gesetzgeberdialogs ist sehr interessiert daran, dass dieses Treffen in Riga stattfindet. Dies hat zwei Gründe: Zum einen bestehen die transatlantischen Beziehungen neben der Wirtschafts- und Handelspolitik auch aus einer gemeinsamen Verteidigungs- und Sicherheitspolitik. Im Lichte der ganz aktuellen Herausforderungen bietet sich ein Treffen in Riga also an. Das zweite wichtige Thema der Tagung soll die Energiesicherheit sein. Da die lettische Ratspräsidentschaft sich die „Gründung einer Energieunion“ als Schwerpunkt gesetzt hat, passt dies inhaltlich ebenfalls gut.

Der Symbolwert eines gemeinsamen Treffens zwischen Abgeordneten aus Washington und Straßburg sowie der EU-Ratspräsidentschaft wird im europäischen und globalen Kontext wichtig sein. Die lettische Ratspräsidentschaft bitte ich, zum Gelingen des interparlamentarischen Treffens beizutragen und an den politischen Diskussionen teilzunehmen.

**Cláudia Monteiro de Aguiar (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – A nova Presidência letã do Conselho tem como objetivo focar a sua atividade nas grandes propostas que serão apresentadas pela Comissão Europeia no primeiro semestre de 2015, sobretudo no que diz respeito ao novo Plano de Investimentos, ao Mercado Único Digital ou à criação da União Energética. Entendo que está na altura de avançarmos para a total integração do mercado digital, que permitirá a obtenção de importantes ganhos de eficiência. Estão em causa cerca de 260 mil milhões de euros por ano e um aumento do PIB de 4 % até 2020. Gostaria ainda de salientar que deve ser atribuída especial atenção à Península Ibérica no âmbito da criação da União Energética, dado que Portugal tem capacidade de produção de energia renovável que poderá exportar para toda a Europa, caso sejam estabelecidas as necessárias interligações.

**József Nagy (PPE)**, *in writing*. – The recent tragic events in Paris draw our attention to a significant and still-neglected segment of European integration: the co-existence of majority and minority nations. Minorities contribute to the diversity of the European Union. National minorities make up 8%, immigrant minorities up to 6% of the EU population. These numbers are not insignificant. We generally understand the diversity of the EU as being between Member States, but the cultural and national identity of the Member States would not be the same without the co-existence with minorities. An effective and well-balanced minority protection system serves as a tool of integration rather than disintegration. Traditional and new minorities, however, have different needs and need different protection systems. The EU citizens who belong to national minorities need attention at EU level. They should get the feeling that their existence is not neglected by Brussels. Therefore I expect steps in this direction from the EU during the Latvian Presidency. It is high time to accept European minimum standards for the protection of traditional national minorities. It is also high time to rethink the effectiveness of our policies with regard to immigrant communities.

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**Urmas Paet (ALDE), kirjalikult.** – Lätil on Euroopa Liidu eesistujana võimalus astuda pikk samm ELi idapartnerluse edasiarendamisel. Mais Riias toimuvaks ELi idapartnerluse tippkohtumiseks peaksid kõik ELi liikmesriigid ratifitseerima Ukraina, Moldova ja Gruusiaga sõlmitud assotsieerimislepingud, et need saaksid täies mahus jõustuda. Samuti tuleb ELi idapartnerluse tippkohtumiseks liikuda edasi viisavabaduse kehtestamisega Ukrainale ja Gruusiale, nii nagu seda tehti eelmisel aastal Moldovaga. Samuti tuleb Läti eesistumise ajal leida konkreetseid võimalusi tihendada suhteid kolme ülejäänud idapartnerluse riigi Aserbaidžaaniga, Armeenia ja Valgevenega. Ka tuleb tihendada suhteid Kesk-Aasia riikidega, kus Läti ka seni on olnud aktiivne. Seega on hea sellelt pinnalt edasi liikuda. Läti eesistumine ELis saab nii selles kui teistes valdkondades olema edukas. Läti on viimastel aastatel ise palju teinud - tulnud välja majandusraskustest, täitnud euroga liitumise kriteeriumid ning saanud OECD kandidaatriigiks.

**Eva Paunova (PPE), in writing.** – A competitive Europe also means Europe with secure and reliable energy supplies. Bulgaria, similarly to Latvia, has a particularly strong interest in energy diversification, which is a key aspect of a functioning Energy Union. We have suggested the creation of a gas distribution hub on our territory in order to ensure better energy supply for the region. A newly-created High Level Working Group for cross-border diversification projects will sit in Bulgaria next month, with which we hope to create a new momentum for better synchronisation of the European energy markets. The completion of such an ambitious plan requires putting it high on the Council agenda and I strongly urge the Latvian presidency to introduce policy instruments and solidarity mechanisms in support of this action.

Another important step for achieving energy diversification would be the creation of a common mechanism for negotiating gas contracts with external suppliers for the whole of the EU. Such a mechanism would give the Europe a stronger, more united bargaining position and would prevent suppliers from using the fragmentation of the EU's energy policy and markets to enhance monopolistic practices. Since political willingness for decisive action in this regard is currently missing, I look forward to seeing the Latvian presidency stepping up its work in this regard.

**Jutta Steinruck (S&D), schriftlich.** – Für die erste Ratspräsidentschaft seit dem Beitritt wünsche ich Lettland viel Erfolg. Als Sprecherin der Sozialdemokraten für Beschäftigung und Soziales freue ich mich, dass ein Schwerpunkt der soziale Dialog sein soll. Ich möchte noch einmal betonen, dass der soziale Dialog ein Grundpfeiler der europäischen Politik ist. Deswegen kann es nicht sein, dass eine bereits unterschriebene Vereinbarung zwischen Sozialpartnern im Friseurhandwerk von der Kommission nicht an den Rat weitergeleitet wird. Ich fordere die lettische Ratspräsidentschaft dazu auf, Druck auf den Vizepräsidenten für den Euro und sozialen Dialog, Herrn Dombrovskis, auszuüben. Die Vereinbarung sollte unverzüglich an den Rat weitergeleitet werden. Darüber hinaus steht die Halbzeitbewertung der Strategie Europa 2020 an. Hier sind wir weit von den festgelegten Zielen im Bereich Beschäftigung und Soziales entfernt. Nur um einmal ein Beispiel zu nennen: Anstatt 20 Millionen Menschen weniger sind es nun sieben Millionen Menschen mehr, die von Armut und sozialer Ausgrenzung betroffen sind. Es ist an der Zeit, die sozial- und beschäftigungspolitischen Ziele der Strategie Europa 2020 für die Mitgliedstaaten verbindlich zu machen. Genau wie die Wirtschafts- und Finanzpolitik müssen die Sozial- und Beschäftigungsziele im Rahmen des Europäischen Semesters überprüft werden.

**Ivan Štefanec (PPE), písomne** – Oceňujem ciele lotyšského predsedníctva, ktorými sú vytvorenie „konkurencieschopnej, digitálnej a medzinárodne silnej Európy.“ Je dôležité brániť hodnoty ako sloboda, bezpečnosť, spravodlivosť a tolerancia, keďže práve na týchto hodnotách bola založená EÚ a čím ďalej tým viac sú tieto hodnoty porušované i na území členských štátov EÚ. Taktiež vítam stanovené ciele, ktorými sú podpora rastu a zamestnanosti, oživenie investícií, prehlbenie hospodárskej a menovej únie a dovŕšenie jednotného digitálneho trhu. Želám lotyšskému predsedníctvu veľa úspechov pri dosahovaní všetkých svojich stanovených cieľov.

**Claudia Tapardel (S&D), în scris.** – Apreciez atenția pe care Președinția letonă o acordă creșterii competitivității Uniunii Europene, prin promovarea investițiilor în produse și servicii competitive. Un domeniu care ar trebui să beneficieze de mai multă atenție din partea autorităților europene este cel al turismului. Acesta aduce o contribuție estimată la 9% în PIB-ul Uniunii Europene și angajează aproximativ 9,7 milioane de persoane. Din păcate, în ultimii ani turismul european a avut o evoluție negativă. Cota de piață a turismului european este estimată că va fi 41% la nivel global, în 2030, de la 51% cât era în anul 2000.

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Pentru ca Uniunea Europeană să-și mențină statutul de lider la nivel mondial în domeniul turismului, sunt necesare investiții destinate conservării și dezvoltării patrimoniului cultural, cât și dezvoltării infrastructurii turistice, inclusiv a celei de transport. Toate aceste investiții înseamnă noi locuri de muncă și vor contribui la exploatarea mai eficientă a unei resurse inepuizabile: turismul. Sunt sigură că între Inter-grupul pentru Dezvoltarea Turismului European și a Patrimoniului Cultural și Președinția letonă a Uniunii Europene va exista o bună colaborare, în beneficiul tuturor celor care activează în domeniul turismului.

**Ujhelyi István (S&D), írásban.** – Nem kérdés, hogy fordulóponthoz érkezett az Európai Unió. Nem csak a gazdasági válság okozta sebek gyógyulnak nehezen, de egyre erősebben feszítik közösségünket új, illetve eddig elfojtott problémák. Nyilvánvaló, hogy a lett elnökségnek prioritásként kell kezelnie az ifjúsági munkanélküliség érdemi enyhítését, napirenden kell tartania a geopolitikai változások okozta kihívások megválaszolását, de az elmúlt napok tragédiái megkerülhetetlenül előtérbe helyezték a migrációs kérdés sürgető megtárgyalását is. Magyar szociáldemokrataként szégyenkezniem kell, amiért Orbán Viktor miniszterelnök az Európa egységét demonstráló vasárnapi kegyeleti menet idején arról beszélt: „a magyarok nem akarnak tőlük különböző kulturális tulajdonságokkal és háttérrel rendelkező kisebbséget látni maguk között”. Orbán rosszkor és nagyon rosszat mondott. Orbán Viktor nem érti Európát, talán soha nem is értette. Szégyenkezem miatta.

A migráció valós és komoly kihívás közösségünkben. De gyűlöletkeltéssel, a kérdés populista és szélsőséges leegyszerűsítésével csak mélyebbre ássuk a problémát és megosztjuk, megtörjük közös Európánkat. Az igazi gond nem a bevándorlás, hanem a szegénység és a szociális krízis, amely ugyanolyan módon sújtja a francia mohamedánokat és keresztényeket, a magyar cigányokat és svábokat vagy épp a romániai magyarokat. Egységes, a kérdést határozottan és őszintén, de bölcsen és megnyugtatóan kezelő megoldásokat kell találnunk. Míhamarabb. Jó munkát a lett elnökségnek, jó munkát mindannyiunknak!

(Die Sitzung wird um 12.10 Uhr unterbrochen und um 15.10 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)

**Elnökváltás: GÁLL–PELCZ ILDIKÓ asszony**

*Alelnök*

### **3. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia: Patrz protokół**

### **4. Główne aspekty i podstawowe wybory we wspólnej polityce zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa oraz wspólnej polityce bezpieczeństwa i obrony (artykuł 36 TUE) (debata)**

**Elnök asszony.** - A következő pont a Bizottság alelnökének/az Unió külügyi és biztonságpolitikai főképviselőjének nyilatkozata – A közös kül- és biztonságpolitika, valamint a közös biztonság- és védelempolitika fő szempontjai és alapvető választásai (az EUSZ 36. cikke) (2014/2813(RSP))

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs.** - Mr President, I am sorry, I was briefing the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) on the next Foreign Affairs Council and I guess many of your colleagues are just moving from one room to the other. Some were faster than me.

Permettez-moi de commencer en français avec une pensée sur les actes terribles qui ont eu lieu la semaine dernière à Paris. Nous avons vu la douleur, le deuil et la solidarité avec les victimes, leurs familles, leurs collègues et leurs amis. Nous avons vu la réaction des Français, tout d'abord, mais aussi des institutions françaises et européennes, des Européens et du monde entier. Ce fut une réaction d'unité, d'équilibre et de force, surtout de force. Aujourd'hui, de même que demain et dans les semaines et les mois qui viennent, le moment est venu de s'en inspirer et de tirer les leçons du passé.

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It is not the first time that out of a tragedy we are able to build positive things. Actually the European Union was born out of the ruins of the Second World War, and out of our main tragedy our founding fathers, one of whom resigned today as President of the Italian Republic, were brave and wise enough to be able to build the most successful experience of regional integration in history. That experience was recognised with the Nobel Peace Prize.

If you do not want our Europe to become history and be confined to the past, I think we have to be as brave and as wise as our founding fathers were able to be. From the tragedy that happened, if I am not wrong, exactly one week ago in Paris, we have a duty to rebuild our European Union, stating our unity, our strength and our solidarity, and starting from our strength, our unity and our solidarity – starting somehow from ourselves.

You might think this has nothing to do with our debate today, but I believe it does. I believe that what happened last week has shown all European Union citizens, and many outside our borders, the first lesson we have to learn, which is that you need to be more united, really united, not only in words, not only on paper, but in practice.

We need to trust each other when it comes to sharing information, to foreign policy, defence, and security. We have to understand that what we share is far greater than what divides us and that it is in our interest – our citizens' interest – when it comes to security, economic prosperity, freedom and rights, to really work closely together and become cooperative and not competitive – as I think was shown yesterday, and again today very well. We are trying to work in a cooperative and non-competitive way among the European institutions here: Parliament, the Council and the Commission.

The second lesson that I think we have to learn is that there is no real border between external and internal events, and so there must be no real border between our external and internal action. That is the reason why we are trying to coordinate – and I am personally trying to coordinate – our work within the Commission and within the Council.

I have started doing that already in these first two months, and I am planning to do it even more, in a broader sense, when it comes to foreign, security and defence policy, but also security internally – counter-terrorism – and also justice and other challenges that we have before us, be they migration, energy, climate, transport, trade, the economy, or even culture and education.

Again, some of you might wonder what this has to do with our foreign and security policy. This is the core, I think, of our security policy: to understand that security is not purely a security or securitarian issue; it is also a security issue and a defence issue, but it is also a human security issue. This has to take into consideration all aspects of everybody's life.

In general, I think we have to look at all the main challenges with a coordinated approach, and this is going to be one of the challenges of our foreign and security policy in the months ahead. We preach policy coherence when it comes to development and cooperation, for instance, but then we rarely do it when it comes to ourselves. I think we should take a slogan from a famous brand – 'Just do it' – and try to be coherent and consistent ourselves.

The third lesson I think we need to work on in the coming months on foreign and security policy is that there is no simple answer to complex problems. If we look around us, whether close by or far away, we see complexity as the first element. That is evident in the Middle East, and let me take this opportunity to thank this Parliament for its excellent work over the months of November and December on the resolution on the Middle East peace process, the very fruitful debate we had, and the resolution that was passed and which I think was very helpful.

But there is no single problem around us that is a black and white issue. This means that we need, on one hand, as I said, a mix of measures and instruments and to make sure that all the things we do go into a coherent approach. But this also requires a deeper understanding of what is happening inside the European Union, around the European Union and also far away from the European Union. To do that we probably need to develop some cultural instruments inside our borders.

We tend to use categories of thoughts that are still the ones we had in the last century. This has nothing to do with east and west, but with our identity, our models of life in society and our relations with other countries. When it comes to diplomacy, we do indeed have the usual instruments of diplomacy and the new instruments of diplomacy – digital diplomacy and so on – but I think we are still sometimes using the old categories in terms of how we relate to other countries, other organisations and other regions of the world, and old ways of projecting our image of the European Union, which probably no longer corresponds to the reality of history. That is really crucial for following up the tragic events in Paris.

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Other points. We need to develop a mix of immediate actions and long-term strategies. We tend to react to whatever comes in immediate terms. Then how effective we are in delivering on the immediate terms is another story, and I think this also calls for deep thinking about the functioning of our institutions. This is not for today.

But then sometimes – or often – we lack long-term strategies and long-term visions. I think we need to engage seriously on that in the coming months with our partners around us, starting – we have just discussed this in the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) in a restricted format – by engaging with countries that have a knowledge that is deeper than ours but which maybe do not have the same instruments that we have to tackle the issues to which their knowledge applies, whether this is to the east of our borders or to the south or in the Gulf.

But most of all I think that we ourselves have to make a cultural change.

What surprised me on Sunday in Paris – and I am sorry if I take it personally, but I think that is also part of our political and institutional life – was the image of hundreds of thousands of citizens in Paris clapping the leaders as the leaders showed unity, solidarity and physical presence together. This image of the citizens of a country that had been attacked only a few days before, with the sense of tension and difficulties in sight, clapping what was somehow a picture of Europe is something that I think we have to keep in our minds and in our hearts, because this poses questions for us here.

We tend to have debates – I cannot say very much about this Chamber, but I have been listening quite a lot in recent months – but we tend to have an image of Europe as something that is little, limited, very partial and very weak. That might be the case, but that image of French citizens clapping the image of Europeans, standing strong and together, has to give us the responsibility to work on our own perception of our power. And I will use the word 'power', which is not a usual European word.

Normally we tend to be humble, and this is good. One can be a power, one can be even a superpower, using that with a sense of being humble and facilitating dialogue and mediation – and yes, we are a superpower. We are a superpower that won the Noble Peace Prize, and I think that the major responsibility and lesson we have to draw from what has happened in recent weeks is that we have to be the major superpower for action for peace, for action for human rights, dialogue and respect – knowing, as only Europeans know, that peace is not only the absence of war; peace is also respect and the promotion of human rights, security and equality.

I do not know if that answers the question of what kind of foreign policy challenges we have in front of us. If you want, I have a long list – 23 pages actually – of single issues and single countries and our concrete commitment on each and every one of these issues and these countries and regions. I would tend not to go through that list but just say that there is not one single global issue or region of the world, or country in the world, where we can afford as Europeans not to increase our presence, our role as actors for peace.

I would, obviously, be ready to go through that list – taking a selective approach probably, because 23 pages would make us stay here even longer than midnight, which is the time scheduled at the moment – but afterwards, after your interventions, to be more specific in my reply on many of the issues that we have been debating very precisely in these months – these two-and-a-half months in which I think I have met you in different formats some 15 or 16 times probably, and again yesterday on Libya and today on many other of the issues which are the top priority issues of today for the European Union.

We will also have another three chances, I think, to have a strategic, complete discussion in the coming months here in this Chamber. One is when we will discuss the Brok report quite soon, and that will be a very good opportunity to go through a strategic debate and review on that, and we have already started to do that with the national parliaments as well.

The second will be the preparation for the June European Council, where I will have the responsibility of presenting an assessment of global security, and let me also share with you the fact that (third element) I believe that that will also be the opportunity for starting a process to have a new security strategy for the European Union.



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Let me also add that, rather than having this security strategy, I would suggest that we have a foreign policy and security strategy, as we will need to have that coherent and broad approach when we debate our own strategies for the future too.

Let me conclude by just saying that I know some of you might have expected me to go through that 23-page list and to remind you again that I am ready to discuss with you – be it on our engagement with Latin America, where I will be in a couple of weeks' time to prepare the EU CELAC Summit, or on climate change, where we will have on Monday an action plan for diplomacy to prepare for the Paris Summit in December, or counter-terrorism again, where we will work in coordination with the interior and justice ministers – but also, I think, have an intercultural and inter-religious exercise to be developed over the next months, more on the internal side but also involving players in the region; or, obviously, a discussion on Ukraine and Russia, which we will have just after this discussion today; or our relations with Asia or Africa, where again I will be participating in the African Union Summit in less than two weeks.

Or our relations with the United States. That is normally automatically associated with the negotiations for TTIP, which is something we can discuss, obviously. But we also have to be aware of the fact that a lot of the strategies and challenges that we have before us will need to be developed together with a partner that is probably going through difficult times as much as we are.

Finally, most of all let me say that what is also crucial today for me is listening to you. I know this is mainly a chance for you to put questions, but let me say that for me, the most precious time here in this Chamber is taking notes on what you say.

**Elmar Brok**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. Frau Präsidentin, Frau Vizepräsidentin, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Frau Vizepräsidentin, geben Sie die 23 Seiten zu Protokoll. Ich hätte schon Interesse daran, diese dann zu lesen. Das wäre ja eine einfache Möglichkeit.

Aber ich fand es gut, dass die Vizepräsidentin hier jetzt nicht mit Detailfragen gekommen ist, sondern wir sind – und das haben uns die Ereignisse von Paris deutlich gezeigt – in einer Situation, wo wir nicht mehr sauber zwischen Außenpolitik- und Innenpolitik unterscheiden können. Dies hängt eng zusammen. Und hierauf müssen wir auch eine kohärente Antwort geben – aus Sicherheitsgründen, aus Wertegründen, aus vielerlei Gründen.

Ich glaube, wir müssen hier sehen, dass wir auch in der Innenpolitik durch Terroristen unter einer tödlichen Bedrohung und einem *blackmailing* stehen. Und wir müssen sehen, dass Cyber-Angriffe eingesetzt werden. Der Fall von Sony und Nordkorea in den Vereinigten Staaten ist ein solcher Fall.

Das heißt, wir haben Instrumente, wo man außenpolitische Ziele erreicht, indem man innenpolitische Drohungen ausspricht, die Computernetzwerke lahmlegen, Menschen töten – blindlings, egal wen –, und darauf muss demokratische Politik antworten. Ich glaube, dass wir da noch nicht ausreichend die intellektuelle Antwort haben, wie diese neue moderne Verletzbarkeit von modernen Demokratien bewältigt werden kann.

Aus diesem Grunde heraus geht dies natürlich nur, wenn wir stärker auf der Grundlage der Werte agieren, und wir sehen den Zusammenhang zwischen Werten, nämlich Rechtsstaat und Demokratie, also einem entscheidenden Träger für innere und äußere Glaubwürdigkeit, aber auch den Zusammenhang von Sicherheit und Wirtschaft. Wir müssen sehen: Nur wenn man eine wirtschaftliche Stärke hat, hat man auch eine außenpolitische Rolle zu spielen.

Sie haben völlig Recht, wenn Sie sagen: Es ist eine Situation, dass wir eine Supermacht sind. Wir sind noch die ökonomisch stärkste Kraft dieser Welt – handelsmäßig, Bruttoinlandsprodukt, usw. Wir sind aber nicht in der Lage, dies wie andere in politische Sprache nach außen umzusetzen. Deswegen ist Ihre Clusterbildung richtig, aber das kann nur ein erster Ansatz sein, und deswegen ist auch die Frage, wie wir im Bereich des Gipfels, der ja verschoben werden soll, und im Bereich der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik vorankommen, um die verteidigungspolitischen Fähigkeiten der Europäischen Union besser zu koordinieren und hier mehr Glaubwürdigkeit zustande zu bringen. Ich wollte damit nur zum Ausdruck bringen, dass dies ein komplexes Gesamtkunstwerk zu werden hat, wenn wir hier doch eine vernünftige Strategie der Welt fahren sollen.

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**Richard Howitt**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, this is a debate about Europe's foreign policy, but Parliament will understand if I devote my speech to how that policy is affected by our response to the *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attack. Ms Mogherini is right to look for concrete action, right to say how essential it is for our internal and external responses to be integrated, and especially right when she says we must de-link the words 'Islam' and 'terrorism'. For me it is not wrong to share in an emotional response to this attack. The magazine and its journalists, which meant to make us laugh, have suffered an attack which can only make us cry.

But reason must prevail in our response: the reason that tells us the open societies we enjoy will always be vulnerable, but that terrorism succeeds if we allow that openness and freedom to be prejudiced. We can best support the human right of freedom of expression by refraining from passing anti-terrorism laws which themselves infringe human rights. So we must consider the problem of foreign fighters; but my own country is wrong to consider actions which themselves might breach the Conventions on Statelessness.

I am dismayed that a representative of a party which includes the proud name of my own country stained the memorial in this Chamber by seeking to use it to blame immigration. They should remember that the *Charlie Hebdo* attackers were all French citizens, just as the London bombers were all British. And those who resist Europe's role for our mutual security should see, too, that a suspect who is on a British watch list but not on a French one exposes a justifiable need for better intelligence sharing in Europe.

Foreign policy did not cause these or other terrorist attacks. There is no legitimate cause for the fighters, but there are causes as to why they fight. Conflict in Syria, Yemen, Libya and Iraq has allowed the threat to grow, and it will be reduced only if we work to end those conflicts. Europe must intensify its work with partners in the wider region to stop support for conflict and recognise that Western support for authoritarianism in some of those countries, now and in the past, has fuelled grievance. This is our neighbourhood, and disengagement, either through fear or through erecting barricades, is not an option. This week especially, we should support our French colleagues who championed their country's concept of *vivre ensemble* – living together within our continent and living together beyond it.

**Geoffrey Van Orden**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, I share the remorse for the tragic events in Paris and for all victims of terrorism. Yet after every crisis, we hear the same mantra from the European Union: that the simple answer is more Europe. I am afraid that is not the answer, and I do not think the French people were applauding Europe on the march there – they were applauding national leaders on the march. I do not think King Abdullah, Mr Netanyahu or indeed Mahmoud Abbas would regard themselves as European leaders.

Today you are speaking about the main aspects and basic choices for CFSP and CSDP. It seems to me that the choice is very simple: you can continue on the path of ever more expansion of structures and tasks just to promote the visibility of the European Union as a global actor in its own right, or you can focus on a very limited set of tasks where the EU might do something useful and add value instead of merely competing with other organisations or seeking to displace the position of our Member States.

Speaking here yesterday, European Council President Donald Tusk said that the European Union was, and I quote, 'a political organisation – a tool, not a destination'. However, most worryingly, some still cling to the idea of a state called Europe as the EU destination, and I would suggest that the way in which the European External Action Service has developed is precisely part of that drive in the wrong direction towards an integrated European state. Instead, the demand that we hear from many of our citizens and from the British Prime Minister is for a new direction, for an end to ever-closer union.

My concerns about the European External Action Service are repeated in regard to CSDP, another supreme example of the EU quest for image and visibility in the most vital and sensitive area of national responsibility.

I very much hope that Mrs Mogherini will change direction and focus on a few areas of real added value.

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**Jozo Radoš**, u ime kluba ALDE. – Gospođo predsjednice, u ime ALDE grupe podržavam sve što ste rekli o terorističkom napadu u Parizu, izražavam suosjećanje s francuskim narodom i sa svim žrtvama, odnosno njihovim prijateljima i rodbinom.

U pogledu izvješća o kojem je ovdje riječ - ono je cjelovito kao i uvijek, ali mislim da ono što je naslov ove točke dnevnog reda, teško je uočiti koji su to glavni aspekti i koji su temeljni izvori Zajedničke vanjske i sigurnosne politike. Tako i mi na ovoj sjednici imamo raspravu o Egiptu i Turskoj koji su strateški partneri Europske unije, koji bi trebali pomoći rješavanju pitanja krize na Bliskom istoku i u sjevernoj Africi, mirovnog procesa s Kurdima, mirovnog procesa rješavanja ciparske krize, vjerojatno i utjecaj na proces integracije zemalja zapadnog Balkana i obrnuto - pozitivan utjecaj te integracije na pozitivne odnose s Turskom, no toga u ovome izvješću nema. Mislim da nije pogodena mjera između opravdanih kritika za nedemokratske postupke vlasti i ohrabrenja naših partnera i potencijalnih saveznika za provođenje demokratskih reformi.

Kada se radi o Vanjskoj sigurnosnoj i obrambenoj politici, govori se o potrebi za više mogućnosti, za većim učinkom, za više zajedništva, no u našim vlastitim izvješćima koja su ovih dana na dnevnom redu naših odbora piše da nije došlo do provedbe zajedničkih mjera ili bar ne na razini navedenih ambicija i da postoje strukturne manjkavosti te politike koja postoji već godinama.

Gospođo Visoka predstavnice, da, ovo izvješće bi doista trebalo imati u sebi više prepoznatljivih glavnih aspekata i temeljnih izbora.

**Sabine Lösing**, im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion. – Frau Präsidentin! „Wir stecken mitten im Dritten Weltkrieg. Allerdings in einem Krieg auf Raten. Es gibt Wirtschaftssysteme, die, um überleben zu können, Krieg führen müssen. Also produzieren und verkaufen sie Waffen.“ Wer hat das gesagt? Es war das Oberhaupt der Katholischen Kirche, Papst Franziskus. Und christliche Werte haben ja in diesem Haus einen hohen Stellenwert.

Wenn nun also Wirtschaftssysteme zum Überleben den Krieg brauchen, dann müssen auch diese Wirtschaftssysteme verändert werden. Eine andere, wirklich demokratische, solidarische und gerechte Wirtschaftsordnung muss nicht Kriege um Macht und Rohstoffe führen und Menschen ins Unglück stürzen. Da beruft man sich auf europäische Werte – Menschenrechte, Humanität –, doch die Gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik ist nicht die Lösung für die uns umgebenden Konflikte, sondern Mitverursacher vieler Kriege. Mit immer mehr Waffenlieferungen und militärischen Interventionen soll an der Seite von NATO und USA Krieg wieder zum Normalfall werden. Wer wirklich Frieden und Stabilität will, beginnt endlich mit einer wirksamen Bekämpfung von Armut, die für Gewalt und Terrorismus den Nährboden bildet, und missbraucht nicht weiter Entwicklungsgelder für Sicherheits- und Militärausbildung.

Die Zusammenarbeit mit den Unterstützern des IS in den Golfstaaten muss endlich beendet werden. Umgehender Abzug der Patriot-Raketen aus der Türkei, das wäre endlich eine klare Ansage an die Türkei, die immer noch IS-Kämpfer nach Syrien lässt. Unterstützung des UN-initiierten Dialogs in Libyen: Ja. Weitere militärische Interventionen von USA oder Frankreich: Nein. Sie werden dann das Land weiter in den Abgrund treiben. Krieg macht Flüchtlinge, heißt es in der Lampedusa-Flüchtlingsbewegung. Und die EU wehrt diese Flüchtlinge dann ab. Ist das Humanität? Wenn es nicht gelingt, den eingeschlagenen Weg der kriegerischen Ausbeutung weiter Teile der Welt zu korrigieren, werden die Konsequenzen der von uns losgetretenen Verelendung vor Europa nicht Halt machen.

*(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)*

**Michael Gahler (PPE)**, Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Frau Kollegin Lösing! Sie haben eben die NATO und USA mit Kriegsführung in Zusammenhang gebracht. Würden Sie mir zustimmen, dass in Europa derzeit Russland gegen die Ukraine Krieg führt, oder sehe ich das falsch?

**Sabine Lösing (GUE/NGL)**, Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Das würde ich in der Tat so nicht beantworten. Der Krieg in der Ukraine hat vielfältige Ursachen. Es ist ein Bürgerkrieg, da kämpfen verschiedene Bereiche gegeneinander. Dieser Krieg ist auch ein Ergebnis europäischer Interventionspolitik in dieser Region gewesen. Außerdem spreche ich hier in dieser Rede auch von der gemeinsamen Politik der Kriege, die Europa in anderen Ländern dieser Welt führt.

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**Tamás Meszerics**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, I would like to thank the High Representative for her succinct, but nevertheless comprehensive, overview of both our foreign policy and some of the current crises. We would also like, as Greens, to extend from here as well our sincere and heartfelt condolences to all the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack and their families, and of course our sympathies go to the French people and all victims of terrorism around the world.

As our Socialist friend also mentioned, we should also try to make sure that the response to that heinous attack should not jeopardise but strengthen the core values that the European Union is based on – human rights, human security and an open society.

On the other hand, I will try to be less sanguine than some of my friends about what this debate is all about, namely the foreign policy of the European Union. We have been, for more than a year now, surrounded by a set of crises. Some of them are military, some of them are outright war, and some of them are on the brink of becoming cold wars. One of the major lessons from these crises so far, in my estimation and in our group's estimation, is that none of the Member States is capable of dealing with crises on its own or even in some sort of combination. These crises, put together, are bigger than any combination of former or present great powers within the European Union. We need a comprehensive, coordinated strategy. You do not need to be an ideologically-committed federalist to see that there is no other way out of these crisis situations than through more coordination, especially on foreign and security policy.

High Representative, I welcome the fact that you have already mentioned that for the preparation of the June European Council we could review the European security strategy. Of course, if there is a state which has a security strategy that has been in place for ten years, that might mean two things: firstly, that is highly successful and there is no need to change it, and secondly, that it is rather slow in reviewing it. I am afraid that we are more in the second position than in the first, so, although I fully understand that this is basically the Council's responsibility, I would like to ask you what we, the European Parliament, could do to help you in that exercise.

As a last point, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that we have a responsibility for the coherence of all our external policies, not just our foreign and security policy. Let us make sure of that as well.

**James Carver**, *on behalf of the EFDD Group*. – Madam President, the EU's blinkered desire for harmonisation and ever-closer union ignores the diverse international interests and sometimes very different priorities that each of the 28 Member States have. What about the serious question of further economic and diplomatic burdens that have been placed on some Member States, not least because of the EU expansion eastwards? One response by Russia has been the conclusion of a food-for-long-range bombers deal with Argentina, thus forcing the British Government to review her defence requirements in the South Atlantic. This is just one obvious example, merely from a British perspective, of international interests which conflict with increasingly overt expansion of EU neo-imperialism.

This will only be exacerbated by a common foreign and security policy and a common security and defence policy. What does this short-sighted approach to the EU expansion and the desire to foster the notion, as we have just heard, of a perceived superpower mean for the traditional neutrality of Ireland and Austria, particularly given the self-amending nature of the Lisbon Treaty? I grew up in the 1980s, and the undiplomatic approach to this most sensitive of subjects reminds me of a song by a British band from Coventry in the region that I represent. That band was called The Fun Boy Three – formerly known as The Specials – but there is nothing fun or special about this place whatsoever. And the name of that song? The Lunatics Have Taken Over the Asylum.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Mercedes Bresso (S&D)**, *Domanda «cartellino blu»*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, collega, Lei pensa sul serio che qualunque dei nostri paesi – magari quelli più piccoli con qualche centinaia di migliaia di abitanti, ma anche il suo che è certamente più grande – possano da soli provvedere da adesso in futuro alla difesa dei loro cittadini? Certo, l'Europa non deve essere aggressiva, ma deve essere messa in grado di avere una difesa e una politica di sicurezza ed estera comune che sarebbe una vera politica, non le cose scherzose che Lei ci raccontava.

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**James Carver (EFDD), blue-card answer.** – Quite frankly, the beauty of Europe, to my mind, is its diversity: it is the fact that we have 28 individual Member States. The concept of trying to make us all the same – this harmonisation, this pasteurisation – to make us into this new (as we have heard) superpower called Europe is a bad thing. It is my contention – I use the example of Ireland and of Austria – that it is up to Member States' sovereign parliaments to have the ability to decide what defence policy best suits them.

**Ελευθέριος Συναδινός (NI).** - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, «άλλους έσωσε, εαυτόν ου δύναται σώσαι». Ο παραπάνω στίχος από το κατά Ματθαίοι Ευαγγέλιο αντικατοπτρίζει απόλυτα την ομηχλώδη κατάσταση και την αδικαιολόγητη ασάφεια στην εξωτερική πολιτική και στην πολιτική ασφάλειας και άμυνας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Σπαταλάμε ενέργεια και χρήματα για να σώσουμε τους άλλους, αλλά δεν μπορούμε ή - ας ελπίσω ότι αυτό δεν ισχύει - δεν θέλουμε να σώσουμε τους εαυτούς μας. Ασχολούμαστε, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, με καταστάσεις και χώρες εκτός της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, αλλά δεν έχουμε ούτε κοινό ευρωπαϊκό όραμα ούτε και ανάλογο προσανατολισμό, πολύ δε περισσότερο, δεν έχουμε τη δυνατότητα επιβολής της όποιας απόφασης λαμβάνουμε σε πολιτικό επίπεδο. Μιλάμε και επιδιώκουμε κοινή πολιτική στην ασφάλεια και στην άμυνα, αναλώνοντας, όμως, τον χρόνο μας με την Ουκρανία, τη Λιβύη και το Μάλι, αφήνοντας άλυτα φλέγοντα ζητήματα εντός των ευρωπαϊκών συνόρων.

Αναρωτιέμαι ποια ήταν ή είναι η αντίδρασή μας στις προκλήσεις και τις παραβιάσεις της Τουρκίας στο FIR Αθηνών και στην ΑΟΖ της Κύπρου, δηλαδή, στην ευθεία αμφισβήτηση κυριαρχικών δικαιωμάτων δύο κρατών μελών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Απλά της κουνάμε το δάκτυλο σφυρίζοντας αδιάφορα. Δεν απαιτήσαμε, ως οφείλαμε, την αποκατάσταση της παράνομης εισβολής της Τουρκίας στην Κύπρο. Ακολουθούμε πειθήνια την πολιτική που μας επιβάλλει το NATO, παραγνωρίζοντας το γεγονός ότι τα γεωπολιτικά συμφέροντα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης δεν ταυτίζονται κατ' ανάγκη με αυτά του NATO καθώς και ότι οι απειλές που στάθηκαν αφορμή για τη δημιουργία του δεν υφίστανται πλέον.

Δεν αποτρέψαμε - ασκώντας την κατάπτυστη πολιτική του «Δουβλίνο II» - την αθρόα λαθρομετανάστευση και τη μετακίνηση εξτρεμιστικών ισλαμικών στοιχείων από και προς την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Δυστυχώς, όμως, έπρεπε πρώτα να θρηνηήσουμε ευρωπαίους συμπολίτες μας, με τα πρόσφατα γεγονότα στη Γαλλία, για να καταλάβουμε ότι δεν γίνεται να εξαπατούμε τους ίδιους μας τους εαυτούς.

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** - Frau Präsidentin! Die sicherheitspolitische Landschaft hat sich in Europa und in seiner unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft im letzten Jahr dramatisch verschlechtert – mit brutalen Auswirkungen sogar bis in die Mitte Europas. Wir müssen darauf in allen relevanten Gremien angemessen reagieren. Wir Parlamentarier versuchen, vielfältige Anstöße zu geben, wir sind ja nicht die Exekutive. Gemeinsam mit dem Haushaltsausschuss z. B. bereiten wir einen eigenen Initiativbericht betreffend die künftige Finanzierung der GSVP vor.

Ich frage: Wie sehen Ihre Pläne, Frau Mogherini, aus, um die Finanzierung der internen Dimension der GSVP sicherzustellen? Damit meine ich die Beziehungen zwischen GSVP und dem Binnenmarkt, der Industriepolitik, Weltraum, Forschung und Entwicklung. Wie wird die *Task Force Defence* in der Kommission ihre Arbeit fortsetzen? Sollen die Verteidigungsagentur, die Mitgliedstaaten oder das Europäische Parlament dort in geeigneter Form einbezogen werden?

Wir erwarten, dass der Verteidigungsgipfel im Juni konkrete Fortschritte nachweisen kann. Die bisher vorliegenden vorbereitenden Dokumente scheinen mir die Schlussfolgerungen des Gipfels vom Dezember 2013 eher nur umzuformulieren. Das würde nicht reichen. Welches sind Ihre persönlichen Prioritäten?

Wenn ein Punkt die Ausarbeitung, die Formulierung einer außen- und sicherheitspolitischen Strategie wäre, wie Sie es genannt haben, würde ich das begrüßen. Das reicht aber nicht. Was möchten Sie noch erreichen?

**Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D).** - Madam President, I will start with a quote: 'The problem of foreign fighters is a specific issue which needs to be duly addressed. In this respect the active collaboration between foreign and home affairs ministers should be strengthened, particularly concerning judicial and police cooperation and information-sharing. We need to ensure coherence and complementarity between the internal and external aspects of EU security policies.' This is a quote from the Vice-President of the Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy not after, but months before, the tragic events in Paris last week at the beginning of her term of office. These words were and are fully valid, but it takes time to implement them, and meanwhile the terrorists enjoy full liberty to choose their target and moment of attack, forcing us to react. Unless we deprive them of the initiative by putting them on the defensive, they will continue to surprise us nastily.

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Restraining civil liberties following such attacks would mark the victory of the attackers. One cannot trade free travel for liberty of speech. The truth is that we failed to stabilise our neighbourhood, both in the east and in the south. Open, violent conflicts are raging near our borders, and one consequence is 'commuting terrorism': European citizens travelling to conflict areas and coming back to commit terrorist attacks. Of course, immediate challenges need immediate attention, but equally we need a strategic response – one which would consolidate the EU's internal and external security and include counter-terrorism as a primary, regular field of cooperation among ourselves and with our neighbouring partners.

The responsibilities of the High Representative inevitably cover the task of improving the functioning of those EU bodies under her direct command, but her real contribution will come in working with the Member States, given that the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and common security and defence policy (CSDP) are within the remit of the Member States. Facilitating their cooperation with one another and with our common EU institutions and our partners, helping them to reach a relatively common threat assessment, and coordinating their action in various theatres will allow the High Representative to make her main contribution to fulfilling her remit.

**Anna Elżbieta Fotyga (ECR).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel! Rzeczywiście Pokojowa Nagroda Nobla dla Unii Europejskiej zobowiązuje do trzeźwej oceny zagrożeń, niekarmienia się iluzjami i do sprostania tym zagrożeniom, a jest ich wiele wzdłuż wszystkich naszych granic, osiągnęły też nasze terytorium. Obecny w Paryżu Siergiej Ławrow nawoływał do powrotu do współpracy w zwalczaniu terroryzmu. Tymczasem to Rosja prowadzi asymetryczną wojnę przeciwko Ukrainie. Według wielu źródeł jest również przyczyną i jest wykonawcą de facto zestrzeżenia lotu MH17. Stoi również za ostatnimi wydarzeniami na Ukrainie, w których zginęło ponad 12 osób.

Otwórzmy się na współpracę transatlantycką. Nie wklajmy się we współpracę z partnerem, którego intencje nie są jasne.

**Marielle de Sarnez (ALDE).** - Madame la Présidente, merci Madame Mogherini pour les mots justes que vous avez eus à propos de Paris. C'est un moment important pour la France et c'est évidemment un moment important pour l'Europe. Nous devons prendre conscience des dangers qui nous menacent, car les menaces intérieures et extérieures sont là. Les zones de crise, de déstabilisation et de conflit se rapprochent dangereusement de l'Europe. Elles nourrissent le fanatisme à l'extérieur comme à l'intérieur de l'Europe et c'est pourquoi il nous faut une réponse globale.

Premièrement, il nous faut renforcer les moyens de notre sécurité intérieure, nous en avons parlé ce matin. C'est le renforcement des accords de Schengen, la création d'un fichier, la question du PNR et d'internet. Toutes ces questions doivent être sur la table et recevoir des réponses rapidement.

Deuxièmement, nous devons donner corps enfin à l'Europe de la défense. Vous le savez, la France est en première ligne au Mali, au Sahel et en Iraq. Elle le fait au nom de l'Europe et des valeurs qui nous sont communes, mais il va falloir que l'Europe prenne ses responsabilités dans son ensemble.

Troisièmement, il va falloir que nous ayons une approche cohérente, d'ensemble et unie en matière de politique étrangère et il va falloir hiérarchiser les priorités. Par exemple en Syrie, la priorité, me semble-t-il, est d'éradiquer Daïch et Al-Qaïda.

Je suis favorable, comme vous l'avez dit Madame Mogherini, à ce que l'Europe soit une puissance de paix, tranquille, ancrée sur ses valeurs. Mais je veux aussi qu'elle soit en mesure de se défendre. Ce que nous voulons, ce sont les deux en même temps.

**Elnök asszony.** - Köszönöm én is. Elsőként Paet úrnak szeretném mondani, hogy láttuk, hogy két kártyát emelt föl. De akkor a Fotyga képviselő asszony éppen már befejezte a hozzászólását és de Sarnez képviselő asszony elkezdte. Úgyhogy nem tudtuk a két kártyát figyelembe venni, ugyanakkor természetesen láttam, hogy Mr. Carver..

**James Carver (EFDD).** - Madam President, with respect, my political group had a blue card up at the back. Could I ask my colleagues on the top table to actually keep your eyes open? Because I know a colleague of mine missed the chance for a blue card, and blue cards have been raised.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Elnök asszony.** - Képviselő Úr! Köszönöm szépen, hogy másnak a nevében szószóló volt. A kollégáim azt vették észre, hogy Ön szeretne kékkártyázni. Megmondaná, kérem, hogy kinek a nevében emelte fel a kék kártyáját, aki Mme. de Sarnezhez kék kártyát szeretne intézni?

Esetleg, hogyha valaki felemelné a kezét, az segítene. De, hogyha Ön szószólója szeretne lenni mindenkinek, akkor azt szívesen elfogadom. De kék kártya nélkül nem tudok kékkártyás lehetőséget adni. Képviselő úr, ezt a vitát lezártam.

**Pablo Iglesias (GUE/NGL).** - Señora Presidenta, señora Mogherini, a pesar de las diferencias, me gusta usted. Creo que es una de las voces más sensatas de la Unión Europea. Hoy ha dicho cosas sensatas, lo que no es poco dadas las circunstancias. Ha dicho usted que, a propósito del ataque fanático en París, no se podía hablar de un enfrentamiento entre Oriente y Occidente. Ha dicho usted «we are a superpower» y creo que, aunque esa afirmación contrasta con aquella frase, atribuida a Jaques Delors, que decía que Europa es un gigante económico, un enano político y un gusano militar, sería deseable que, efectivamente, Europa fuera una superpotencia de la paz.

Pero ha dicho usted algo con lo que quizá no esté tan de acuerdo. Ha dicho usted que en la manifestación de París vio a la gente aplaudir una fotografía de Europa. Está circulando hoy por las redes sociales, efectivamente, una fotografía de esos líderes europeos —y no solamente europeos— absolutamente aislados del resto de los manifestantes y sobre la fotografía puede leerse «hipocresía». Creo que esa foto tiene parte de razón respecto a lo que ha ocurrido en los últimos años y quizá sería razonable que en su informe se incluyeran algunas críticas a la política exterior europea de los últimos años que, quizá, tenga que ver con lo que estamos viviendo en estos momentos.

*(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» (artículo 162, apartado 8, del Reglamento))*

**Bill Etheridge (EFDD), blue-card question.** – Mr Iglesias, I was wondering whether you would agree with me that the continual use of the term ‘superpower’ with relation to the EU is demonstrative of a drift towards something which I did not believe even in my wildest nightmares: that this place was actually aiming to become a superpower? Would you agree that this is the incorrect terminology to use and, yes, that it is an assembly of important countries but a superpower it most certainly is not and surely must never be?

**Pablo Iglesias (GUE/NGL), respuesta de «tarjeta azul».** – Gracias por la pregunta. Sería un debate politológico fascinante el uso de los términos, pero, como usted sabe, tanto en política como en ciencia política el uso de diferentes términos es algo que va más allá de las distintas voluntades. Desde luego, hablar de una superpotencia de la paz sería algo deseable para todos, independientemente de nuestras diferencias.

El problema no es ese. El problema es que hay muy pocos estados y muy pocas superpotencias que realmente defiendan la paz.

**Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE).** - Frau Präsidentin! Frau Mogherini, ich teile Ihre Beschreibung der großartigen Botschaft, die die Bürgerinnen und Bürger Frankreichs am Sonntag an uns alle gerichtet haben. Ich habe da sehr viel republikanischen Stolz gesehen. Wir alle können uns davon eine große Ermutigung nehmen. Statt in die Knie zu gehen, sind die Bürgerinnen und Bürger aufgestanden.

Zugleich ist deutlich geworden – und dafür waren die Bilder symbolisch von hohem Wert –, dass wir diese Herausforderungen nur gemeinsam europäisch angehen können mit der ganzen Palette von Instrumenten, über die wir verfügen.

Aber genauso, wie wir gemeinsam europäisch den Terroristen entgegentreten, so wollen wir auch gemeinsam europäisch den brutalen Angriffe politisch ausschlagen wollen, um Hass unter uns zu säen. Es ist falsch, was hier gesagt worden ist, dass wir uns auf uns selber konzentrieren müssen und nicht so sehr auf den Reigen von Krisen um uns herum schauen dürfen. Im Gegenteil! Europa kann seinen Zusammenhalt und seinen Frieden im Inneren nur sichern, wenn wir Verantwortung übernehmen für Frieden, Gerechtigkeit und Zusammenhalt in unserer Nachbarschaft und global. Dazu gehört, dass wir die Instrumente, die wir haben, nutzen, um zum Beispiel liberale Stimmen in der arabischen Welt zu unterstützen, die für dieselben Werte eintreten wie wir. Ich nenne als Beispiel Raif Badawi in Saudi Arabien, der jetzt 20 Wochen lang jeweils 50 Peitschenschläge kriegt, weil er für liberale Werte eintritt wie wir. Wir müssen die Instrumente der EU-Außenpolitik – Menschenrechtsinstrument, Instrument für Sicherheit und Stabilität und Instrument für Partnerschaft – nutzen, um diese Rolle einer Friedensmacht Europa wirklich auszufüllen!

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**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Alto rappresentante, come Lei ha ricordato la tragedia avvenuta in Francia ci ha dimostrato inequivocabilmente che non esistono frontiere per una sfida globale come la lotta al terrorismo, ecco perché chi vede come soluzione il rafforzamento dei bastioni della fortezza Europa è nel torto, perché risponde con categorie del passato a problemi del presente. Oggi, come sempre, la migliore terapia per curare questa malattia è eliminarne le cause e limitarne la diffusione. Il terrorismo raccoglie animi frustrati e rancorosi, esasperati dalla povertà, dall'emarginazione, dalla discriminazione, sedotti dall'illusione di una violenza come forma di distorto riscatto. Vale in una *banlieu* del Cairo o di Tunisi, come in una di Parigi o una di Roma, non c'è molta differenza!

Per questo le chiedo un impegno concreto per un piano energico, specifico e immediato per sostenere paesi vicini come la Tunisia, nuovo modello ed esempio di transizione democratica nel mondo arabo. La sua fragilità economica e sociale con i suoi abitanti in bilico tra cittadini di una moderna democrazia e *foreign fighter* del Jihad. Per vincere la sfida hanno bisogno di un nostro vero sostegno e ne hanno bisogno ora perché il terrorismo non sarà mai la risposta, ma certe domande ne meritano comunque una, facciamo in modo che sia quella giusta.

**Mario Borghesio (NI).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, è possibile, ma bisognava aggiungere che nel '57, quando si doveva votare il trattato di Roma e far nascere l'Europa dei sei, il Partito comunista italiano, di cui Napolitano era autorevolissimo esponente, ha votato contro, l'ha combattuto duramente perché erano servi dell'Unione Sovietica.

*Foreign fighter:* in data 17 ottobre il Presidente Juncker, da me sollecitato, le ha trasmesso la segnalazione della pericolosità di questo dossier, di questa questione: Lei cosa ha fatto? Dichiarazioni, o cose concrete? Fino adesso non si vede assolutamente niente se è vero come è vero che Lei ci annuncia una riunione per il 19 gennaio in cui si esaminerà il problema, nel frattempo è passato di tutto.

Abbiamo notizia che persino la Turchia di Erdogan ne espelle adesso, dopo i fatti di Parigi – ci dice che ne espelle un migliaio. È questo il pericolo! Che cosa avete fatto per istituire in Europa il reato di apologia del terrorismo, per controllare i finanziamenti del terrorismo che vengono anche da compiacenti banche, per esempio, dell'ospitale Gran Bretagna? E così la libera circolazione dei clandestini, Mare Nostrum ne ha fatti entrare 150.000, metà non sono stati fotosegnalati – non dico che tutti siano terroristi, ma non sappiamo chi sono, da dove arrivano, cosa siano venuti a fare – e voi non avete preso provvedimenti, non siete intervenuti, non avete difeso l'Europa.

**Eduard Kukan (PPE).** - Madam President, the challenges we are facing in foreign and security policies are unprecedented since the beginning of EU integration. The extremely volatile international environment, hybrid wars and terrorist attacks or political extremism are in sharp contradiction to our international goals and values. Our response needs to be more unity. The EU needs to speak with one voice: the voice which represents our values and interests.

We need to make better use of the EU potential to shape our political and security environment, not merely to react. This especially concerns our neighbourhood but also cooperation with our partners around the globe. Our security and defence is the next big question. We have to face cuts in our defence spending but, at the same time, more demands on our security. It is clear that we have to make spending effective, but we also need to invest more in our defence and security policy.

From your introductory statement, Madam High Representative, I appreciated and was glad to hear your words about the new security strategy. I think that is something which we need. It is very important and I fully support you.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Urmas Paet (ALDE), sinise kaardi küsimus.** – Euroopa idaosas käib ikka sõjaline konflikt ja teadagi on selle lahendamise võti Venemaal. Kas Teie, härra Kukan, näete praegu tõsist põhjust arutada Euroopa Liidus Venemaa suhtes kehtestatud sanktsioonide leevendamist olukorras, kus Ida-Ukrainas tegelikult ei ole midagi muutunud, vaid vastupidi, viimase 24 tunni jooksul on 84 korda rikutud vaherahu.



Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Eduard Kukan (PPE)**, *blue-card answer*. – The short version of my answer is ‘yes, Sir’. I think that it is necessary to discuss the sanctions against Russia, but I fully agree with you that, if we do not see any change in the behaviour of Russia in the direction for which the sanctions were introduced, then we have to discuss it in order to find more effective means and instruments.

**Elena Valenciano (S&D)**. - Señora Presidenta, en primer lugar, quiero darle las gracias, señora Mogherini. Por su trabajo, por su inteligencia y por su colaboración con este Parlamento. Muchas gracias.

Verán, creo que estamos en un momento de inflexión en cuanto al papel, a la posición, de Europa en el mundo, incluso en cuanto a la posición de Europa en Europa. La frontera entre la política interior y la política exterior, efectivamente, se está desdibujando. Pero ambas posiciones, tanto en el mundo como dentro de Europa, están todavía por definir.

Y por eso creo que es tan importante mantener vivo lo que yo denominaría el espíritu de París, que sí es —creo yo— una muestra muy importante de poder ciudadano y de poder europeo. Porque lo cierto es que están amenazando nuestra libertad. Pero hay muchos países a nuestro alrededor en los que la libertad no ha existido nunca. Ni la libertad, ni las expectativas, ni la paz. Y esa realidad también nos señala con el dedo.

Es cierto también que el Estado Islámico, todo el yihadismo terrorista de Al Qaeda y sus filiales, no cesa de extenderse a lo largo del mundo. Y hay una situación de riesgo permanente, como es el conflicto israelo-palestino. Ese es un núcleo de conflicto permanente y de falta de credibilidad de la comunidad internacional también.

Creo que debemos continuar por el camino del reconocimiento de Palestina como un Estado. Creo que el trabajo que estamos haciendo, que hemos hecho en este Parlamento y en muchos Estados miembros, es un trabajo importante para conseguir un objetivo que sí es un objetivo que podemos lograr en la Unión Europea, en Europa. Creo que no hay mejor manera para acabar con los miedos que crear una ilusión y creo que la ilusión de la paz es una ilusión que merece la pena.

Para eso, señora Mogherini, tendrá usted todo nuestro apoyo y la animamos a que siga en ese camino.

**Charles Tannock (ECR)**. - Madam President, across the globe we see risks to our peace and security, and the tragedy in Paris is the most recent example. Whether it is an assertive Russia, a destabilised Middle East and North Africa, the rise of global jihadism, changes in the balance of power in the Far East and across the world: these are global trends, and all democratic States in our Union have a shared stake in solving them. Coordinating our foreign and security policy in these spheres of shared interest, in my view, is the best way to assert our collective will, share intelligence and also enable cost savings to our national budgets.

Through the CFSP and CSDP we have witnessed the effective work, for instance operation Atlanta, the anti-piracy mission off the coast of Somalia. The CFSP has been useful in imposing strong economic sanctions against, first, Iran, and now we are also seeing the benefits and the effects on the Russian economy, and ultimately President Putin's ability to project his power and try and annex the Crimea. The CFSP must never be about taking away the sovereign prerogative of Member States, but rather acts as a means of strengthening combined positions where there is logic for doing so based on our shared mutual interest.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Ana Gomes (S&D)**, *blue-card question*. – Mr Tannock, I very much agree and I laud your call for cooperation, intelligence-sharing and a strategic vision to fight terrorism, which is something that can only be done by working together. But do you know, this is something we are not doing in one of the frontlines – probably a main frontline – of fighting terrorists, namely Iraq. I and another three MEPs have just come back from northern Iraq, and we saw that the EU has no real presence there. It is not coordinating there because some of our Member States, including your country, refuse that coordination, whether military support to the fight against ISIS or humanitarian assistance, development assistance and other elements. We are not fighting terrorism there.

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**Charles Tannock (ECR)**, *blue-card answer*. – Well, Ana, you well know that I am President of the Friends of Kurdistan and you are one of my Vice-Presidents. I really would like to pay a tribute to your expertise and knowledge of that particular country and region. Of course we need to do more, and I am proud that Member States – including the United Kingdom, in fairness – have helped in arming the Peshmerga and fighting the Islamic State and the threat it poses to the Christian minorities, the Yazidis, the Turkmen, the Shia, Arabs and so on. What is going on in Iraq is a tragedy, and we must all coordinate our efforts internationally to defeat the scourge of jihadi terrorism.

**Ivo Vajgl (ALDE)**. - Dokler nas ne boste razočarali, vam zaupamo in verjamemo v vas. Zato me zanima vaš papir in vsebina vašega programa. Množica, ki je šla skozi Pariz, ima zgovoren jezik. Tudi molk je bil zgovoren in njihovo sporočilo je prišlo do nas.

Vendar pa množica ne rešuje problemov. Probleme morajo rešiti politiki in na čelu evropske skupne zunanje in varnostne politike ste vi. Mene zanima kako se bomo lotili – z vami na čelu – odprtih, zamrznjenih konfliktov okoli Evrope.

V preteklih letih smo zamudili veliko priložnosti, da bi nekaj na tem naredili. Kljub temu so vsi po vrsti – ne bom jih našteval – ostali odprti. In čas je takšen, da jih bo veliko težje reševati danes, kot jih je bilo prej. Od Kavkaza do Palestine do Zahodne Sahare. Želim vam veliko uspeha in radi bomo sodelovali z vami.

**Javier Couso Permy (GUE/NGL)**. - Señora Presidenta, la verdad es que estoy un poco confuso con las conclusiones del Consejo de Asuntos Exteriores sobre política común de seguridad y defensa. Por un lado, se dice que fortalece la PCSD, que hay que mejorar su eficacia, desarrollar sus capacidades, promover los intereses europeos con los socios de la Unión Europea y con las Naciones Unidas, pero, al mismo tiempo, valora positivamente la declaración de la Cumbre de Gales de la OTAN.

¿De verdad creemos compatible la defensa del interés europeo o la autonomía estratégica de Europa con los resultados de esta Cumbre? Una cumbre que convierte a un vecino como Rusia en una amenaza para el orden que defiende la OTAN. Europa no puede permitirse ser teledirigida hacia unas malas relaciones con su vecino más importante porque, además, es un problema inducido para impedir la integración continental y la mayor autonomía europea.

A los ojos de Washington solo somos el guardaespaldas en un espacio secundario tras su viraje al eje Asia-Pacífico. ¿De verdad estamos dispuestos a ser un peón de segunda en un conflicto que va contra nuestros intereses?

**Valentinas Mazuronis (EFDD)**. - Mieli kolegos, komisare F. Mogherini, tarptautinis saugumas yra nedalomas, todėl būtina užtikrinti vienodas pastangas išsaugojant taiką ir saugumą tiek Artimuosiuose Rytuose, tiek sprendžiant iššūkius artimojoje Ukrainoje. Diplomatiniemis, politiniemis ir galiausiai kariniemis priemonemis privalome kovoti su tarptautiniu terorizmu bei radikalizmu ir užkirsti kelią bet kokiems neteisėtiems ketinimams pakeisti suverenių valstybių sienas. Rusijos karinis aktyvumas ir galios demonstravimas nuolat auga. Tai rimtas pavojaus signalas ne tik Lietuvai, bet ir Baltijos jūros regiono saugumui. Tačiau mes negalime pasiduoti jokiam diplomatiniam ar informaciniam spaudimui bei provokacijoms. Visų pirma, reikia peržiūrėti Europos Sąjungos saugumo strategiją. Turi būti stiprinama bei modernizuojama Europos Sąjungos sienų apsauga, įvertinamos papildomos karinių pajėgų plėtojimo, artimesnio valstybių narių bendradarbiavimo galimybės. Būtinai glaudus Europos Sąjungos bendradarbiavimas su NATO ir Jungtinėmis Tautomis. Turime efektyviai dirbti kartu, tačiau nedubliuoti vieni kitų. Tik bendras visų susitelkimas ir darbas užtikrins mūsų valstybių piliečių saugumą.

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**Jean-Luc Schaffhauser (NI)**. - Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, je tiens à souligner votre compétence, mais notre politique de sécurité et de défense commune est devenue une politique extraeuropéenne d'insécurité commune et même, au sein de notre commission des affaires étrangères, pour ce qui me concerne, de recherche de la guerre. Une politique extraeuropéenne car ce sont les États-Unis qui ont orchestré le coup d'État en Ukraine. Ils ne s'en cachent d'ailleurs pas dans la communauté du renseignement. Ce sont eux qui définissent notre politique d'élargissement et l'«otatisation» de l'Europe. Ce sont eux qui organisent la fracture du continent par la politique des sanctions illégales contraires au droit international. Et n'oublions pas les guerres dont nous sommes devenus les supplétifs et qui amènent de nouvelles menaces au cœur de nos rues (Iraq, Libye et Syrie). La France en paie le prix!

Cette politique d'insécurité commune est amplifiée dans notre commission des affaires étrangères avec la caricature selon laquelle tout est blanc d'un côté et tout est noir de l'autre. Nous n'essayons pas de comprendre, d'analyser ou de nous inscrire dans l'histoire longue, ce qui empêche tout dialogue pour la paix. Nous sommes au Parlement dans la propagande. Des mensonges répétés doivent devenir des vérités.

Avec le deux poids deux mesures qui est notre mode opératoire constant et avec des droits de l'homme sélectifs qui servent la diabolisation de l'ennemi supposé, un gouvernement actuellement soutenu par nous canonise sa population civile et c'est normal. Est-ce cela l'Europe de la réconciliation et de la paix, l'Europe à laquelle je crois?

*(L'orateur accepte de répondre à une question «carton bleu» (article 162, paragraphe 8, du règlement))*

**Charles Tannock (ECR)**, *blue-card question*. - I know, Mr Schaffhauser, that there is a long tradition in France, on the far right and the far left, of anti-Americanism, but you make these most categorical statements about the role of the USA – that somehow it has defined our national and European common foreign and security policy, particularly vis-à-vis Ukraine.

Have you ever been to Ukraine? What do you know about Ukraine? I have been going to that country for more than a decade, and I have never seen any evidence that the Ukrainian people or Ukraine's political class are being instructed by the United States as to what the country's geopolitical determination should be for the future. You have no evidence whatsoever that the USA imposes its foreign policy on any of us. You make that statement: prove it please, sir!

**Jean-Luc Schaffhauser (NI)**. - Cher collègue, ces allégations..

*(La Présidente interrompt l'orateur)*

**Elnök asszony**. - Egy pillanatot kérek képviselő úrtól! Másodszor fordul elő az ülésünk alatt, hogy nem állunk fel. Köszönöm szépen, hogy Ön megtisztelt most ezzel. Ugyanaz vonatkozik szerintem a kékkártyás kérdésekre is: a válaszadásnál is álljunk fel. Egyrészt akkor látjuk, hogy ki válaszol, másrészt meg tiszteljük meg a Házat. Parancsoljon, Mr. Schaffhauser.

**Jean-Luc Schaffhauser (NI)**, *réponse «carton bleu»*. - Cher collègue, je crois qu'il faut être de bonne foi. Évidemment, ce que j'affirme, nous pouvons en parler sérieusement et j'ai des éléments à cet égard.

En ce qui concerne l'Ukraine, j'ai été dans le Donbass, vous le savez, nous le savons tous, et donc j'ai été le seul à voir sur le terrain comment effectivement – je ne veux pas juger – les écoles sont bombardées, la population civile est terrorisée et aujourd'hui Donetsk est en feu. Ce sont des éléments objectifs.

**Michèle Alliot-Marie (PPE)**. - Madame la Présidente, Madame Mogherini, je voudrais d'abord remercier chacune et chacun de ceux qui ont exprimé leur solidarité et leur compassion à l'égard des victimes de Paris. Il faut bien savoir que les événements qui ont meurtri la France ces derniers jours peuvent toucher n'importe lequel de nos vingt-huit États et à n'importe quel moment, dès lors qu'il s'agit d'États qui défendent des valeurs, les valeurs de la liberté, du respect humain, de la démocratie, du respect de l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes.

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Ces événements soulignent que la politique de sécurité de l'Union européenne est une nécessité morale en même temps qu'une exigence politique.

Nous devons en priorité renforcer et mieux coordonner au niveau européen les actions nationales en matière de renseignement, d'échange de données, de suivi d'internet et nous pouvons agir, ici même, très concrètement. Notre Parlement doit notamment voter, lors de la prochaine session, le texte sur le PNR. Au-delà, nous devons constater qu'aujourd'hui l'Union européenne, pas plus qu'aucun des États membres pris individuellement, n'a les moyens nécessaires pour être en première ligne dans cette gestion de crise. Nous avons besoin d'instruments et de moyens financiers juridiques et stratégiques.

Alors, Madame Mogherini, j'ai trois questions à vous poser. Premièrement, à quel niveau du PNB européen estimez-vous les moyens financiers nécessaires?

Deuxièmement, comment comptez-vous obtenir de chacun des États membres qu'il contribue à l'effort commun et de façon équitable?

Troisièmement, le Parlement européen a maintes fois suggéré l'élaboration d'un livre blanc sur la défense. Comment comptez-vous activer sa rédaction par vos services?

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** - Gospođa potpredsjednice, tragedije u Parizu, Nigeriji i Pakistanu, brojne krize koje već traju u Ukrajini, Siriji, Iraku i drugdje obilježavaju početak i ove godine. Podržavam usmjerenost na Ukrajinu kao vanjsko politički prioritet Europske unije, ali želim ukazati na potrebu za dodatnim angažmanom na zapadnom Balkanu koji kao prostor okružen Unijom zaslužuje našu punu pozornost. Posebno se to odnosi na Bosnu i Hercegovinu čiji problemi srećom nisu jednakih razmjera kao oni u Ukrajini, no svejedno su važan Stress test za vanjsku politiku Bruxellesa.

Pozornost treba posvetiti nastavku politike širenja Europske unije, ali na načelima veće odgovornosti država kandidatkinja, za sprječavanje politika koje vode obnovi sukoba i rušenju demokratskih standarda. Važno pitanje bit će i nastavak procesa priznanja palestinske državnosti.

U ovim turbulentnim vremenima, kada zahvaljujući globalizaciji lokalne krize vrlo brzo mogu prerasti u regionalne, pa i u globalne, imate jedinstvenu priliku ojačati Zajedničku vanjsku i sigurnosnu politiku Unije koja je do sada često bila prostor dilema. Želim vam puno uspjeha u tome.

**Bas Belder (ECR).** - In de context van de westerse krachtmeting met Rusland over Oekraïne is het lichtvaardig om het Kremlin als internationaal geïsoleerd voor te stellen. De groeiende Russische macht en invloed in het Midden-Oosten gedurende de laatste zes maanden spreken immers een andere taal. En dat gelukte president Poetin juist in twee sleutelmachten in de regio, te weten Turkije en Iran.

Op slimme wijze heeft Moskou het South Stream Project ingewisseld voor het Turkish Stream Project. De Turkse premier Davutoğlu jubelt al dat, zoals vroeger alle wegen naar Rome leidden, nu alle energieroutes via Turkije lopen. Daarnaast biedt Rusland zich als financieel en energiepartner aan aan Iran. Dankzij deze machtsposities in het Midden-Oosten heeft de EU het Kremlin momenteel broodnodig voor diplomatieke oplossingen in de Syrische burgeroorlog en het Iraanse nucleaire dossier.

Mevrouw de hoge vertegenwoordiger, welke strategie plaatst de EU tegenover deze Russische strategie in het Midden-Oosten? Dat is immers een heel urgent probleem willen wij verder komen.

**Olli Rehn (ALDE).** - Arvoisa puhemies, hyvät kollegat, viime vuosi merkitsi Euroopassa geopolitiikan ja historian paluuta, jos ne olivat mihinkään kadonneetkaan. Viime viikko Pariisissa puolestaan muistutti traagisella tavalla terrorismin ja ääriliikkeiden uhasta.

Yhtenäisyys on tällaisessa kriisitilanteessa Euroopan unionin tärkein valtti. Se ei voi nojautua vain sopimuksiin kirjattuihin tavoitteisiin, vaan onnistumisen ehdoton edellytys on nimenomaan .

Mutta sen lisäksi meillä pitää olla myös kyky tehokkaasti toteuttaa turvallisuusstrategiaamme ja Teidän työnne, varapuheenjohtaja Mogherini, on tässä avainasemassa. Kannustan Teitä käyttämään aiempaa tehokkaammin hyväksi komission kaikkia resursseja – kauppapolitiikasta kehitykseen, humanitaarisesta avusta sisäiseen turvallisuuteen.

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Meidän on myös lopulta – Pariisin tapahtumienkin opettamana – ratkaisevasti parannettava jäsenmaiden tiedustelupalvelujen keskinäistä yhteistyötä ja tietojenvaihtoa, ettei tule enää lisää viattomia uhreja.

**Τάκης Χατζηγεωργίου (GUE/NGL).** - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, δεν μπορούμε να μπούμε σε αυτή τη συζήτηση χωρίς να δούμε τι έγινε στη Γαλλία. Το μάτι της αβύσσου, που ανοίγει πάνω από την Ευρώπη, έχει τις ρίζες του στις πολιτικές της Δύσης στο Ιράκ, στη Συρία και στη Λιβύη. Αυτοί που εξέθρεψαν αυτό το τέρας θέλουν τώρα να το πολεμήσουν. Αυτοί που έδιναν όπλα στους εξτρεμιστές και που ουσιαστικά τάισαν το ισλαμικό κράτος τώρα πρέπει να αγωνιστούν επί ερειπίων. Αυτό δεν σημαίνει πως υπάρχει οποιαδήποτε δικαιολογία ή εξήγηση για την άνανδρη δολοφονία των δημοσιογράφων.

Ποιος όμως είναι τελικά ο στόχος μας; Να συνεχίσουμε την ίδια πολιτική και μάλιστα να την καταστήσουμε πιο δραστική; Να συνεχίσουμε την ίδια πολιτική που έφερε τη Λιβύη στο χείλος της καταστροφής; Που συναινεί με τις πράξεις ή τις παραλείψεις της στο χάος που καταπίνει τη Μέση Ανατολή; Που αντί να συμβάλει στην καταπολέμηση της φτώχειας, της εξαθλίωσης και της πείνας αναπαράγει τις αιτίες τους; Η πραγματικότητα είναι αδυσώπητη. Η εξωτερική πολιτική δεν υπαγορεύεται από τη λογική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης - για να πω το ελάχιστο - αλλά από τα συμφέροντα, τον μιλιταρισμό και τον επεμβατισμό. Η Ευρώπη πρέπει να είναι γέφυρα ειρήνης και συνεργασίας μεταξύ των λαών, δύναμη αλληλεγγύης και αρχών. Όμως αυτός ο στόχος βρίσκεται στην ακριβώς αντίθετη κατεύθυνση από αυτή που βαδίζει σήμερα η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

#### VORSITZ: ALEXANDER GRAF LAMBSDORFF

*Vizepräsident*

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, en este mundo global e interdependiente, no faltan desafíos ni conflictos. La Unión Europea necesita, pues, una acción exterior más coherente y más eficaz, lo que exige también una sola voz y una sola dirección. Y creo, señora Mogherini, que su triple responsabilidad puede facilitarle esa labor. La Unión Europea no puede encerrarse en sí misma. Junto a nuestros socios internacionales necesitamos, en el marco de las Naciones Unidas, mantener un orden internacional que genere paz y estabilidad y que sea respetuoso del Derecho internacional.

Además, hay retos globales que requieren respuestas globales. Me refiero al cambio climático y también al terrorismo, de triste actualidad en estos días. La Unión Europea debe ocupar un lugar de liderazgo en estas respuestas globales a estos desafíos, también globales. Supongo, señora Alta Representante, que estas ideas básicas estarán presentes en el ejercicio de reflexión estratégica que está llevando a cabo el Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior.

Me parece que la política de vecindad debe ocupar un lugar privilegiado en ese ejercicio. No podemos abarcarlo todo. Debe ser prioritaria nuestra vecindad, en la que proliferan retos y conflictos en sus dimensiones meridional y también oriental. Pienso en Libia, en los resultados —en general, decepcionantes— de la llamada «primavera árabe» y en la grave crisis en Ucrania por la intervención rusa.

Quisiera subrayar un último aspecto, como ya han hecho otros oradores: la necesidad de seguir profundizando en los ámbitos de la seguridad y la defensa. Ciertamente, en estos momentos, la crisis económica y la necesaria consolidación fiscal no permiten grandes gastos en defensa. Pero los retos de hoy y los cambios en la estrategia de los Estados Unidos exigen que los europeos tengan una mejor y mayor cooperación en el ámbito de la defensa, puesto que con el *soft power* desde luego no llega. No es suficiente.

**Ramón Jáuregui Atondo (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, me preocupa que los problemas externos de la Unión Europea y los problemas de vecindad con el Este, con el Mediterráneo, etc. concentren toda la política exterior de la Unión Europea. El resto del mundo se mueve, y tenemos que plantearnos una política también de cara a América Latina.

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Quiero decirle que, a este respecto, mi opinión es que la Unión Europea lleva cinco años sin mirar a América Latina. Y América Latina mira ya hacia el Pacífico. La alianza más potente -Chile, Perú, Colombia y México- mira hacia el Pacífico. China mira hacia América Latina.

Les recuerdo que en la última reunión de China con la CELAC se acaba de acordar una inversión de 30 000 millones de dólares en América Latina por parte de China. Les recuerdo que los Estados Unidos y Europa han sido ya superados en su presencia económica y política en América Latina por China. Les recuerdo que, desgraciadamente, Europa ha dejado de tener una influencia política importante a efectos de construir unos valores comunes en el mundo con la coincidencia de proyectos políticos que hay entre Europa y América Latina. Mi recomendación, señora Mogherini, es que miremos más a América Latina, que nos jugamos mucho ahí, y yo le pido que haga un esfuerzo especial por recuperar relaciones políticas y económicas con América Latina.

**Marek Jurek (ECR).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Jedynym sensem naszej współpracy, jedynym sensem działania Unii Europejskiej jest wzajemne umacnianie niepodległości naszych państw, a nie sen o supermocarstwie. Nam potrzeba tej solidarności, której Polsce zabrakło w 1945 r., której Węgom zabrakło w 1956 r., a Czechom i Słowakom – w 1968 r. Dlatego że w Europie Środkowej cały czas odczuwamy skutki systemu pojałtańskiego. Europa nie była podzielona, narody Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej były oddzielone od wolnego świata, oddzielone przez dominację sowiecką. Idąc dzisiaj do Izby na to posiedzenie, myślałem, że usłyszę wiele słów na temat tej strasznej zbrodni, która zdarzyła się u naszych granic: śmierci 12 ludzi w autobusie do Doniecka. Dlatego że my w Europie Środkowej możemy cały czas powiedzieć: „*Nous sommes tous les passagers de Donieck*”. I wszyscy powinniśmy mówić to razem.

**Martina Anderson (GUE/NGL).** - Mr President, I send condolences to the families of the victims and to the French people, and in this foreign policy debate I focus on UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's announcement that Palestine will be joining the International Criminal Court (ICC) on 1 April.

This political, peaceful and legitimate course of action by the Palestinian Authority is to be welcomed. It grants jurisdiction to the ICC over any war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in the Occupied Palestinian territory and applies to all parties in the conflict there. Granting access to justice for thousands of victims is a positive way forward. Amnesty International said that Israel, the US and the EU Member States must refrain from punishing or threatening Palestine for taking this positive step. Member States need to be clear that Palestine joining the ICC is a legitimate positive step and that it is in no way an attempt to aggravate an already tense situation, and therefore no one should try to stir up the flame of confrontation.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Charles Tannock (ECR), blue-card question.** – Ms Anderson, I of course welcome all states eventually signing the Rome Statute and becoming part of the International Criminal Court, although I have my doubts whether the Palestinian State is ready, because it is not yet recognised as a state internationally. But would you accept that Hamas in part of the Palestinian territories, namely Gaza, has committed war crimes itself by launching rockets against innocent civilians in Israel?

**Martina Anderson (GUE/NGL), blue-card answer.** – I think the test of terrorism is the deliberate targeting of civilians. So let us all remember the four little children who were playing on the beach in Gaza and the other 520 little boys and little girls that were murdered during the last attack in Gaza. So I think ultimately labels are not what matter and should not be the issue: it should be the solutions. Solutions are what matter. I think we need to be clear on what they are, and that is a two-state solution on the 1967 borders.

**Alojz Peterle (PPE).** - Mr President, Madam Vice-President/High Representative, dear colleagues, our time is not romantic at all. We are facing a war and growing violence within Europe and conflicts in our vicinity which are close to Fukuyama's forecast on the clash of civilisations. We have to find proper answers to the question of what to do when our concept of soft power – known as the concept of sharing – is threatened by the concept of imposing by means of hard power. We have to agree, following our values and principles, on what we want to negotiate and what we do not sell. We can do that only by respecting our own identity. To defend our values and principles means to defend our identity and its future.

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I would like to see the common foreign, security and defence policy (CFSP) being an essential part of the Union's political excellence. Let me mention on this occasion only two security-related points in this regard. Firstly, I consider good governance in candidate countries and in the countries with association status a key element of the CFSP. Secondly, it is important that the EU does not allow a destabilisation of the Western Balkans. I welcome your and Commissioner Hahn's endeavours in the region. We need more Europe in that very direction.

I appreciate your concept of interinstitutional cooperation and your understanding of the role of parliamentary diplomacy as well. Thank you very much and good luck in 2015.

**Bogusław Liberadzki (S&D).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel! Z dużą satysfakcją wysłuchałem Pani prezentacji i główny przedmiot naszej debaty, czyli podstawowe aspekty i podstawowe wybory, to właśnie zawarte było w Pani przemówieniu. Mamy już pięcioletnie doświadczenie w pełnieniu funkcji służby zagranicznej. Pani w swoim wystąpieniu wypukliła to, co jest nam również potrzebne na tej sali – pewną świadomość, jaka jest rola, jak ważna jest rola Unii Europejskiej w tym globalnym świecie. Możemy się spierać czy to jest supermocarstwo, ale to będzie tylko semantyka. Natomiast pani pokazała, w jakich dziedzinach jesteśmy ważni.

Po drugie bardzo mi odpowiada to, co Pani określiła jako szeroko rozumianą definicję pokoju. Na co chciałbym zwrócić uwagę również niezależnie od Pani prezentacji, to to, że Pani reprezentowała i miała także na uwadze interesy gospodarcze.

Cel zasadniczy to konkurencyjność wspólnotowej gospodarki. Instrumentem do tego celu jest handel zagraniczny. Prośba uprzejma, żebyśmy to mieli także w spektrum tych głównych zasad i kierunków.

**Ruža Tomašić (ECR).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, danas u svijetu postoji više kriznih žarišta u kojima se Europska unija želi snažnije angažirati kao medijator i osiguravatelj stabilnosti i mira. No aktivno rješavanje sukoba, iako plemenito i potrebno, predstavlja i sigurnosnu prijetnju, jer oni koji su nezadovoljni rješenjem sve češće se okomljuju na europske građane kako bi ih kaznili za ono što smatraju propustom ili lošom namjerom europske politike.

Stoga, smatram kako paralelno s aktivnijom ulogom u svjetskim krizama mora ići kvalitetnija sigurnosna politika na našem tlu. Držim, prije svega, da suradnju među nadležnim nacionalnim tijelima i snagama sigurnosti treba podići na najvišu moguću razinu kako bismo brže detektirali i učinkovitije otklonili potencijalnu prijetnju.

Krucijalno će biti maksimalno unaprijediti sustav za razmjenu informacija među državama članicama te s trećim zemljama, koje se istinski bore protiv terorizma. Zajednički nastup protiv ove globalne pošasti jednostavno nema alternative.

*(Zvučnik pristao odgovoriti na pitanje „blue card” (članak 149. stavak 8. Uredbe)).*

**Liisa Jaakonsaari (S&D), sinisen kortin kysymys.** – On erittäin tärkeää lisätä tiedusteluyhteistyötä ja on erittäin tärkeää varautua uusiin terroristi-iskuihin, mutta kaikkein tärkeintä on varautuminen terrorismin syihin. Yksi ainakin tekosyy monille terrorismia harjoittaneille on Lähi-idän konflikti, johon Te puutuitte. Oletteko sitä mieltä, että juuri Palestiinan kysymykseen pitäisi saada ratkaisu, jotta pohjaa terrorismilta voitaisiin viedä?

**Ruža Tomašić (ECR), odgovor na pitanje postavljeno podizanjem plave kartice.** – Nekada se velike države, radi osobnih interesa, igraju sa životima drugih malih država. Mislim da je ovo što se sada događa u Siriji upravo rezultat igranja velikih država sudbinom malih naroda. Vjerujem da Izrael i Palestina moraju sami sjesti i pokušati riješiti probleme. Ne možemo rješavati nečije probleme ako ih oni sami ne žele riješiti.

**Tunne Kelam (PPE).** - Mr President, the High Representative made a very good introduction, calling for the recovery of European identity. I very much hope, Ms Mogherini, that this new spirit of change which has emerged from the Paris demonstrations might be transferred into practical actions, so we look forward to your determined leadership on security and defence matters.

I would like you to focus among other things on cyber-defence capabilities. I expect the Commission to urge Member States to develop their respective cyber-defence strategies and to coordinate them in doing so, using the European Defence Agency to create joint EU cyber-defence potential.

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However, the fundamental issue for any practical progress on security and defence methods is the economic basis. The first victims of the economic crisis were defence budgets, and while Russia has been modernising its army and has increased military expenditure to 4.5% of GDP – and the same is true for China – the figure in most EU Member States has plummeted far below 2%. There is no way to avoid or postpone systematic recovery of the EU's defence capability.

One problem that the European Council in June this year needs to address is the practical application of Treaty Article 42(7) – the mutual defence clause – especially in the new security situation. Could it be used also in case of cyber-attacks against vital strategic infrastructures?

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Gilles Lebreton (NI)**, *question «carton bleu»*. – Monsieur, vous venez de dire que l'Union européenne devait retrouver son identité. Je peux comprendre ce point de vue, même s'il me paraît un peu abstrait. Mais pour illustrer cette opinion, vous avez cité les manifestations du 11 janvier à Paris et là, je ne vous comprends pas. Je ne vois pas comment vous pouvez relier ces manifestations parisiennes à un problème d'identité européenne puisque, très officiellement, les 4 millions de Français qui ont défilé partout en France voulaient faire une marche républicaine. Ils invoquaient donc la République française et ils ont également invoqué l'union nationale.

Je vous demande si vous ne pensez pas que cette manifestation n'a rien à voir avec l'Union européenne et qu'au contraire elle manifeste peut-être une défiance vis-à-vis de l'Union?

**Tunne Kelam (PPE)**, *blue-card answer*. – We are speaking about European identity – it is not EU identity only. It is based upon a common European cultural heritage, our tradition, our culture and first of all, spirit of solidarity. I think the Paris demonstrations took place in the spirit of solidarity, not regarding anyone or anybody.

**Afzal Khan (S&D)**. – Mr President, allow me to begin by thanking the High Representative for her work and the efforts that she is making and for the report that she has given here to this House.

Europe faces many security challenges - a frozen conflict in our eastern neighbourhood, crises in the Middle East and North Africa, and the global threat of terrorism as recently seen in France, Pakistan and Syria. An effective European security and defence policy is therefore crucial for our citizens' welfare.

The tragic terrorist attack in Paris has affected us all. Our response should not lead to losing our core values. This will hand victory to extremists. Instead, we need to push for a coordinated and comprehensive global response in dealing with terrorism. We need to deal with some of the long-standing disputes in the world, such as Palestine and Kashmir, with better security cooperation internally and externally, education – as extremists thrive on ignorance – and the need to show responsible leadership to counter the narrative of extremism.

**David McAllister (PPE)**. - Mr President, I would like to underline to Mrs Mogherini three aspects which, in my opinion, have not been addressed yet and are important to ensure a successful common foreign and security policy.

Firstly, the European Union, as we all know, is especially powerful in its immediate neighbourhood. Therefore it is necessary to strengthen the EU's set of external instruments. The European Neighbourhood Policy should combine a long-term structural engagement with better instruments for a short-term impact.

Secondly, the European Union should have a key role in terms of strengthening the Eastern Partnership, on the one hand, and maintaining the dialogue with Russia on the other. With regard to the Eastern Partnership Summit in Riga, which will take place in May, I welcome the fact that the Latvian Presidency has announced a more individual approach towards the countries in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood, since we all know that one size does not fit all.



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Thirdly, and finally, I believe that accession countries need to align their foreign and security policy with the EU acquis. We should be very clear on this and call for implementation in all areas. This includes decisions introducing restrictive measures against Russia as long as they are necessary.

**Neena Gill (S&D).** - Mr President, a strong focus on our neighbourhood and the Middle East is undoubtedly important, but objectives can be compromised by being absent in other regions. I am concerned that, regarding Asia – home to half the world's population – it is left to the US and Russia to set the agenda.

We saw an illustration of this just this week in India. High-ranking global players from across the world were there at the Gujarat Summit. Meanwhile the EU was not. President Obama is visiting India once again, for the second time. So would you agree, High Representative, that it is an urgent issue that we resurrect the EU-India Summit? Otherwise we will disappear from Delhi's radar. Our absence in India, China and Asian states is short-changing our businesses and citizens. Failing to increase engagement with these countries would equal failing to deliver growth, high social standards, stability and progress on tackling climate change. I hope that in 2015 we will finally connect the dots and adopt a proactive Asia strategy in which these countries are approached as real and equal partners.

**Bogdan Andrzej Zdrojewski (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowna Wysoka Komisarz! Intencją dzisiejszej debaty jest przede wszystkim wyrażenie poglądów przez eurodeputowanych w odniesieniu do realizacji wspólnej polityki zagranicznej, bezpieczeństwa i obrony. Z tego też powodu odniosę się tylko do kilku punktów.

Po pierwsze, nie podzielam tych poglądów, w których buduje się rywalizację pomiędzy prawami obywatelskimi, bezpieczeństwem Europy czy też sprawami gospodarczymi. W mojej opinii mamy tercet wartości, w którym zgodność i równość znaczenia ma podstawową wartość. Z tego też wywodzi się moja opinia o konieczności zbudowania jednolitego systemu obejmującego całą Europę kontroli przepływu pasażerów w ruchu lotniczym. Pamiętajmy, że poszerzając gwarancje bezpieczeństwa obywateli, wzmacniamy i urealniamy ich prawa obywatelskie.

Po drugie, moja ocena szczytu NATO w Walii jest ambiwalentna. Z jednej strony wydawało się, że przygotowania zakończą się mizernymi wynikami, z drugiej, w efekcie kryzysu ukraińskiego nastąpiła mobilizacja, i bez wątplenia klęski nie było. Dziś jednak najważniejsze jest, aby ustalenia polityczne sprawnie przełożyć na język i decyzje czysto wojskowe. Mam wrażenie, że w tej materii politycznej woli, determinacji i pełnej zgody po prostu brakuje. Przewodniczenie osobiste przez Panią Wysoką Przedstawiciel Komitetowi Obrony traktuję jako dobry znak tych ewentualnych sukcesów.

Po trzecie, jestem wielkim przeciwnikiem dublowania ośrodków decyzyjnych w strukturach bezpieczeństwa, powoływania nowych instytucji, budowania alternatywnych ośrodków kierowania czy też rozwiązywania na nowo zdefiniowanych problemów bezpieczeństwa przez kolejne agendy *ad hoc*. Traktat unijny jest wystarczający, aby z niego korzystać.

**Boris Zala (S&D).** - Mr President, the security challenges we face are probability greater than at any point in the EU's history.

The gravest is the threat of radical Islamic terrorism. After the tragedy in Paris, we are hearing proposals to weaken the Schengen regime. In my view, that would be a huge step backwards. Instead of reinstating border checks and undermining one of the EU's fundamental freedoms, we need closer coordination among our security and law enforcement agencies.

Instead of gathering ever greater amounts of data and undermining civil liberties, we need more effective, intelligence sharing to connect the dots from the information we already collect.

We also need stronger institutional structures at EU level. I believe that Europe needs its own common intelligence service, as proposed last year by our esteemed colleague, former Commissioner Reding.

**Othmar Karas (PPE).** - Herr Präsident, Frau Vizepräsidentin, meine Damen und Herren! Erstens begrüße ich Ihren ganzheitlichen, grundsätzlichen Ansatz. Zweitens unterstütze ich Ihr Selbstverständnis, sich als Außenminister einer Supermacht für Frieden, Dialog, Respekt und diplomatische Lösungen zu verstehen. Drittens meine ich aber, dass der Erfolg davon abhängig ist, ob die Europäische Union zur politischen Union wird, die die Staaten Europas zu einer Gemeinsamen Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungsunion vereinen kann. Viertens: Auch hängt der Erfolg davon ab, ob wir die EU-Missionen finanziell ausreichend ausstatten, ob wir endlich das öffentliche Ausschreibungswesen für die EU-Missionen verändern und ob die Europäische Beschaffungsagentur alle Veränderungen der nationalen Verteidigung-

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spolitiken koordinieren kann und für die ausreichende Ausstattung sorgt. Fünftens teile ich Ihre Auffassung, dass Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik zu Hause beginnt.

Niemand von uns ist neutral. Jeder von uns ist mitverantwortlich. Das heißt aber auf der einen Seite, dass jeder, der europäisches Recht, europäische Werte nach innen verletzt, uns außenpolitisch schwächt, und jeder und jede, die gegen eine gemeinsame Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik auftritt, Ihr Selbstverständnis, eine Supermacht des Friedens zu vertreten, untergräbt. Das Parlament und meine Delegation haben Sie an Ihrer Seite.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, «Una politica di difesa comune destinata a sostenere una politica estera comune presuppone che gli Stati membri identifichino interessi comuni: non può esistere una politica estera comune senza uno strumento di analisi comune; ma una politica estera comune non può nemmeno esistere senza una volontà comune», queste sono le parole di un grande europeo, Leo Tindemans che sfortunatamente ci ha lasciato il mese scorso, prese dalla sua relazione del 30 aprile 1998 sulla progressiva instaurazione di una politica di difesa comune dell'Unione europea.

Ancora oggi tale frase mantiene intatto il suo valore, sono già state ricordate in Aula le innumerevoli situazioni e crisi che richiederebbero un'urgente ridefinizione delle priorità politiche europee e delle sue modalità di azione nel campo della politica estera di difesa e di sicurezza comune. Resta tuttavia da sciogliere il nodo della volontà comune, tema più volte ripreso anche nei suoi discorsi dal nostro dimissionario Presidente della Repubblica italiana Giorgio Napolitano, una volontà che appare insufficiente ancora nelle nostre capitali. L'obiettivo è di ottenere questa volontà, ci si sta giovando della capacità di leadership mostrata in questi mesi dall'Alto rappresentante. In conclusione intendo ricordare che il programma della Presidenza Lettone ha riportato la necessità di fare progressi sul fronte dei *battle group* europei. Per questo serve una nuova base legale a partire dall'articolo 42.

**Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (PPE).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, εγώ είμαι πολύ χαρούμενος που η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει μετατραπεί σε μια οικονομική υπερδύναμη. Το γεγονός ότι είμαστε όλοι μαζί μια οικονομική υπερδύναμη είναι, κατά τη γνώμη μου, απόδειξη συλλογικής επιτυχίας και συλλογικής προοπτικής. Και μέσα σε αυτό το σύνολο οι ευκαιρίες είναι περισσότερες για τις μικρότερες χώρες, οι οποίες διαφορετικά θα περνούσαν απαρατήρητες ή θα μπορούσαν να περάσουν στο περιθώριο. Για παράδειγμα, εάν δεν ήμασταν οικονομική υπερδύναμη, χώρες όπως η Ιρλανδία, η Πορτογαλία, η Ελλάδα, η Κύπρος θα είχαν πρόβλημα να καλύψουν τις χρηματοδοτικές τους ανάγκες για να αποφύγουν τη χρεοκοπία μετά το 2008.

Επίσης το γεγονός ότι είμαστε οικονομικά ισχυροί επηρεάζει τις σχέσεις μας με τη Ρωσία. Υπάρχει αυτή η διαφορά απόψεων για το θέμα της Ουκρανίας, αλλά νομίζω ότι η Ρωσία, μετά την πτώση της διεθνούς τιμής του πετρελαίου, που προκάλεσε μεταξύ των άλλων και την πτώση στο εθνικό της νόμισμα, το ρούβλι, και το πέρασμα της οικονομίας της σε ύφεση, θα θελήσει σε κάποια φάση να σταματήσει να χρηματοδοτεί μια πολιτική που την φέρνει σε αντίθεση με εμάς.

Θεωρώ όμως ότι πρέπει να δουλέψουμε καλύτερα για να αποκτήσει στρατηγικό βάθος η πολιτική μας. Δηλαδή, γιατί να μην χρηματοδοτήσουμε τον έλεγχο και τον περιορισμό της παράνομης μετανάστευσης; Τα γαλλικά μέσα ενημέρωσης μεταδίδουν ότι, μετά τα δραματικά γεγονότα του Παρισιού, η κατανάλωση πέφτει, η ψυχολογία του κόσμου αλλάζει. Υπάρχουν δηλαδή δυσλειτουργίες και οικονομικό κόστος. Επομένως, καλύτερα να καλύψουμε μαζί έναν λογαριασμό, να βρούμε μαζί κοινές πολιτικές για να αποτρέψουμε προβλήματα σε κάθε χώρα ξεχωριστά.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Andrej Plenković (PPE).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, potpredsjednice, hvala vam Visoka predstavnice Mogerini na cjelovitom predstavljanju vaših prioriteta, a zahvaljujem i kolegi Pierreu Vimontu na doprinosu proteklih pet godina radu Europske službe za vanjsko djelovanje i vanjskoj politici Europske unije.

Čini mi se da nakon Pariza pitanje unutarnje sigurnosti postaje jednako važno kao i globalno pozicioniranje Europske unije u skladu s prioritetima koji su definirani u programu rada nove Komisije i u skladu s misijom koju vam je povjerio predsjednik Komisije Juncker. Čini mi se da je ključno da u narednih pet godina osnažimo vanjskopolitički kredibilitet.

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Ja ću, kao jedan od svojevrstnih portparola vanjske politike Europske unije s aspekta Europskog parlamenta i šef Delegacije za Ukrajinu, nastojati da naša zajednička aktivnost bude koordinirana i koherentna te da polučimo rezultate koji će dovesti do mira i stabilnosti za zemlju koja je u našem najvećem fokusu.

**Jo Leinen (S&D).** - Herr Präsident! Frau Mogherini, Ihre Begründung, warum wir eine gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik brauchen, hat mir sehr gut gefallen. Es ist die Verteidigung der Grundwerte und unserer Identität. Ich würde Sie ermuntern, diesen Begriff, die Supermacht für Frieden und Freiheit, auch immer wieder zu wiederholen. Das muss sich in die Köpfe einprägen, auch wenn die Europagegner das nicht gerne hören. Ich glaube, dass Sie in der Öffentlichkeit, auch in Großbritannien, für Verteidigung von Freiheit und von Frieden auch viel Zustimmung ernten.

Nun, Sie haben gesagt: Die Herausforderungen sind komplex, und wir brauchen ein ganzes Bündel von Maßnahmen. Wir sind keine Militärmacht, wir sind eine Zivilmacht. Wir haben Instrumente, die wir einsetzen können. Bei der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus erwarten die Bürger Sicherheit. Da wäre auch die Frage: Sind wir gut gerüstet, haben wir genügend Instrumente, uns vor dem Terrorismus zu schützen, was die Nachrichtendienste angeht, was auch die europäische Verfolgung durch die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft angeht? Diese Fragen, glaube ich, sollten bei Ihnen auf der Agenda sein.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** - Г-н Председател, г-жо Могерини, безспорно пред Европейската комисија и Европeјскиј парламент стојат многу предизвикателства, сврзани со општата воншна политика и сигурност. Едно од нај-големите от тях, разбира се, е пълномашабната война, която се води срещу Европeјскиј сјюз от страна на различни джихадистки ислямистки групировки, които се намират в държавите от Близкия изток, в Африканския рог, в самото сърце на Европа.

Тази воншна политика трябва да бџде основана на размена и на обмена на разузнавателни данни. Трџба да бџде усилена општата политика на сигурност, зашто со тези групировки, со този начин на асиметрична война може да се борим там, кџдето тя се зараџда - не по улиците на Париж, а там откџдето тя трџва. Тя трџва от Нигерия со Боко Харам, тя трџва от Сомалија со Ал - Шабаб, тя трџва от Исламска дџржава, тя трџва от Хамас в Палестина.

Да не забравяме и рољата на дџржави, които подкрепят тероризма и тук важен вџпрос, којто никој не постави в залата, е рољата на Турција в подкрепата на Исламска дџржава, в прехвџрљането на нелегални емигранти и бежанци на територијата на Европeјскиј сјюз.

Това трџба да се направи и това трџба да бџде нашата опща воншна политика.

**Ivan Jakovčić (ALDE).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, pariška tragedija potresla je Europu. Pariška tragedija također je na neki način ujedinila Europu. Svi smo bili solidarni s francuskim narodom, svi smo pokazali jedinstvo i dobro je što su europski čelnici bili zajedno i držali se za ruke u Parizu jer je i to dokaz europske solidarnosti i europskog zajedništva.

Ono što želim istaknuti kao jednu dimenziju o kojoj se ovdje nije govorilo, je i to što su mnogobrojni čelnici islama, mnogobrojni muslimani bili solidarni s nama u Europi i dijele naše europske vrijednosti. Mislim da je ta dimenzija vrlo važna. Mufti zagrebački osudio je taj zločin, ali i još nešto ponudio - ponudio je način funkcioniranja islama i katoličanstva kao što je to u Hrvatskoj, u zemlji koja je poznata katolička zemlja u velikoj mjeri ali islam i katoličanstvo u Hrvatskoj funkcioniraju dobro.

Možda u Europi imamo dobre modele.

**Milan Zver (PPE).** - Evropska unija potrebuje novo evropsko varnostno strategijo. Potrebujemo proaktivno in ne reaktivno zunanjo in varnostno politiko. Prosto gibanje znotraj Evropske unije ostaja prioriteta, a moramo na drugi strani narediti vse, kar je v naši moči, da bi preprečili teroristične napade, kot je bil pariški.

Da bi zagotovili večjo varnost državljanov Evropske unije, moramo poostriti nadzor nad zunanjimi mejami, izboljšati izmenjavo podatkov obveščevalnih agencij in drugih organizacij o bojnikih v tujini, terorističnih mrežah in potnikih letalskega prevoza.

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Potrebujemo tudi tesnejše sodelovanje z internetnimi ponudniki, da bi karseda hitro umaknili zapise o spodbujanju sovraštva in terorizma. Zavzemam se za evropski preiskovalni nalog, ki naj rešuje težave v primerih pridobivanja informacij in dokazov v čezmejnih primerih.

Prav tako se zavzemam, da države članice povečajo svojo obrambno sposobnost, več vlagajo v njo, pa tudi, da se poenotimo v stališčih, kadar gre za vzhodno politiko.

*(Ende des Catch-the-eye-Verfahrens)*

**Bill Etheridge (EFDD).** - Mr President, Rule 162 on the catch-the-eye procedure: for the second time today we have had speakers from groups; no EFDD speaker has been allowed. I asked an hour and a half ago for a 'catch the eye'. I would just like some justification as to why we are not being allowed to speak.

**President.** - You are the only speaker from your group. You had a blue card before, and there are so many speakers – I see that Ana Gomes wants to speak as well, and she did not even have a blue card before, so I have to make a choice. I have way too many speakers under the catch-the-eye procedure. I apologise if you do not get to speak this time round; there are a number of debates that will follow. I hope you will have a chance.

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs.** - Mr President, this is quite a strange exercise for me. Among many positive and very nice things said, which I appreciate as the encouragement is always useful, I have heard some of you saying that there is little clarity in our foreign security and defence policy and that we should learn from some of criticism of the past. I understand that this is a debate also on the report on choices that have been made since the last Parliamentary debate on this, which was actually before this formation of Parliament and, if I am not wrong, that debate was in April last year. It is clear that I cannot – and indeed it would not be fair for me to – make an assessment or evaluation on a report on choices that were taken before I became High Representative/Vice-President of the Commission.

(Here again I would invite the European Parliament to refer to me using the term that is mentioned in the Treaties. I am sorry if I mention this from time to time, but I think we have to respect the Treaties in these little things).

This does not mean that I do not have an opinion on previous choices or previous policies: the ones that were done and the ones that were not done or not taken. This only means that I am in the first two months of my mandate and concentrating on the things that need to be done for the future, obviously starting from an assessment of what were our weak points or what needs to be completed. In this respect your opinion counts; your opinion, the opinion of Ministers on the Council side and the opinion of the Commission on the other. But from my side it would not be fair to pretend that in two months I can make an assessment of things that were done in the previous months or years or plan for the next five years in a complete and exhaustive way.

But what I can do here is say what I intend to do over the coming months and make sure that we check that regularly with common discussions like this one, and also identify some of the basic lines – as I am trying to do.

Starting from one basic point: Mr Brok, the Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, mentioned the fact that dealing with the foreign security and defence policy is not only a matter of security but also a matter of values and of economic interest and interests at large. I would start from there.

I think that anyone who is dealing with national foreign policy knows that you start from the analysis of the national interest, and I think we need to take this European interest as our starting point for developing our strategy. However, the exercise of developing a fully-fledged strategy is not something we can do in a couple of hours in this Parliament, even if this Parliament has a lot of knowledge about that. We need to take our time. I will reach out to the external community and also involve not only the European Parliament but also national parliaments and national foreign and security dimensions. That is why, to those of you that asked me: 'what is the role of the European Parliament going to be in defining what I intend to launch as a foreign security policy strategy?' I can say that I intend to launch a wide, deep and open process – not writing a document or drafting documents together but having a common reflection together. If we have to define our European interest as the basis of our common strategy, we need to have a broad and comprehensive debate. Therefore, be sure that we will be coming back to this issue so often in the months and probably years to come that we might even be bored of it. But I personally will never be.

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A point was raised by a Member of Parliament – who is not here anymore – mentioning the picture which is going round the social media these days of the leaders, not only of Europe but also leaders of the world, in Paris, which does not show the people behind them. I have seen that picture as well. I would never stand here saying that the European Union or European Union institutions or leaderships are perfect; neither is this Parliament. But our job is to fill the gap between the thousands of people that were in the streets and that picture. That was the big strength of not only Europe, but Europe and the European capacity to reach out to alliances in the world.

The power of that picture was not the number of people behind the first row; it was the complexity, the mix of the people in the front row. There were Europeans, big countries, small countries, different countries, people that are used to fighting each other on different issues in different fights, African leaders, Arab leaders, international organisations, regional organisations: the mix. The power of that picture was the sense of an alliance of civilisations, and that was what I think the people in Paris, the European people were applauding: the capacity of the European Union and of France to take an approach which was an alliance and not a clash of civilisations. I think that this is giving us the responsibility to build on this promise of going in that direction.

As regards a point that was mentioned by many of you: others' stability, security, democracy and respect of human rights is also our stability, security, democracy and respect of human rights. We are so much interlinked; we discussed that on Libya yesterday. Some were saying that we should just stay out. No way; we are interlinked so much. There is no other way of assuring our own security, stability and prosperity if we do not work also on the security, stability and prosperity of our common region and also of people that are far away from us. But I will return to that.

I would start, for sure, with the neighbourhood. Engage and work together, whether in the south or Tunisia – but also in Iraq. I take the point raised that there is no structured EU presence in Erbil, and let me tell this Chamber that I am going to propose that we do have an organised permanent presence as the European Union in Erbil. I think we have to be present; it is not a matter of flags – although it sometimes can be a matter of flags – but it is a matter of being able to do the job in the most effective way. We have to be in all parts of the neighbourhood where our work and our investment is needed – not only in the interest of our neighbours, but also in our own interest.

That is true as regards the south; it is also very true as regards the east. Like some of you, I was also a bit surprised by the fact that the conflict in the east of Ukraine was not as high on the agenda of the discussion that we had today as I would have expected it to be. I think it is probably because we have another point later in the afternoon specifically on that. I would refer to that more in depth during that discussion, but let me say here as regards the conflict in Ukraine and the support that we have to build for Ukraine and for Ukrainian internal reforms and success, that I believe it is going to be a crucial part of the success or failure of our foreign and security policy, and that the Riga Summit – that some of you asked about – is going to be one of the crucial elements next month for redefining our relations with the Eastern partners on a tailor-made approach. We are going through a revision of our European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and you can be sure that we will have an exchange with the European Parliament, together with Commissioner Hahn, on the ways in which we are reviewing the policy as such.

Let me also mention, while we are talking about the neighbourhood, that yes, I completely share what some of you said about the Western Balkans. This is one of the areas where the added value of the European Union cannot be substituted by any other actor in the world. Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina and also other countries of the Western Balkans are going to be one of the key priorities, I would say the starting point. My generation grew up thinking that it would be impossible to have peace in the Western Balkans. Now we almost forget to mention the Western Balkans because it is so quiet – everything is relative. But this is also a positive encouraging sign; if we work, day by day and consistently, with all our means on a mediation and stabilisation process and on the prospect of European integration, we will be successful in stabilising societies and institutions.

Some invited me to choose – the Member is not here any more, sorry about that – between continuing to work on visibility everywhere, maybe in competition with Member States or other organisations, and selecting only a few priorities where we do really bring added value. Obviously we have a number one task, which is to do our job in our part of the world because, like the Western Balkans, this is the place where we are not replaceable. But on the other hand, I think it would be a strategic mistake if we thought that this is an alternative compared to being also present in other parts of the world. Latin America was mentioned; I would mention Africa. India and Asia in general were mentioned; China, I think, also was mentioned. We cannot choose, because on the one hand we have to pay maximum attention to the places where we bring added value – and that is to me clearly our neighbourhood. At the same time, we also have to be present and invest in our relations with the rest of the world, whether Latin America, the African Union – I am

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going to be there in a couple of weeks – or Africa in general and some key places in Africa. This also relates very much to our security.

Now we look at the Arab World, but do not forget that a lot of our security is linked to the security in the Horn of Africa and in the sub-Saharan region. And if we consider that the economy is also part of our foreign policy strategy, how could we forget Asia? Human rights are also a basic part of our foreign policy strategy, so how could we forget some big countries in Asia or elsewhere in the world? I think we do not have the luxury of choosing. We have to do all.

Someone said – and he is still here in the room, thank you – that we are surrounded by a set of crises and the clear thing today, hopefully to everybody, is that none of them can possibly be solved by one Member State alone, or by a group of Member States. I fully subscribe to this, and I think that now the awareness is there. The point is, also from my side, to develop a capacity of not looking at the two things as contradictory.

I completely agree with one of you in this Chamber who said that the European Union's beauty is its diversity. I fully agree, but we should never fall into the trap of thinking that diversity contradicts unity, because our strength is being united in our diversity. There are ways of coordinating our common foreign and security policy without overlapping with national interests, because so much of the national interest today coincides with the European interest. This is what I think we need to understand.

I have been a national government minister myself, and I know that national priorities in most cases can only be reached through European coordination and European means. This is true on both foreign policy and defence. I thank those who raised it. The French in particular will excuse me if I say so, but I think we understand each other in this room. We somehow have to take the opportunity presented to us by the shock of what happened in Paris last week to understand that we have to move and to wake up as regards sharing and increasing our common work in two areas: intelligence and defence. If we do not do it now, it means that we do not understand what is happening in the world.

Sharing intelligence is something on which I will ask this Parliament to support me in asking Member States to do more generously; not because it is in the interests of the European Union, but because it is in the interests of their own citizens to share intelligence and to invest and share on defence.

Many questions were asked regarding the June European Council. We have started to work with the European Defence Agency. I agree with those who mentioned that we need to have concrete deliverables on many issues, starting from industrial ones and the four major projects that were decided to be followed-up on at the June European Council – the air-to-air refuelling, drones, cyber security and satellite communication – but also in general on innovation, dual-use research and fiscal and financial incentives for defence cooperation. This is something about which the European Defence Agency has already started to put concrete proposals on the table for the Ministers. There are also other important things like 'train and equip' projects to support partners' capacity in crisis management. We need to have some extremely concrete and precise deliverables in the June European Council. That is important not only for our security but also for our economy and for our industries.

We also have other things to do at the level of defence. You asked about the defence budget. This is a sensible debate, which in the European Union as such has not taken place. We had that debate in NATO and different organisations, with which I am starting to coordinate very closely, because I believe that we are different; we have a different mission, we have a different identity and a different membership. But we need to work together on security in a complementary way: we have our differences, but still we have to work very closely together. But this issue of national defence budgets has not been an issue in itself for a European agenda, and I believe that it should be an issue for the June European Council debate. The target set at the NATO Summit was 2%. I would say that an additional reflection on the defence budget is not only the amount of money, it is also – and mainly, I would say – the way in which the money is spent, and in this regard European common defence projects can be very helpful, because the output in defence counts more than the input, because what we really are looking for is projects that work. But I think that we will have to look at that also at the European Council in June.

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When I mentioned a superpower, I did not expect such a reaction to it. First of all it is not a dream. Somebody said: 'instead of dreaming of being a superpower'. You know we already are one. Do not necessarily link superpower only to the military; I believe that we can also be a hard-power superpower. But take soft power or take other fields of foreign policy: we are the first donor in the world. In development we are already a superpower. In many other things; in climate change we are leading. We are a superpower.

On diplomacy, we Europeans have the largest network of diplomatic presence in the world. On many other things – on presence on the ground – in many places, if you put together the European Union and the Member States, we are certainly the superpower in the world. But a giant that is not aware of being a giant is not a giant but a dwarf. This is the exercise that we have to do – to realise what instruments and power we have and to use them, because having a superpower and not using it is a waste. In this world really we cannot waste any of the opportunities that we have.

I think I will finish here by mentioning one element: the white paper on defence. I am concentrating more on defence, because I realise that was an aspect on which I talked less in the beginning, so I am trying to catch up. I think the main point today is to develop the security and foreign policy strategy. It has taken more than ten years, and someone said either we were very successful or we were late. I guess we are late. Not only has the region changed, but Europe has changed. After 11 years we have instruments, and we are ourselves completely different from 2003. I think we need to do this exercise first, also because first you define the scenario, the work, your objectives and your European interest, and then you go to the instruments. But this could also lead to a white paper on defence – why not? It could be.

But I think that now we have to engage first in an exercise of defining. I said that by June I would present the assessment of the global security challenges that are facing us, and then I think together – together with the European Parliament but also with national parliaments and with the foreign and security community in the European Union at large, including the Member States – we will need to define our foreign policy and security strategy. But I do not exclude that this could also lead to working on a white paper on defence at a later stage.

I thank you very much and I am looking forward to the next debate.

**President.** - This has been a very useful debate, giving life to Article 36 of the Treaty.

The debate is closed.

*Written statements (Rule 162)*

**Enrique Calvet Chambon (ALDE), por escrito.** – La situación actual demuestra que la lucha contra los fanatismos terroristas requiere una nueva posición reforzada de Europa como agente global en defensa. Como europeístas debemos admitir la necesidad de acelerar la marcha para conseguir una defensa común.

**Ana Gomes (S&D), in writing.** – The terror attacks in Paris exposed failure in countering terrorism, which has much to do with the lack of Europe: lack of cooperation in 'human intelligence', lack of integrated policies to prevent radicalisation of young people, not to mention the austerity policies which fuel unemployment, social marginalisation and alienation – fields where terrorist organisations recruit. Some Member States bear more responsibility than others for blocking EU cooperation under CFSP and CSDP – including for double standards and grave mistakes in external action which feed the narrative of terrorists – just think of Gaza! In Iraqi Kurdistan where four of us, Members of this Parliament, were last week, many people expressed their grief over the Paris terror, which they saw as linked to the suffering Iraqis are daily enduring at the hands of ISIS. And they did not fail to note that those we call 'foreign fighters' are indeed European young people: over 3 000 of them in ISIS ranks, massacring non-Sunni Muslims and Yazidi, Christian, Shabbak, Kurdish and other minorities in Iraq and Syria! We have a collective responsibility and must work together and act strategically and coherently in fighting terrorism. That is why we desperately need CFSP and CSDP.

**Eduard-Raul Hellvig (PPE), în scris.** – Suntem în plin război asimetric, în care siguranța cetățenilor europeni este amenințată de bombe umane pregătite de grupări teroriste. Pericolul comun impune o ripostă comună. UE are nevoie urgentă de o strategie anti-teroristă coordonată între statele membre. Atentatele de la Paris sunt o lovitură împotriva securității europene și a edificiului de valori ce stau la temelia democrației. În fața acestei amenințări grave, se impun înăsprirea și adecvarea legislației antiteroriste la provocările de tipul Noului Jihad, determinate de cetățeni ai unor state europene, îndoctrinați și instruiți pe fronturile islamiste pentru atacuri pe teritoriul UE. Este inadmisibil ca propaganda islamistă și libera circulație a suspectilor de terorism, spre și dinspre bazele din Orientul Mijlociu, să continue să pună în

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pericol viața și libertatea cetățenilor europeni. E nevoie de măsuri drastice împotriva celor ce optează pentru înrolarea în rândurile organizațiilor teroriste. Calitatea de terorist este incompatibilă cu aceea de cetățean european. De asemenea, consider că se impune o strategie comună, la nivel european, pentru stoparea propagării fanatismului și a mesajelor teroriste, în special prin intermediul internetului și al lăcașelor de cult.

**Philippe Juvin (PPE)**, *par écrit*. – Les attentats perpétrés sur le sol français ne doivent pas rester sans réponse. À l'évidence, les outils de notre politique de sécurité et de défense ne nous ont pas permis de prendre la mesure, ni de faire face aux dangers auxquels nous, Européens, sommes aujourd'hui exposés en dehors et désormais, à l'intérieur même de nos frontières. Pour cela, nous devons d'urgence identifier nos faiblesses stratégiques et capacitaires si nous voulons mettre en œuvre une politique de sécurité et de défense véritablement efficace. Il ne s'agit plus d'un choix mais d'un devoir. Si nous voulons protéger nos frontières, nos valeurs et nos concitoyens, nous devons disposer d'un appareil militaire commun opérationnel, mettre un terme aux coupes insensées dans nos budgets de défense, réviser le mécanisme de financement commun de nos opérations militaires et parvenir, enfin, à parler d'une seule voix vis-à-vis du reste du monde. Une coopération renforcée en matière de police et de renseignement, ainsi que la mise en place d'un PNR européen seront également indispensables pour assurer l'efficacité et la cohérence de notre action commune. Ce n'est qu'à ces conditions que nous serons à la hauteur des défis sécuritaires qui nous attendent. N'attendons pas un autre drame pour réagir!

**Alyn Smith (Verts/ALE)**, *in writing*. – We all agree there can be no peace without justice and diplomacy, and this also applies to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where decades of armed struggle and on-off peace talks have simply failed. Signing the Rome Statute opens up Palestinian territory to future International Criminal Court (ICC) investigations. This is a situation that Israel and its allies, including the UK, fought a long and intense behind-the-scenes battle to avoid – forgetting that the decision not only sets the stage for filing a war crimes case against Israel for its actions in Gaza but also exposes Palestinians to prosecution. The Palestinians will themselves be judged by this court.

Surely, if the EU is committed to actively promoting the widest participation in the ICC, we should be backing the right of the Palestinian people to seek justice through accession to treaties and international organisations, and not discouraging them from doing so. If we, the union of European nations, continue to fail to act and to support Palestinians' campaign to join international organisations, then the Arab-Israeli conflict will remain a thorn in the side of the Middle East, causing suffering and destruction that will continue throughout the remainder of this parliamentary term and many more to come.

**Igor Šoltes (Verts/ALE)**, *pisno*. – Teroristični napad v Franciji na uredništvo satiričnega časopisa Charlie Hebdo prejšnji teden je temni madež varnostne politike znotraj EU. Postavlja se vprašanje, kako zagotoviti višjo stopnjo varnosti. V dnevih po napadu se vrstijo iniciative za odločne ukrepe v boju proti terorizmu. Ob tem pa je potreben temeljit razmislek. Imamo demokracijo, vrednote in načela, ki skrbijo za blaginjo vseh Evropejcev. Varnost je ena izmed ključnih pogojev za razvoj, izobraževanje, gospodarsko rast, delovna mesta in investicije. In ravno zato je potrebno pregledati, ali so varnostna, obrambna in zunanja politika ustrezne ali pa jih je potrebno spremeniti in dodelati, da se zagotovi višja stopnja varnosti. Vendar je to potrebno storiti premišljeno in usklajeno, z opredelitvijo strategije za prihodnost. Vsekakor pa je potrebno paziti, da ne zapademo v past. Ta past pomeni, da bi v imenu večje varnosti povečevali moč nadzora nad gibanjem in potovanjem državljanov. Za večjo varnost ne moremo poskrbeti tako, da omejujemo človekove pravice in svoboščine. Ravno pretiran nadzor in nebrzdano in nekontrolirano zbiranje podatkov lahko povzroči nasprotno učinke in poveča tveganje za terorizem. Zato pozivam k razumu pri ukrepih, ki bodo sledili za dvig občutka varnosti med Evropejci.

**Traian Ungureanu (PPE)**, *în scris*. – Uniunea Europeană discută astăzi despre o nouă politică de securitate, în condițiile atacului terorist absolut abominabil care a avut loc la Paris. În contextul european, este de datoria instituțiilor europene să treacă la etapa acțiunilor concrete, în lumina noilor amenințări teroriste care vin chiar de pe teritoriul statelor membre. Vorbim acum de o amenințare internă care impune o colaborare extrem de strânsă, coerentă și eficientă între toate cele 28 de state. În condițiile în care România are cea mai întinsă graniță exterioară a UE din estul Europei, apartenența la Schengen, amănată din motive politice și nicidecum tehnice, devine crucială. Măsurile de securitate trebuie sprijinite la granițele exterioare ale UE, iar deplasările în interiorul acestor granițe ale unor persoane care aparțin organizațiilor teroriste trebuie să fie și mai strict monitorizate. Aderarea României la Schengen nu poate aduce decât un plus de expertiză în prevenirea și combaterea activităților teroriste din UE. Aderarea României la Schengen devine, în aceste condiții, benefică nu numai cetățenilor români și companiilor românești, ci întregii Uniuni Europene. Cu un conflict



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activ la granița de est a UE, a României, siguranța tuturor europenilor ar crește dacă această graniță ar deveni graniță Schengen.

*(The sitting was suspended for a few moments)*

## 5. Skład komisji: patrz protokół

## 6. Niedawne akty terroru w północnej Nigerii (debata)

**Der Präsident.** - Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Vizepräsidentin der Kommission / Hohen Vertreterin der Union für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik zu den jüngsten Gräueltaten im Norden Nigerias (2015/2520(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini,** *Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* - Mr President, the violence by Boko Haram in the north-east of Nigeria is becoming daily more extreme and more threatening to the region. I would like to thank you for having this debate today: I think it is crucial that, as well as discussing our own security threats, we do not lose sight of what is happening in relation to major terrorist threats in other parts of the world. This is also very much part of our counter-terrorist communication strategy.

In the last few months alone, hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed, more kidnapped and thousands displaced. The attack on the border town of Baga last week is only the latest in a long series of attacks and bombings, and increasingly frequent attacks into Cameroon demonstrate that the threat is regional and is becoming even more so.

The objective is increasingly to spread terror and gain territorial control, with the indiscriminate targeting of everybody – Christians, Muslims, traditional and religious leaders, teachers, students, farmers, market traders, villagers, women and children. But I would highlight in particular the attack on Christians and the attack on girls, especially girls studying, who are a strong symbol of change in their own societies.

The numbers are frightening: around 13 000 killed since 2009 — more than half of this number in the course of 2014. There are 1.5 million internally-displaced people in Nigeria, 155 000 refugees in Niger, 37 000 in Cameroon and 11 000 in Chad, putting stress on local communities and potentially creating further conflicts. The breakdown of administration and law and order in wide areas of north-east Nigeria will also make the holding of elections in these three states increasingly difficult. The EU is committed – and will probably need to be even more committed – to supporting these countries in the struggle against Boko Haram.

The question is: what can we effectively do in the short term and in the long term? Whatever we do, we need to do it in close cooperation with the countries affected. In the short term there must be an effective military and humanitarian response to the crisis. The countries of the region have undertaken to create a Multinational Joint Task Force, which has not yet been mobilised. The EU is willing to help support the coordination of this force and is already providing EUR 10 million in counter-terrorism assistance to the Office of the Nigerian National Security Advisor. The EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO) is also providing what humanitarian help it can to the refugees and displaced.

In the medium term, it is crucial that the people of these states also have the prospect of development and jobs and a government that can protect them and respond to their needs. To win this war, the 'hearts and minds' of the populations affected have to be won, otherwise our efforts, including at security level, will not achieve their target. And rules of engagement have to be respected by the security forces.

This is the message we conveyed at the last Ministerial Dialogue with Nigeria in November, when we invited Nigeria to speed up the implementation of the planned actions and to reinforce respect for human rights so that the European Union and its Member States can join forces with local initiatives in a more concrete and effective way.

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**Davor Ivo Stier**, u ime kluba PPE. – Gospodine predsjedniče, Visoka predstavnice, dok je pažnja naše europske i svjetske javnosti bila usmjerena prvenstveno na barbarski napad u Parizu, u Nigeriji je Boko Haram doslovce sravnio sa zemljom mjesto Baga. Zato bih želio ovdje ponoviti riječi nigerijskog katoličkog nadbiskupa Ignatiusa Kaigame i citiram: „Vidim vrlo pozitivan odgovor francuske Vlade nakon ubijanja francuskih građana. Potrebno je da se takav duh širi dalje, ne samo kada su u pitanju napadi u Europi već kada se to dogodi u Nigeriji, Nigeru, Kamerunu ili drugim siromašnijim zemljama. Moramo mobilizirati međunarodne resurse kako bi se suprotstavili onima koji su nanijeli toliku bol mnogim obiteljima.”

Kolegice i kolege, normalno je da snažnije reagiramo kad se nešto događa kod nas, na našem kontinentu. Možemo i moramo biti ponosni na iskaze solidarnosti naroda i građana cijele Europe sa žrtvama u Parizu. Ali, naše vrijednosti su univerzalne i stoga moramo aktivnu solidarnost iskazati prema žrtvama islamskog radikalizma u Nigeriji. Dvije tisuće ljudi je Boko Haram masakrirao u mjestu Baga. Vrijeme je da kažemo *Je suis Baga aussi*. Jer napad na Bagu je napad i na naše vrijednosti, Boko Haram uspostavlja kalifat na sjeveru Nigerije i postaje globalna prijetnja kao što su to džihadisti u Siriji, Iraku ili u Libiji.

Na kraju, jedna moja opservacija kao člana Odbora za razvoj: našu razvojnu suradnju moramo prilagoditi novim prioritetima borbe protiv terorizma i radikalizma, jer nemojmo se zavaravati, Boko Haram toliko napreduje između ostalog jer su s druge strane slabe institucije nigerijske države i endemska korupcija. Stoga su izgradnja učinkovitih institucija i borba protiv korupcije ključan cilj koji moramo postići kroz europsku politiku razvojne pomoći.

**Norbert Neuser**, im Namen der S&D-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident, Frau Vizepräsidentin! Die Opfer der Attentate in Frankreich haben in den letzten Tagen zu Recht unsere Aufmerksamkeit und Anteilnahme erfahren. Wir haben dies zum Ausdruck gebracht mit „*Je suis Charlie*“. Vermisst habe ich einen Slogan: „*Nous sommes nigériens*“. Das wäre gut gewesen, das hätte die europaweite und weltweite Anteilnahme zum Ausdruck gebracht. Die Menschen dort haben das verdient.

Sind wir ohnmächtig gegenüber all den terroristischen Aktivitäten in der gesamten Subsahara – von Mauretanien über Mali, Niger, Tschad, Nigeria, Kenia, Somalia? Wir müssen unbedingt die politischen Eliten in diesen Ländern fordern, und besonders auch in Nigeria. Mitgliedstaaten haben geholfen, Sicherheitskräfte in Nigeria auszubilden, aber ohne Erfolg. Im Gegenteil! Die Sicherheitskräfte operieren zum Teil ohne demokratische Legitimation, ohne Kontrolle, ohne Rechtfertigungsdruck. Auch dies gehört mit zur Wahrheit, wenn wir die Ursachen des Entstehens von Boko Haram und anderen terroristischen Gruppen im Auge haben.

Wir müssen sehen, wie wir die Korruption gerade in Nigeria bekämpfen. Allein in den letzten zehn Jahren sind 80 Mio. EUR in der Gas- und Ölindustrie verschwunden – Geld, das dieses Land dringend braucht, um gerechte Verhältnisse herzustellen. Wir haben eine politische Führungselite, die sich bereichert – genauso wie Militär, genauso wie Geschäftsleute – bei gleichzeitig absoluter, extremer Armut. Was wir tun können, ist insbesondere auch, die Nichtregierungsorganisationen, die es in Nigeria gibt, die gut sind, in der Zivilgesellschaft, in der Justiz und in den Medien stärker zu unterstützen.

**Bas Belder**, namens de ECR-Fractie. – Begin deze week klaagde de aartsbisschop van Jos, Ignatius Kaigama, over de “ignorantie, de onwetendheid van het Westen over het daadwerkelijke gevaar dat van Boko Haram uitgaat”. En de aartsbisschop vroeg zich af waar de solidariteit blijft van het Westen met Nigeria, dat zo bloedig lijdt onder aanhoudende islamistische terreurgolven? En u sprak er ook over, hoge vertegenwoordiger.

Afgelopen maandag op dezelfde dag gaf de Nigeriaanse minister van Defensie aan dat zijn leger de oorlog tegen Boko Haram aan het verliezen is. Slechts een internationale coalitie kan volgens hem militair nog uitkomst bieden. Daar sprak u ook over, over de directe omgeving. En dat terwijl Nigeria's directe buurlanden —Niger, Tsjaad en Kameroen— op de grond ook geen partij zijn, militair, of willen zijn voor Boko Haram.

U sprak, hoge vertegenwoordiger, over humanitaire en militaire respons. Ik houd mijn hart vast als je kijkt naar de gevaarvolle destabilisering van deze regio rondom Nigeria. Ik hoop dat er echt een krachtige Europese respons komt, want het ziet er erg droevig uit. En dan hebben wij het ook nog over de connecties die er zijn tussen het Nigeriaanse leger en Boko Haram.

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**Marietje Schaake**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Mr President, High Representative, colleagues, the horrific violence of jihadist terrorism came awfully close to home last week, when *Charlie Hebdo* journalists were slaughtered and when people who were doing something as innocent as buying groceries were targeted because of their Jewish identity.

Open diverse societies threaten the misguided dogma of violent Islamism. Therefore, we must be even more resilient in defending that openness.

Not only do these extremists select symbols of freedom of expression – a universal human right – but in Nigeria, girls' education or any education at all is the prime target of Boko Haram, which literally means 'forbidden book' or 'Western education is forbidden'. Forcing people to adhere to one's ideology with such extreme violence is the clearest sign of weakness imaginable.

Back in 2011, when I was an observer to the presidential elections in Nigeria, volunteers of the Youth Service Corps were killed in terrorist attacks. The Youth Service Corps actively volunteered to help run the elections, and as such the attack marked an attack on all sons and daughters of Nigeria.

This week, by using a child as a suicide bomber, new levels of barbarism and a lack of humanity have been shown. We condemn these attacks in the strongest possible terms and send our condolences to the families of the victims.

It is important in Europe that we are fully aware of the global nature of the jihadist terror, in which perpetrators and victims come from all corners of the world. It is also important to recognise that in Nigeria the impact of terrorism has become the rule rather than the exception. We must play an active role to end the brutalities and eliminate IS, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram and their affiliated networks.

**Matt Carthy**, *on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group*. – Mr President, it has been a devastating week in Nigeria, with fatalities on an absolutely horrific scale, and our thoughts are obviously with those who are bereaved and who are caught up in the violence. The atrocities that were committed by Boko Haram in Baga are utterly deplorable and, in fact, border on the unimaginable. More than 2 000 people were murdered over the course of a number of days, and the government and state security forces were simply unfit to intervene to save them.

It has to be noted – as has already been said – that the Nigerian state is not exempt from responsibility for the recent escalations through a series of deplorable human rights abuses. Amnesty International, for example, believes that at least 950 suspected members of Boko Haram died as a result of overcrowding, starvation, brutality and extrajudicial executions while in state custody in Nigeria in the first half of 2013 alone.

Having said that, nothing could possibly excuse the actions of Boko Haram. To strap a bomb to a child and detonate it is a vile, indefensible act that has shocked probably even the most seasoned of conflict observers. So there is now a moral responsibility on us all to show the same outrage and invest the same resources in addressing the causes and consequences of these atrocities as we would if they were happening anywhere else in the world. In a week when this House rightly defended media freedom of speech, we must also state that international media organisations have a moral duty to bring the situation in Nigeria to prominent public attention in Europe and across the world, because only then will we force governments to contribute positively and in a measured manner to the quest for stability and justice in the region.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**Ангел Джамбазки (ЕКР)**, *въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта*. – Колега Карти, .....

*(Председателят прекъсва оратора по технически причини)*

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Колега Карти, не смятате ли, че неспособността на властите в Нигерия да се справят с ислямистите от Боко Харам е главната причина за развитието на ислямския тероризъм там? Не смятате ли, че отговорност носят и тези компании, които получават печалби от добива и експлоатацията на природните богатства в Нигерия, която е изключително богата държава? И не смятате ли, че единствено военна сила може да смаже терористите от Боко Харам и че светът и ние, Европейският съюз, дължим усилия в тази посока, каквато солидарност проявяваме и към жертвите на терора в Европа?

**Matt Carthy (GUE/NGL), blue-card answer.** – There is a comment that you have made that I would disagree with: perhaps to say that only a military solution would address the scourge of Boko Haram. I would question that.

Certainly there does need to be a security response, and yes, I believe that international companies have a responsibility. Primary responsibility lies with the Nigerian government. I believe that right across the world we need to show the same outcry – and that includes this House and the European Institutions as well as the governments of Member States – to ensure that these atrocities that we witnessed in the last week simply cannot happen and cannot go unnoticed. The reality is that there are citizens in our Member States who do not even realise that these happened only a week ago.

**Heidi Hautala, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.** – Mr President, the least we can do this week, while we are mourning the victims of the cruel attack by terrorists against the French satirical paper, is to discuss this issue in our plenary, and I join those who deplore the lack of international attention that has been given to the case of the razing to the ground of the whole town of Baga in northern Nigeria.

The minimum here is to do our best to have an independent international investigation of what actually happened because, even if the figures vary quite a lot, we can fear that up to 2 000 people have lost their lives in this indiscriminate attack. Let me point out that the Nigerian army fled when this attack happened. Nigeria is a rich country but, of course, we need to support their fight against terrorism. One means of doing that is by supporting the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the cooperation organisation of West African countries which has reiterated its commitment to work with the government of Nigeria, the ECOWAS Member States and all stakeholders so that terrorist attacks of this kind come to an end.

Let me also, at the end, point out that we still do not know what has happened to the kidnapped Chibok girls so, just as we are saying *'Je suis Charlie'*, we could say that *'We are the Chibok girls'*. And we need to get them back.

**James Carver, on behalf of the EFDD Group.** – Mr President, whilst much media attention has been given to the brutal massacre by extremists in Paris and Islamic states in the Middle East, another brutal, anti-Western and extreme organisation, Boko Haram, which means *'Western education is forbidden'*, has grown in power in northern Nigeria.

Reliable information can be difficult to obtain out of Nigeria at the moment, but the latest suggestions are that up to 2 000 people have been killed in the latest campaign of terror, during which over 1.5 million people have had to flee the fighting.

Then, of course, there is the fact that these same extremist Islamists kidnapped 276 schoolgirls in April last year, and most are still missing. It has been reported that a number have been sold on as slaves and have been forced to convert to Islam. In October, it was reported that two girls escaped captivity and made it back to their families. They said they had been held in a camp in Cameroon and raped every day. It is barbaric! Resolving this crisis will be difficult, and there are no easy answers or quick-fix solutions.

What I think we can be sure of is that the European Union or the West is unlikely to be any more successful in Nigeria than we have been elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa. What Member State governments must encourage is greater regional cooperation and a truly global response, and this can be achieved not only through the United Nations, but also through the Commonwealth.

I would suggest that this free association of friendly nations with a shared language, history and culture is far better suited to exerting positive influence in this part of the world than the European Union, which has far too many of its own problems to deal with first.

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**Santiago Fisas Ayxelà (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, Europa no puede permanecer impávida ante la situación de terror creada por Boko Haram en Nigeria.

Estas acciones superan en la escala del terror a cualquier otra porque, en muchos casos, sus víctimas son jóvenes indefensas y porque utilizan a niñas para cometerlas. El Gobierno de Nigeria, en coalición con los países vecinos, no tiene fuerza suficiente para hacer frente a Boko Haram y, por lo tanto, necesita el apoyo de la comunidad internacional bajo el amparo de un mandato de las Naciones Unidas. El recrudecimiento de las acciones de Boko Haram y también otras acciones violentas por todo el país se deben, en parte, a la cercanía de las elecciones de los próximos 14 y 28 de febrero. Señora Mogherini, le quiero agradecer que me haya nombrado jefe de la Misión de Observación Electoral de la Unión Europea para estas elecciones.

Ya está en Nigeria el equipo que va a seguir el proceso electoral y, en breve, me uniré a él. Esta misión va a tener unas características distintas a las habituales, dada la imposibilidad de poder desplegar la misión por todo el territorio, por obvias razones de seguridad. La presencia de esta misión demuestra el compromiso de la Unión Europea para la celebración de unas elecciones inclusivas, transparentes y creíbles en Nigeria. Vamos a realizar un análisis de todo el proceso electoral y no solamente del día de las elecciones. Y estaremos atentos a cualquier disputa que pueda surgir durante el proceso y una vez realizadas las elecciones. Y, sobre todo, perdóneme un momento, quiero hacer un llamamiento para evitar atizar la violencia en Nigeria.

#### PRÉSIDENCE DE MME SYLVIE GUILLAUME

*Vice-présidente*

**Kashetu Kyenge (S&D).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, nello stesso giorno in cui la Francia è stata colpita dall'estremismo islamista, la Nigeria viveva l'incubo di migliaia di vittime per mano di Boko Haram. Chi muore in Africa, muore vittima della stessa guerra e della stessa ideologia di morte che ha colpito in Europa, merita quindi la stessa reazione. Non esistono morti di serie B!

Signora Presidente, l'Europa che domenica era a Parigi deve essere coerente, deve mostrare con forza la volontà di far fronte a questa grande sfida, a partire dalla Nigeria, appunto, prima che sia troppo tardi. Non possiamo assistere inermi al massacro di migliaia di persone! L'Europa deve farsi promotrice e guida di una task force internazionale, con il coinvolgimento delle Nazioni Unite e degli organismi regionali esistenti, in grado di mettere in campo risposte di lungo termine, strutturali.

Combattere il terrorismo, signora Presidente, significa anche sradicare le cause profonde che hanno portato alla sua nascita; significa lottare contro l'analfabetismo, la disuguaglianza, il sottosviluppo, la corruzione, l'appropriazione indebita dei proventi derivanti dallo sfruttamento delle risorse naturali; significa offrire una speranza a un popolo tutelando le istituzioni democratiche e stimolando la partecipazione politica. Ricordo che siamo a poche settimane dalle elezioni presidenziali in Nigeria. Significa ridare un futuro ai bambini come vili strumenti di guerra!

Infine un appello ai dirigenti degli Stati democristiani africani: abbiate il coraggio di fare dei vostri paesi il centro del mondo, così come è avvenuto a Parigi. Alcuni dei leader – come ha ricordato anche l'Alto rappresentante Mogherini – erano presenti a Parigi l'11 gennaio. Aprite le porte alla protesta pacifica e democratica contro ogni forma di violenza ai diritti umani! Noi si saremo per dire: io sono l'Africa, io sono Baga!

*(L'oratrice accetta di rispondere a una domanda «cartellino blu» (articolo 162, paragrafo 8, del regolamento))*

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**Gianluca Buonanno (NI)**, *Domanda «cartellino blu»*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, volevo chiedere alla collega Kyenge, fa tutto questo discorso importante sulla Nigeria, ma io le voglio far vedere una fotografia: secondo Lei questo signore – che è l’iman di Londra – che dice che chi parla di Maometto deve morire. Lei cosa ne pensa, non dovrebbe essere subito arrestato, se l’Europa esistesse, e per quanto mi riguarda, uno come questo, che sembra anche una capra, bisognerebbe distruggerlo, non deve fare l’iman, né a Londra, Lei cosa ne pensa?

**Kashetu Kyenge (S&D)**, *Risposta a una domanda «cartellino blu»*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, credo che sia fuori luogo questa domanda, non dobbiamo confondere l’ideologia malata islamista con quelli che sono i nostri valori democratici e credo che non ci dobbiamo far sviare da questa domanda per porsi allo stesso livello. Noi non abbiamo paura di nessuno e siamo in grado di decidere, secondo anche la libertà di espressione, secondo i nostri valori, quello che va bene per la nostra società e quello che va allontanato come un cancro da un corpo malato.

**Javier Nart (ALDE)**. - Señora Presidenta, señora Mogherini, el problema es práctico, no teórico. Se puede hablar de reformas estructurales en Nigeria que llevarán años. Pero, en este momento, entre Baga y el paso de Tumu en la frontera libio-nigerina hay un día y medio de camino. El gran corredor de la droga, de los terroristas y de las armas está a un día y medio de camino.

Los ejércitos de Nigeria son ineficaces porque son corruptos. El de Níger es ineficaz porque es pequeño. El de Camerún casi inexistente en la práctica. El único válido es el de Chad. Y la única posibilidad de parar el crimen es con la violencia democrática, con la necesidad de parar el crimen sobre el terreno. Y eso es únicamente posible con fuerzas europeas que sean capaces de formar, de ayudar y de sellar fronteras. ¿Vamos a hacer algo más que declaraciones retóricas para tranquilizarnos o vamos a implementar una política práctica, militar, sobre el terreno en colaboración, desde luego, con los países concernidos?

**Jean Lambert (Verts/ALE)**. - Madam President, we are talking here about Africa’s largest economy; it is a country that is major provider of peace-keeping forces within Africa. As people have been saying, we know it is grossly unequal; we know about the corruption; we know that a lot of the money does not reach the grass roots; we know that there is still a high level of poverty, inequality, children who do not get educated. I think that makes the attacks on the schools – the misogynistic attacks on girls – even more distressing.

There has also been a lot of criticism in Nigeria about the current President’s response: he has sent condolences to Paris but he has said nothing on Baga. We know that it is difficult to get information; we know that Boko Haram have taken out communications systems, but nevertheless we would also hope that the government of Nigeria also steps up and really takes this seriously and openly.

There are many people who will not be able to vote in the elections on 14 February — I was an observer last time — because they are displaced, they are refugees. We really need international support and action to change this.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 162(8))*

**James Carver (EFDD)**, *blue-card question*. – Do you share my concerns over the lack of compliance with convention as regards the Nigerian Constitution, which previously saw the Presidency rotating between the north and the south, and of course this has gone out of the window with the election of President Jonathan?

Would you like to see, and would you support me in seeking, a return to that revolving Presidency again?

**Jean Lambert (Verts/ALE)**, *blue-card answer*. – I think the issue about the revolving presidency is one for the Nigerians themselves to sort out. You will be aware that Goodluck Jonathan himself will say that he was only elected once into that role and has the right to stand. What I would like to see is a much more democratic process in terms of the election – I am pleased we have an observation mission there – so that people can actually cast their votes and be sure that their votes mean what they put in the ballot box. But whoever is the president afterwards – whether it is Mr Buhari, whether it is Goodluck Jonathan again, whoever else – we hope that they really do get to grips with this problem rather than trying to pretend that it does not exist.

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**Elena Valenciano (S&D).** - Señora Presidenta, una niña de menos de diez años hizo estallar una bomba en su cuerpo en un mercado del estado nigeriano de Borno. Destrozó muchas vidas y también la suya. No podíamos hablar de París y no hablar de Nigeria.

Pero, ¿qué pasa en Nigeria? ¿Qué necesita Nigeria para luchar contra esta locura asesina de Boko Haram? ¿Qué posibilidades tenemos de ayudar real y urgentemente a Nigeria? Están matando a niñas y a mujeres, utilizan los mercados como espacio para su violencia. Es todo un símbolo de lo que este pensamiento asesino —si podemos llamarle pensamiento— pretende hacer con la población civil.

Necesitamos inteligencia política, señora Mogherini. Rápida, urgente, materializada en medidas. Y que la Unión Europea se haga presente en la búsqueda de una vida posible en ese país, el más grande de África, el más poblado y el más rico.

**Marlene Mizzi (S&D).** - Sur President, Sinjura Viçi President, “Massakru minsi” - hekk iddeskrivietu l-midja, il-qtil ta' elfejn vittma tal-Boko Haram f'Bagá. Dan hu attakk viljakk ieħor tal-Boko Haram. Mìn jista' jinsa t-tfajliet li nħatfu minn skola, u li sal-lum ħadd ma jaf x'sar minnhom? Massakru ta' 2,000 ruħ; tfal, nisa u xjuħ, li ma setghux jiġru biżżejjed biex jaħarbu l-mewt. Dan m'ħuwiex biss theddid għan-Niġerja, imma wkoll għall-Afrika u l-Ewropa.

Attività terroristika m'hemmx biss fl-Afrika. Fil-Pakistan, it-Talibani qed ukoll jagħmlu herba mit-tfal tal-iskola, filwaqt li t-traġedja ta' Charlie Hebdo gabet it-terroriżmu f'qalb l-Ewropa.

U hawn tqum il-mistoqsija: Għaliex l-Ewropa injorat għal dan iż-żmien kollu l-organizzazzjonijiet terroristiċi bħall-Boko Haram?

Kemm hemm bżonn imutu nies biex nirrealizzaw li t-terroriżmu sar pjaga u theddida kbira għas-sigurtà u l-paċi internazzjonali?

L-attakki riċenti huma bandiera hamra għall-futur. Fl-aħħar nett, trid tkun l-Ewropa li tirreagixxi u tiġġieled b'mod sod u effettiv, biex tiddefendi l-valuri Ewropej tal-paċi u tad-demokrazija kontra estremisti u kontra t-terroristi.

**Ana Gomes (S&D).** - O Governo da Nigéria não tem sido capaz ou não tem querido travar a escalada de atrocidades cometidas pelo Boko Haram que massacra aldeias inteiras, rapta crianças e agora, horrendamente, as usa como bombas humanas. O combate ao Boko Haram, como o próprio nome ostenta, não pode ser isolado do que temos que travar contra outros grupos da hidra terrorista que atacou na semana passada em Paris. E contra as redes da criminalidade organizada que sustentam os terroristas.

Precisamos de ativar a Política Comum de Segurança e Defesa para assumirmos as nossas responsabilidades coletivas para ajudar o povo da Nigéria, país parceiro ACP, a erradicar o Boko Haram.

Precisamos da PESC para fazer ouvir a Europa no Conselho de Segurança e levar a determinar que a responsabilidade de proteger deve urgentemente ser exercida na Nigéria, com o apoio da União Africana e dos vizinhos também afetados.

O Boko Haram é uma ameaça à paz e à segurança de África e à paz e à segurança globais.

*(A oradora aceita responder a uma pergunta formulada ao abrigo do procedimento «cartão azul» (artigo 162.º, n.º 8, do Regimento))*

**Bill Etheridge (EFDD), blue-card answer.** – You are speaking very passionately about dealing with this evil organisation, and I share your feelings on it. The one thing that concerns me is that we have heard a lot about these discussions, and I wonder whether you would agree with me that, if we are talking about projecting the EU into this scenario, there is a danger that there will be some comeback. Surely stronger border controls with sensible, fair rules would stop there being more comeback on our streets?

**Ana Gomes (S&D), blue-card answer.** – Do you know that many of the people who are stranded in Libya trying to reach Europe's shores have come all the way from Nigeria to escape this kind of phenomenon? I share Ms Mogherini's view that this is all linked. And if we think that we can conceal ourselves and protect ourselves in Fortress Europe, instead of trying to go and help those who are our partners and who are fighting the same terrorist hydra that creates a lot of problems inside Europe but also for our partners, we will be doomed.

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**Michela Giuffrida (S&D).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, nel 2009 Boko Haram annunciava la fondazione del califfato islamico in Nigeria, oggi il 70% del Borno è in mano sua e il prossimo mese si svolgeranno le elezioni, ma sappiamo tutti che oltre un milione e mezzo di sfollati non potranno votare e le tessere non sono ancora state consegnate. Il governo nigeriano è inefficiente e l'esercito nazionale è impotente e chiede aiuto alla comunità internazionale che però tace.

L'anno scorso sono state uccise dieci mila persone e il 3 gennaio *Amnesty* ha denunciato il massacro di due mila persone, e proprio il giorno della manifestazione di Parigi, bambine imbottite di esplosivo venivano fatte esplodere appunto come armi da guerra e usate per questo inconsapevolmente. A che cosa dobbiamo ancora assistere? Che cosa stiamo aspettando? Baga è solo l'inizio, adesso Boko Haram potrebbe puntare al controllo totale del più popoloso Stato africano e di un'economia fiorente e poi estendersi, perché no, ai confini del Ciad o del Camerun. L'Europa non lasci sola la Nigeria, non basta scrivere soltanto *Je suis Charlie!*

**Eider Gardiazabal Rubial (S&D).** - Señora Presidenta, quiero expresar en primer lugar mi condena más absoluta a cualquier atentado, a cualquier acción terrorista y, por supuesto, mi solidaridad con las víctimas y con los países afectados. Hoy estamos tratando el tema de Boko Haram. Ayer los atentados en París. En demasiadas ocasiones, en demasiados lugares, lamentamos el uso de la violencia para defender distintas causas.

Kapucinski escribió que en el mundo iban a amenazar tres plagas. La primera, la plaga del nacionalismo; la segunda, la plaga del racismo; y la tercera, la plaga del fundamentalismo religioso. Las tres tienen un mismo rasgo, un denominador común: la irracionalidad. Una irracionalidad agresiva, todopoderosa y total. Y Boko Haram es uno de esos grupos fundamentalistas irracionales. Una irracionalidad ignorante que se sorprende ante conceptos como libertad, democracia o derechos humanos. No hemos podido evitar la aparición de Boko Haram, pero sí podemos prevenir nuevos adeptos. Sí podemos prevenir nuevas organizaciones terroristas.

Aquí se ha hablado de estrategias a corto plazo, de cómo luchar, pero hay una estrategia a largo plazo inevitable que es la educación. Solo con educación acabaremos con los violentos.

*(La oradora acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» (artículo 162, apartado 8, del Reglamento))*

**James Carver (EFDD), blue-card question.** – You talk about 'we'. Would it not be better to have a regional solution to this tragedy that is happening in West Africa? Would it not be better to leave this to the Commonwealth and to the African Union, rather than let our opponents use this opportunity to talk about further Western intervention?

**Eider Gardiazabal Rubial (S&D), respuesta de «tarjeta azul».** – Señora Presidenta, yo creo que sí podemos ayudar. Evidentemente, uno de los valores de la Unión Europea es defender la democracia allí donde haga falta y ayudar a nuestras regiones amigas a que puedan llevar esa democracia adelante. No creo que, como Unión Europea, podamos mirar a otro lado y no creo que podamos dejar a Nigeria que se valga por sí sola y que intente luchar contra el terrorismo.

Sinceramente, creo que la Unión Europea tiene que estar ahí donde se la necesita.

#### *Interventions à la demande*

**József Nagy (PPE).** - Tisztelt Képviselőtársak! Magam is részt vettem a múlt héten a párizsi nagy tüntetésen, én is Charlie vagyok! Úgy vagyok Charlie, hogy elételem az erőszak minden formáját. Európának össze kell fognia az őrilet ellen! De nemcsak Charlie vagyok, hanem Baga is vagyok! Az a Baga, amelyet január 8-án a terroristák a földdel tettek egyenlővé Nigériában, maguk mögött hagyva több ezer áldozatot. A nigériai Boko Haram már Nigéria 70%-át kontrollálja, és fanatikusan üldöznek mindent, ami szerintük nem összeillő az iszlám tanításával. Nem hallgathatunk! Mert igenis vétkesekkel cinkos, aki néma! A Boko Haram rémtettei nem fognak megoldódni maguktól, Nigéria népének szüksége van ránk! Európa visszaadhatja a béke Nobel-díját, ha ölbe tett kézzel nézi a zajló erőszakot. Keressük meg, kérem, az eszközöket, amikkel meg lehet a vérengzést állítani!

**Νότης Μαρίας (ECR).** - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, καταδικάζουμε τις φρικαλεότητες και τις πρόσφατες σφαγές στην Μπάγκα της βόρειας Νιγηρίας. Ο θρησκευτικός φανατισμός οδηγεί καθημερινά την ισλαμιστική οργάνωση Μπόκο Χαράμ σε ακρότητες. Έτσι επεκτείνεται η επικράτεια των τζχαντιστών στην Αφρική και δημιουργείται ένα νέο μουσουλμανικό χαλιφάτο αυτήν τη φορά στην Αφρική, από την πόλη Γκουζάου μέχρι τα σύνορα του Καμερούν. Ταυτόχρονα, οι συγκρούσεις στη βόρεια Νιγηρία αυξάνουν τις μεταναστευτικές ροές προς τις χώρες της νότιας Ευρώπης και την Ελλάδα, στην οποία χιλιάδες πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες έρχονται μέσω Τουρκίας. Κυρία Mogherini, η Τουρκία έχει μετατραπεί στον κυριότερο δρόμο από όπου διέρχονται χιλιάδες πρόσφυγες και παράνομοι μετανάστες προς την Ελλάδα και την υπόλοιπη Ευρώπη. Αντί να περιορίζει τις μεταναστευ-



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τικές ροές δια μέσου του εδάφους της, τελικά τις διευκολύνει. Ταυτόχρονα, η Τουρκία δεν εφαρμόζει τη συμφωνία επανεισοδοχής των παράνομων μεταναστών στο έδαφός της. Τέλος, η Τουρκία δεν έδειξε αποφασιστική στάση κατά του μουσουλμανικού χαλιφάτου στη Συρία. Είναι τυχαίο; Δεν νομίζω.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, per la Nigeria il 2015 avrebbe dovuto essere un anno di dibattiti politici, di progetti, di speranze da realizzare in vista delle elezioni legislative e presidenziali di febbraio. Invece c'è chi fa campagna elettorale a colpi di proiettile e di machete. Nella città di Baga quest'anno, migliaia di persone non voteranno e non per astensione, ma perché non hanno più una vita per farlo e ora giacciono in una fossa comune o per strada come un sacco di spazzatura.

Perché accade? Perché c'è un copioso traffico illegale anche di armi che dai depositi della Libia arriva verso il Ciad e il Niger, perché di certo Boko Haram non le fabbrica nelle foreste! Qualche giorno fa, abbiamo visto milioni di persone, a Parigi e nel mondo, in marcia, quella marcia avrebbe dovuto essere anche per i morti della Nigeria, per quelli del Mediterraneo e per tanti altri cimiteri dimenticati! E non solo per quelli di *Charlie Hebdo*! Le mie condoglianze vanno a tutte quelle famiglie.

Je suis Charlie, je suis Ahmed, je suis Nigérien et beaucoup d'autres. Je ne suis pas hypocrite.

**Bogdan Brunon Wenta (PPE).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel! Sytuacja w Nigerii jest coraz bardziej dramatyczna. W ostatnich dniach z rąk bojówki Boko Haram zginęło ponad 2 tysiące osób i dlatego Unia Europejska musi zareagować jak najszybciej. W tym roku odbędą się wybory prezydenckie i parlamentarne, które dodatkowo obnażą słabość instytucji rządowych. Mieszkańcy tego kraju powinni być przygotowani na nasilenie się działalności Boko Haram. Boko Haram napada na wioski, na małe miejscowości. Terrorysty zabijają wszystkich. Tak było w przypadku miasta Bago, na które w zeszłym tygodniu napadli islamisci. Po mieście zostały tylko zgłiszcza. Już dzisiaj można mówić o wojnie domowej w Nigerii. Jak napisał jeden z mieszkańców miasta Bago na Twitterze: „jak mam czuć się bezpiecznie, kiedy nasze władze potępiają zamach paryski, a nie robią nic, nawet nie podają prawdziwych danych o ilości ofiar w moim mieście. Może dla nich moje życie nic nie znaczy.” Dlatego Unia Europejska musi stanowczo zareagować, ponieważ obywatele Nigerii są pozbawieni silnego rządu, opieki medycznej oraz silnego wojska i administracji, które mogłyby ich obronić przed terrorystami.

**Marek Jurek (ECR).** - Dziękuję Pani Przewodniczącej Mogherini, że mówiąc o tej tragedii w Baga, wymieniła Pani chrześcijan. Dziękuję tym bardziej, że dwa dni temu w tej Izbie jej przewodniczący Martin Schulz wspomniął wprawdzie, że również współczuje dwóm tysiącom ofiar w Baga, ale kiedy wyliczał rodzaje nietolerancji i ideologii dyskryminacji, które nam dzisiaj zagrażają, wzbraniał się od wymienienia nienawiści antychrześcijańskiej. Tymczasem milczenie o nienawiści antychrześcijańskiej samo w sobie stanowi akt pogardy antychrześcijańskiej, i dlatego apeluję do Pani Przewodniczącej: niech Pani nie milczy! Niech Pani przynajmniej mówi! Odwagi!

*(Fin des interventions à la demande)*

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs.** - Madam President, I completely agree. Thank you very much for this chance because on Sunday, while we were marching in Paris, I was also thinking, exactly as many of you here, that it was not only hypocritical but also counterproductive not to say or do anything about what was happening – apparently many kilometres from Paris but really very close to Paris – because, as almost all of you said, these two things and many other things are so closely interlinked that we cannot be under any illusion that we can solve one problem without also tackling the others. That is why I know we do not solve the problems of the world with statements. I have to say that I have a certain negative reaction whenever I am asked to make a statement on everything. But in some cases a statement is symbolic; and I decided that a statement on that day had to be my statement, and not a spokesperson's statement, because we have to speak and act with the same strength and with the same coherence, whether in Paris or in Nigeria.

At the same time I agree very much with what many of you have said about the fact that we need to act on different levels. It is not only, obviously, the first reaction, the point about the security of the people in Nigeria and the rights of the people, starting with girls in Nigeria. It is also a matter of creating an environment which makes it less probable or possible for this phenomenon to arise, so that the people of Nigeria and the surrounding countries have a proper future and a proper present in their countries and in their lives.

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I believe that this is something that, for sure, we have to do. I said at the beginning what we are already doing, whether on the security side or on the humanitarian side or on the development side. I welcome your invitation to do more. You can be certain that I will come with something more, probably more with the foreign ministers than in other formats, especially when it comes to the security aspect. But let me underline what many of you said about the need to do this in a framework which is not an EU framework only. We need to work very much with the region, with the African Union, with the UN framework. We need to work in a coordinated way.

I would like to thank very much Mr Fisas Ayxelà for his important role in leading the electoral mission in the coming days and weeks. Let me also take this opportunity to say how much I value not only parliamentary diplomacy, but also the work we do through our observer mission for elections. I think this is a crucial part of our diplomatic and foreign policy job, and this is thanks to the dedication and professionalism of many of you who dedicate so much energy, time and effort to this exercise. Let me thank you for this, as I will be thanking, hopefully personally, all of you for similar exercises – not similar, because this is a crucial one – and I am looking forward to your report on that.

**La Présidente.** - Le débat est clos.

Le vote aura lieu en février.

*Déclarations écrites (article 162)*

**Andi Cristea (S&D), în scris.** – Pe 3 ianuarie 2015 a avut loc cel mai sângeros atac din istoria grupării teroriste Boko Haram, fiind ucise 2 000 de persoane în Nigeria, majoritatea femei, copii sau bătrâni care nu au putut fugi, într-un atac împotriva localității Baga, în apropiere de granița cu Ciad. Este cunoscut faptul că Boko Haram este o grupare islamistă extremistă care crede că educația și cărțile trebuie interzise, ucigând numai anul trecut peste 10 000 de oameni. Președintele Nigeriei, Goodluck Jonathan, care și-a exprimat părerea despre atacurile de la Paris, nu a comentat atrocitățile din propria țară. Chiar dacă Nigeria se pregătește pentru alegerile prezidențiale și parlamentare de luna viitoare, consider că este de neimaginat să vrei să îți menții imaginea, în detrimentul păcii și al securității, iar lupta împotriva terorismului devine practic imposibilă. Consider necesar ca statele europene care au interese economice în zonă să aibă un dialog constructiv și eficient cu autoritățile nigeriene pentru a lupta împotriva terorismului și pentru a fi respectate drepturile fundamentale ale cetățenilor. De asemenea, este important ca presa occidentală să aibă acces la surse de informare tocmai pentru ca aceste atrocități să fie aduse la cunoștința lumii internaționale pentru a fi condamnate și a se oferi sprijinul necesar pentru a fi combătute.

**Agustín Díaz de Mera García Consuegra (PPE), por escrito.** – Hoy más que nunca la Unión Europea debe actuar ante la amenaza yihadista, en cualquiera de sus formas, y encontrar las vías para erradicar esta terrible lacra, pero no solo debemos mirar hacia aquí, dentro de nuestras fronteras, sino también allí donde el yihadismo lleva actuando, entrenándose y expandiéndose durante años. Nigeria es uno de estos casos. Los ataques de Boko Haram son indiscriminados, abominables y repulsivos, y han tenido como consecuencia el asesinato de más de 10 000 personas durante el año 2014. Celebro que este asunto se vaya a abordar en la próxima Conferencia de Seguridad Regional que se celebrará en Niamey el 20 de enero. La Unión debe comprometerse firmemente con Nigeria en la lucha contra Boko Haram, apoyando el fortalecimiento del Estado y sus instituciones, entre otras el ejército, y desarrollando una política eficaz de cooperación al desarrollo que reduzca la fragilidad del país. Esta semana más que nunca «todos somos Charlie» pero, por favor, os pido que no nos olvidemos de pedir fuertemente «bring back our girls».

**Diane Dodds (NI), in writing.** – It is a sad reality that we live in a world marked by escalating levels of violence by religious extremists. With the recent massacre of over 150 people by Boko Haram in the town of Baga last week, there is no worse example of this scourge on the global landscape than Nigeria. And this is not new – my colleague Bastian Belder and I have already raised awareness of these atrocities.

However, if the dastardly attacks in Paris tell us anything, it is that we in Europe should not ignore this intolerance, or simply hope that, in times ahead, it remains in some foreign land. The EU has a duty to act. It has a duty to act to stop the radicalisation of children as young as 10 for use as suicide bombers. It has a duty to act to protect those most vulnerable to persecution: women, young people and religious minorities, including Christians. Most importantly, it has a duty to act to protect the belief that fundamental freedoms of religion, expression and speech are stronger than any terrorist bomb or bullet.

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## 7. Sytuacja na Ukrainie (debata)

**La Présidente.** - L'ordre du jour appelle le débat sur la déclaration de la vice-présidente de la Commission et haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité sur la situation en Ukraine (2014/2965(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs.** - I am grateful for the invitation to discuss the situation in Ukraine at a moment that is particularly important. I was wondering whether there were any moments that were not particularly important in relation to the situation in Ukraine in the last 11, 12 or 13 months, and there were probably not. But this gives me the chance to report to you in plenary about the work that is going on at my level and also about my recent visit to Ukraine.

I visited Kiev on 16 and 17 December 2014, almost one month ago. My messages there, which I also had the chance to share with the European Council on my way back, were about the European Union's full support for the full and swift implementation of the Minsk Protocol and Memorandum, the need for a credible process of reforms to deliver on public expectations for an improved way of governance, and the EU's readiness to support and assist this process.

A year back, you would probably not have expected that Ukraine would now have a new president, a new parliament and a new government. This is to say that we have to give credit for the positive developments that the Ukrainians have managed in these difficult months. I will come back, obviously, to the situation in the east of the country, but let me concentrate first – as the Ukrainian leadership that I met in December did – on the internal situation of Ukraine. We now have a relatively new leadership in place: a new government, parliament and president fully committed not only to a process to resolve the situation in the east but also to the core, necessary reforms in the country.

The Ukrainian reforms are crucial, first of all, in terms of responding to the high expectations and aspirations of the Ukrainian people, who expressed those aspirations very clearly in the last two elections. Meeting especially with civil society organisations and NGOs and activists in Kiev, I found it interesting to listen to how their focus was very much on delivering internal changes.

There are systemic issues that need to be addressed, including corruption, constitutional reform and decentralisation. Here, apart from the work that the European Union can do, there is a lot that the Council of Europe and the Venice Commission can do to assist in judicial reform, energy sector reform, electoral reform and reform of the business climate. Again, meeting with our 28 Member States' Ambassadors to Ukraine, I was impressed by the common indication from all 28 Ambassadors in Kiev that, on the one hand, they supported financial assistance but, on the other, that they recognised the need to create a business environment that enables private investment to continue, or to return to Ukraine, in an effective way.

The list of reforms is long and obviously very difficult, but Ukraine will find – and is already finding – support for these reforms on our side. Last week the Commission proposed a third macro-financial assistance programme for EUR 1.8 billion. This is an additional sign of the EU's solidarity with Ukraine and also part of a bigger international effort based, of course, on conditionality principles. In the light of the very difficult financial situation that Ukraine is facing – and I remind you that this programme is not a blank check and will be strictly conditioned – I count on the European Parliament's support to finalise this assistance.

However, it is very difficult to reform while facing a conflict on your own territory, and I think that here we have two main responsibilities. The first, as I have said, is to support the internal, difficult, challenging but needed reform process inside Ukraine. The second is to work on the dramatic humanitarian impact of the conflict. This is an issue that I know is crucial for some of you, and I think that the international community, starting with the European Union, needs to do more. Support for those who have left and those who have stayed is crucial. We have been discussing this with the Ukrainian authorities because the support has to come not only from the international community but also from the authorities in Kiev, and they are willing to give it. The problem of access for humanitarian aid has to be solved. Access needs to be ensured.

So far, the Union has committed EUR 32 million in humanitarian and recovery aid, and it will continue helping if our support is increased. But then there is the security situation on the ground and the political process for talks and a solution to the conflict. Let me state here again our committed and united position on the conflict, and let me also quote the Latvian Prime Minister, who said, when presenting the priorities for the Presidency this morning, that our strength is unity. It has been unity and it has to continue to be unity. I will keep this in mind not only during the debate today but also in relation to the work that we have to carry out in the coming months.

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Our common, agreed and shared position in the European Union is precious, and that is the need to work for a solution to the conflict in the east of the country – a sustainable solution that respects sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Ukraine. We are doing all that we can to make this process work.

On 9 December 2014, President Poroshenko declared a 'Day of Silence', and since then, until yesterday, I have to say – and the Ukrainian authorities confirm – that the situation had been improving significantly. Yesterday, again, there were 12 victims. Let me use this opportunity to say that this must not become a trend. What happened was a dramatic, terrible event, and I hope that we can go back to the previous situation which, from the Day of Silence on 9 December until some of the breaches of the ceasefire, was relatively calmer than it had been. Commitment to the ceasefire is a necessary prerequisite for any resolution of the crisis.

In recent weeks, as you know, there has been a re-intensification of the talks in different formats. On the one hand, in the Normandy format, this has created some elements of hope, but the conditions were not created for a meeting in Astana to be convened at this time. At the same time, efforts were undertaken by the Latvian Presidency. We discussed this with the Latvian Foreign Minister last week in Riga, and he paid a visit to Kiev and then to Moscow on Monday. I know that many of you will ask what the European Union's role is here – some of you had the chance to ask me that question already in a different meeting – so let me reassure you from the beginning that what we are trying to do is to make sure that, with the Presidency format and the Normandy format, this is taking place in a framework of European Union efforts. This means that the channels of communication are not only for information but also for coordination, so that the steps which need to be taken are taken together at different levels. The Latvian Foreign Minister and the French and German Foreign Ministers are going to report back to the Foreign Affairs Council on Monday.

Obviously we have been in more than close contact over these weeks – not days, but weeks. At the same time, as I said in my hearing before the European Parliament before taking office, it is time for the Union to reflect on a less reactive, and a more proactive, approach in our relations with Russia. This is why the Foreign Affairs Council on Monday will start a strategic discussion on EU-Russia relations. The question is not about going back to 'business as usual'. It is very clear to all of us – and here again there is unity – that there is no going back to anything. On the other hand, however, we need first of all to share positions and considerations and not leave matters of political or technical dialogue to individual national considerations.

We need to work in a coordinated way, and not only in relation to the instruments we have for engaging Russia on implementation of the Minsk Agreement. We have used the OSCE, we can use the Normandy format and we can use the Latvian Presidency, in a common European Union framework, and we have been engaged in discussions here, always in coordination with President Tusk and President Juncker. At the same time, we need to assess together – all 28 Member States and the Commission – all the instruments that we have for engaging Russia with positive leverage.

That does not mean that we are offering something; it means that we have to be aware of all the different channels that were open, were closed, were frozen or suspended. We need to be aware of what stage we are at, on different tracks, for example with regard to foreign policy – because we do discuss with Russia issues such as the Iranian talks, Syria and the Middle East process, processes that are within the UN Security Council framework. The Americans do this, as do individual Member States, and we need a common framework for doing that in a more transparent and coherent way. When it comes to other forms of dialogue, for example at technical level – think of the efforts the European Union has made on facilitating an energy agreement between the Russian Federation and Ukraine – or in relation to other elements, we need to review where we are, at what stage we are on different aspects, and what can be used in positive or negative terms to try to influence, in the best possible way, a change in Russian behaviour on Ukraine.

I will stop here, listen to your comments and then reply at the end of the debate.

**Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, most of what we want to say is in our resolution, so I will not repeat that. I will just highlight some issues which are the most difficult, and I will speak about the part of the glass which is empty rather than the part which is full – which you described so eloquently.

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Firstly, why are the European Union and you, as Vice-President of the Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, absent from the Ukrainian talks? Why is your chair empty? Why do we not have the Geneva rather than the Normandy format? The Latvian Presidency is not a substitute. It should be you there, as our Foreign Minister.

Secondly, why is nothing being done with and for Ukraine under the common security and defence policy (CSDP)? We are doing for Ukraine, with our CSDP instruments, less than we are doing – with all due respect – for Somalia, military training being an example.

Thirdly, why is there no major and visible EU-branded humanitarian aid to Ukraine? The sum of EUR 32 million is ridiculously small, and it is not 'EU' aid – it comes through intermediaries.

Fourthly, why is there no information campaign to counter the Russian information war?

To recall your words in the previous debate, we are not a superpower in relation to Ukraine. We are a dwarf. We are a payer, not a player. We are punching below our weight, we are having less impact than we could, and your policy on that is too timid.

The EU does a lot but not enough. Often we do too little too late and in too shy a way. We are hiding behind the OSCE, UN, Red Cross and some Member States. We do not call things which happen by name. War is war, and terror is terror.

**Knut Fleckenstein**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion.* – Frau Präsidentin! Die humanitäre Lage in der Ukraine macht uns zu Recht große Sorgen. Der Alltag in den Konfliktgebieten wird für immer mehr Menschen unerträglich. Das gilt auch für 600 000 Flüchtlinge im eigenen Land und weitere 600 000 Flüchtlinge in den Nachbarländern, ganz überwiegend ...

*(Die Präsidentin unterbricht den Redner.)*

**La Présidente.** — *(S'adressant à certains membres du groupe PPE qui discutent bruyamment)* Messieurs, s'il vous plaît, veuillez respecter l'orateur.

**Knut Fleckenstein**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion.* – Aber Frau Präsidentin, lassen Sie doch die EVP ein bisschen miteinander diskutieren, sie haben es bitter nötig, dann kommen sie auch auf eine Linie.

Und über 600 000 Menschen, die in den Nachbarländern ebenfalls als Flüchtlinge Hilfe brauchen. Es muss dringend mehr humanitäre Hilfe als bisher geleistet werden. Solidarität beweist sich eben nicht durch unsere Reden hier im Parlament, sondern durch Taten. Das Internationale Rote Kreuz wäre eine schnelle Lösung, und schnell muss die Hilfe sein, weil sie sie jetzt brauchen und nicht erst im Sommer.

Um die Lage wirklich zu verbessern, wiederholen wir heute noch einmal, dass der Abzug der russischen Soldaten und Söldner jetzt zu geschehen hat und nicht irgendwann. Wir rufen alle Beteiligten auf, die Vereinbarungen der Minsker Protokolle unverzüglich umzusetzen.

Ich weiß, es ist keine einfache Zeit für die Regierung in der Ukraine und sie hat schon vieles geleistet. Die Wahlen sind ein positives Beispiel. Und dennoch kommt es jetzt darauf an, unabhängig von dem Konflikt Reformen voranzubringen und umzusetzen: unter anderem den funktionierenden Rechtsstaat zu festigen, unabhängige Justiz zu bekommen, eine Verfassungsreform inklusive der notwendigen Dezentralisierung durchzuführen und vor allem und als allererstes die Korruption zu bekämpfen.

Dann werden die Menschen in der Ukraine den Unterschied spüren – den Unterschied, für den sie einst auf den Majdan gezogen sind. Unsere Unterstützung dafür steht, sie ist ihnen sicher.

**Ryszard Antoni Legutko**, *on behalf of the ECR Group.* – Madam President, the European Parliament has prepared a resolution on Ukraine. It is a very good document. I can say I subscribe to every word there is in it.

But let me make three general points.

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First, Ukraine faces two major challenges: it has to reform itself, and it has to defend itself at the same time. It does not require a genius to know that it is extremely difficult, and without outside help it cannot succeed.

Second, Russia's behaviour is largely predictable. Whatever the effect of sanctions and oil prices, it will be following the same course in the foreseeable future. History teaches us that change in Russian politics has always resulted from the internal reshuffling of power.

Third, Europe's policy towards Russia. The problem is that we simply do not know who is running the show. Is it Mrs Merkel? Is it you, Ms Mogherini? Is it Mr Hollande, Mr Steinmeier, the Prime Minister of Latvia? Will the real negotiator stand up please?

And the final point relating to the previous item on the agenda: I was shocked that you did not address the issue of the atrocities committed against Christians in Nigeria. I find it disgraceful that the EU is silent on this issue.

**Johannes Cornelis van Baalen**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Madam President, one has to be objective. What has happened since Minsk? Did Russia really try to show good will? Did Russia really try to help broker peace in East Ukraine? Did Russia really try to monitor its border and prevent irregular troops and others from entering eastern Ukraine? No, that has not happened. Has there been any positive sign from Putin concerning the Crimea? None. Nothing has led to a positive outcome up till now. There will be No Astana Conference because Minsk did not produce anything substantial.

I think that the sanctions should do the work, and the sanctions are working – together with the low oil prices – so the Russian economy is in trouble. I am not happy because of that, but I hope that it will hurt Putin enough to be sensible and indeed go to the negotiating table, wherever that table is, whether it is in public or in private, and produce results. Only if there are results on the ground – and that means the recognition that Ukraine is an independent nation with internationally-recognised borders – can we go further.

That is what we should do now. We can try to help the people in the Donbass, and for that we can try to help Ukraine to reform. That is essential, because otherwise there will be a kind of Ukraine fatigue where people say 'Ukraine again?' So we should help them. It should come from Kiev itself, but the sanctions should stand and should work further, together with the economy. Putin will not listen to reason. He will probably listen to the economy.

**Helmut Scholz**, *im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Hohe Vertreterin! Seit gestern steht definitiv fest, dass das angestrebte Treffen von Astana nicht stattfindet. Damit wurde ein weiteres Mal die Chance aus der Hand gegeben, miteinander zu sprechen. Angesichts der unschuldigen zehn Toten finde ich die Berufung auf Prinzipielles, auf das Fehlen von Voraussetzungen für ein Treffen, zynisch.

Liebe Kollegen, wenn wir nicht nur verbal für einen unverzüglichen Frieden in der Ukraine und deren territoriale Integrität eintreten wollen, müssen wir endlich ritualisierte Rhetorik hinter uns lassen und Prozesse real einschätzen.

Es wird keine militärische Lösung in der Ostukraine geben, und spätestens damit haben beide Seiten, die politisch und militärisch Verantwortlichen in Kiew sowie im Donbass, jeweils ihren Beitrag für einen Frieden zu leisten. Ob sie das tun und, wenn nicht, warum nicht, wäre konkret zu diskutieren.

Es wäre zu diskutieren, ob Herr Jazenjuk ungeachtet seiner per Wahlen erreichten Legitimität wirklich der natürliche Verbündete der EU ist. Sein politisches Credo, welches er dieser Tage auch in Berlin engagiert präsentierte, lautet: Es hat immer nur der andere Schuld, politisch Unbequemes und das eigene Agieren werden in der Mainstreamlexik schönge-redet.

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Was seine Regierung bis heute geleistet hat, sind massiv eingefrorene Sozialleistungen, es sind Massenentlassungen, drastische Preisanhebungen, es ist ein selbst nach ukrainischen Medien völlig regelloses Privatisierungsprogramm, das erneut nur Oligarchen wie Firtasch reicher und einflussreicher macht. Es sind drastisch gesteigerte Militärausgaben, von denen gleich mal 30 Prozent in korrupten Kanälen verschwunden sind. Für den angeblich zentralen Kampf gegen die Korruption sieht der Haushalt 2015 nicht eine Hrywnja vor.

*(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)*

**Marek Jurek (ECR)**, *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki*. – Panie Przewodniczący, czy zauważył Pan, że premier Jaceniuk jest szefem demokratycznego rządu, który otrzymał mandat od swojego narodu dlatego, że wygrał wybory? Ma wyraźny mandat demokratyczny, jest szefem rządu, który chce z nami współpracować i współpracuje, który stowarzyszył z nami swoje państwo. Czy naprawdę nie należy z większym szacunkiem mówić o naszych przyjaciółach i nie stawiać ich na jednym planie z agresorem?

**Helmut Scholz (GUE/NGL)**, *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Ich habe ja gesagt, dass Herr Jazenjuk demokratisch legitimiert ist durch die Wahlen. Die Frage ist allerdings: Ist er mit seiner Politik auch der einzige Ansprechpartner für die Europäische Union, wenn wir an die reale Situation in der Ukraine herangehen? Was passiert denn sozial? Ich war da, und dort wurde mir gesagt: Wenn sich nicht ganz schnell in dem sozialen, wirtschaftlichen Gefüge, in der Durchsetzung realer politischer Reformen etwas Entscheidendes verändert, werden wir den nächsten Majdan erleben. Die Leute erhoffen sich in diesem Land Veränderungen. Das müssen wir als Europäische Union unterstützen.

**Rebecca Harms**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Sehr geehrte Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrte Frau Mogherini, sehr geehrte Kollegen! Ich sage jetzt mal nicht „sehr geehrter Herr Scholz“, weil ich finde, Sie diskutieren unter Niveau.

Es gäbe überhaupt keinen Anlass, über eine humanitäre Notlage im Osten der Ukraine zu diskutieren, wenn nicht russische Strategen – ich weiß nicht genau zu welchem Zeitpunkt – beschlossen hätten, dass sie nicht bereit sind, die territoriale Integrität der Ukraine zu akzeptieren.

Es passt Ihnen vielleicht nicht, aber das Problem hat mit der Annektierung der Krim angefangen, und es ist mit der systematischen Destabilisierung, unterstützt von Russland, im Osten der Ukraine fortgesetzt worden. Die Ursachen für den Krieg im Osten der Ukraine müssen leider heute in der russischen Regierung gesucht werden. Niemand, insbesondere kein Deutscher, würde heute wagen zu behaupten, Belgien habe angefangen zu schießen.

Ich bitte Sie eigentlich nur darum, dass Sie in der Analyse dieses Konflikts bei den Ursachen des Problems bleiben.

*(Beifall)*

Minsk, Minsk ist eine Verabredung die zustande gekommen ist, weil die Europäer auf die ukrainische Regierung und auf die russische Regierung Druck ausgeübt haben, zu verhandeln. Das Minsk-Abkommen ist ein Kompromiss, sehr stark zugunsten derjenigen, die für den Terror im Osten der Ukraine verantwortlich sind. Wenn wir diesen Kompromiss durchsetzen wollen, der bisher die einzige Möglichkeit zur Befriedung ist, der die einzige Möglichkeit ist, die humanitäre Katastrophe in den besetzten Gebieten zu stoppen, dann müssen wir bei dem Konzept der wirtschaftlichen Sanktionen bleiben.

Ich bin froh, dass Sie noch einmal gesagt haben, dass es Einmütigkeit gibt, in diesem Konzept, weiter Politik zu machen, auf wirtschaftliche Sanktionen zu setzen, nicht auf eine militärische Lösung zu setzen. Aber darauf muss in Russland anders reagiert werden. Da liegt eben der Schlüssel für Gespräche in Astana oder keine Gespräche in Astana.

*(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)*

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**Jiří Maštálka (GUE/NGL)**, otázka položená zvednutím modré karty. – Paní kolegyně Harmsová, můžete mi říct, kteří stratégové a kdy rozhodli o rozbití Iráku, o rozbití Libye a o rozbití Sýrie?

**Rebecca Harms (Verts/ALE)**, Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Das ist eine andere Debatte. Meine Fraktion – daran werden sich alle erinnern – und auch meine Partei ist gegen den Irakkrieg auf die Straße gegangen. Der Irakkrieg kann in keiner Weise als Legitimierung für einen Krieg im Osten der Ukraine herangezogen werden. Wer gegen den Irakkrieg gewesen ist, der muss sich nicht scheuen, den Krieg im Osten der Ukraine zu kritisieren und dagegen vorzugehen.

(Beifall)

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, eine weitere Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

**Barbara Spinelli (GUE/NGL)**, Domanda «cartellino blu». – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, capisco perfettamente le obiezioni della collega Harms e sono senz'altro d'accordo sulle responsabilità della Russia e sulla necessità dell'integrità territoriale. Le vorrei solo chiedere di ricordare che nell'Est e nella regione di Donbass hanno agito e agiscono forze paramilitari fasciste e anche neonaziste e che il battaglione Azov in particolare dipende direttamente dal ministero degli interni di Kiev.

**Rebecca Harms (Verts/ALE)**, Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Wir haben in unserer Entschließung ausdrücklich noch mal darauf hingewiesen, dass es wirklich auch Terroristen gibt, die in diesen Krieg geschickt worden sind. Seit längerem wird darüber diskutiert, dass da Leute sind, die aus Tschetschenien bekannt sind. Der Name Girkin ist ja inzwischen weltweit bekannt, und die Probleme, die wir haben in der Befriedung, die haben eben auch damit zu tun, dass es sehr schwer ist, vernünftig einen Dialog zu führen in einer Region, in der sich nicht ein irgendwie ordentliches, von ordentlich gewählten Politikern geführtes Separatistensystem etabliert hat, sondern in dem sich ein System von Warlords, von Mafiosi, von Verbrechern etabliert, und die werden von russischen Soldaten ...

(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, eine weitere Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

**Charles Tannock (ECR)**, blue-card question. – Ms Harms, would you agree with me, following Ms Spinelli's ridiculous comments, that the true fascists are the Russian aggressors? The Jewish community of the Crimea has been completely eliminated and the synagogue that has been there for 50 years has been closed down, with swastikas daubed on it by the so-called liberators from Moscow, and the Tatar community have also been put into exile. Fascism is coming from Moscow, not from Kiev, I am afraid to say. Would you agree with my statement?

**Rebecca Harms (Verts/ALE)**, Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Ich will nicht leugnen, dass es auch in der Ukraine Nationalisten gibt. Aber es gibt in der Ukraine, soweit ich das feststellen kann, nicht eine Bewegung, die sich auf die Fahnen geschrieben hat, in Nachbarländern Eroberungsfeldzüge durchzuführen. Das müssten Sie mir jedenfalls erst einmal zeigen.

Der ukrainische neue Nationalismus ist sehr stark das Ergebnis des Angriffs vonseiten Russlands. Ich möchte eine Nation – Italien ist ja berühmt dafür, nicht nationalistisch zu sein, Sie haben ja auch rechte Bewegungen – in Europa sehen, die angegriffen wird, ohne dass es zu solchen nationalistischen Reaktionen kommt.

(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

**Franz Obermayr (NI)**. - Geschätzte Frau Präsidentin! Ohne eine Kritik an Ihrer Geschäftsführung und Vorsitzführung zu machen, es gibt in diesem Haus ein paar *Usancen*.

Zum Ersten sollte auf die Zeit geachtet werden. Es ist zwar schön, wenn Sie klopfen, aber wenn Sie den Rednern dann 40 Sekunden weiter die Zeit lassen ..



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Das Zweite ist eine schöne *Usance*: wenn hier schon Zeit knapp ist, nur eine „blaue Karte“ zu gewähren und nicht sogenannte Fragen mit „blauen Karten“ zu ermöglichen. Das wäre mein Ansinnen – bei allem Respekt für Ihre Geschäftsführung.

**La Présidente.** - Je vous remercie de vos conseils, Monsieur Obermayr.

**Valentinas Mazuronis, EFDD frakcijos vardu.** – Mieli kolegos, nebūsiu pranašas, jei pasakysiu, kad įvykiai Ukrainoje įgauna vis pavojingesnį pagreitį. Būtinai greitas, išmintingas, teisingas, diplomatinis sprendimas, kurio tvirtai laikytųsi visos pusės. Tolesnis situacijos aštrėjimas – tai didžiulės ekonominės problemos ir ne tik Rusijai ir Ukrainai, bet ir visoms kitoms valstybėms bei regionams. Europos Sąjunga ir tarptautinė bendruomenė turi maksimaliai suaktyvinti visas pastangas, siekiant taikaus sprendimo, pagrįsto Minsko protokolu ir memorandumu. Privalu ginti Ukrainos teritorinį vientisumą bei suverenumą, niekada nepripažinti nelegalios Krymo aneksijos, tačiau tuo pat metu neturime skatinti naujo šaltojo karo ir negalime pasiduoti provokacijoms. Europos Sąjungos parama naujai suformuotai Ukrainos vyriausybei bei jos reformoms yra ypatingai svarbi. Reikia sukurti specialų ekonominės pagalbos planą Ukrainai ir teikti visokeriopą finansinę, techninę ir karinę pagalbą bei konsultacijas, jei to reikia. Tik bendra ir tvirta visų Europos Sąjungos valstybių ir tarptautinės bendrijos pozicija, ginant principines nuostatas bei ieškant išmintingų diplomatinių sprendimų, gali duoti teigiamus rezultatus. Gindami Ukrainą, mes giname Lietuvą, Latviją, Estiją ir visas kitas Europos Sąjungos valstybes. Gindami Ukrainą, jos suverenitetą, mes giname Europą, mes giname savo namus. Ar gali būti kas nors svarbiau? Tad būkime tvirti, išmintingi ir vieningi.

**Udo Voigt (NI).** - Frau Präsidentin! Der Konflikt, so wie er hier beschrieben wird, ist immer dann verstärkt, wenn man einseitig Sanktionen durchführt, statt miteinander zu reden. Ich bin schon erschrocken, wie stark hier in diesem Haus die Rhetorik des Kalten Kriegs wieder zurückgekehrt ist. Haben Sie nicht gemerkt, dass durch die derzeitige Situation der Euro auf den niedrigsten Stand seit Beginn seiner Existenz gefallen ist? Der Rubel fällt ins Bodenlose. Die Inflation in Russland betrug im Dezember 11,5 %, in der Ukraine lag die Inflation bereits im Dezember bei 25 % – 50-mal höher als im Januar 2014. Die beschlossenen Sanktionen schwächen den Euro und vernichten Tausende von Arbeitsplätzen in der Landwirtschaft der EU. Die Sanktionen treffen aber auch die Länder der Eurasischen Wirtschaftsunion: Kasachstan, Weißrussland ...

*(Die Präsidentin entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)*

**Elmar Brok (PPE).** - Frau Präsidentin, Frau Vizepräsidentin! Ich bin schon erstaunt, wie deckungsgleich die Argumentationen der Linken und der NPD aus Deutschland sind, wenn ich Herrn Scholz und Herrn Voigt hier höre. Es scheinen alle an der Krise schuld zu sein, nur Russland nicht. Es ist so, dass Russland in ein fremdes Land einmarschiert ist und es annektiert hat und dass das Minsker Abkommen der Versuch ist, dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass man das in den Griff bekommt. Und da wir – die Europäische Union und die NATO – wegen der Ukraine keinen Krieg führen wollen, sind die Sanktionen das Instrument, um dem Aggressor mitzuteilen, dass Aggression teuer ist. Das wirkt nicht nur deswegen, sondern auch wegen des Öls usw.

Wir sind bereit – und das sagt die Entschließung deutlich –, mit Russland zu reden. Alle Kanäle sollen offen gehalten werden. Jedes Format – ob Astana, Genf oder was auch immer –, jegliche Möglichkeit des Gesprächs muss gesucht werden. Ich halte es aber auch für richtig, dass die Sitzung in Astana nicht stattfindet, weil Russland es nicht möglich gemacht hat, dass dies zu weitreichenden Einigungen führt. Solche Gespräche der Spitzen müssen Resultate mit sich bringen!

Im Übrigen machen die Kommission und die Hohe Vertreterin dort einen guten Job, und wir müssen feststellen, dass wir dies entsprechend fortsetzen sollten mit unserer Positionierung, und deswegen wollen wir keine Beendigung der Sanktionen, wenn nicht entsprechend Schritt für Schritt auch die Erfüllung und Implementierung der Forderungen aus dem Minsker Abkommen da ist.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Meine Damen und Herren, ich möchte im Übrigen sagen: Wir haben eine schlimme Situation in der Ukraine, aber auch weil vor exakt zwei Jahren Russland mit Handelsrestriktionen gegen die Ukraine angefangen hat, um das Land in die Knie zu zwingen und von den freien Entscheidungen wegzukommen. Das Land ist in schwierigen Situationen, weil ein fremdes Land mit den eigenen Truppen einmarschiert ist. Jetzt daraus einen Strick zu drehen, dass Herr Jazenjuk das noch nicht zu einem blühenden Land gemacht hat – Herr Scholz, mit einer solchen Argumentation sollten Sie sich schämen! Wir möchten Frieden haben, und wir möchten die Freiheit aller europäischen Völker, und keine großen Nachbarvölker sollen das Recht haben, kleineren Völkern ihren Willen aufzuzwingen! Das ist das Europa der Zukunft!

*(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 162 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)*

**Gilles Lebreton (NI)**, *question «carton bleu»*. – Monsieur Brok, si nous voulons être constructifs, ne croyez-vous pas qu'il faudrait distinguer le sort de l'Est de l'Ukraine, pour lequel il faut négocier et essayer de convaincre peut-être la Russie, de celui de la Crimée, pour laquelle nous avons un simple problème de libre détermination du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes? Car enfin, il y a eu un référendum en Crimée et le droit international donne d'autres précédents de pays qui sont parvenus à l'indépendance comme le Kosovo.

**Elmar Brok (PPE)**, *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Erstens: Im Kosovo sollte gegen einen Diktator ein Völkermord vermieden werden. Das ist der Unterschied.

Auf der Krim gab es sehr weitreichende Autonomierechte auch für die russische Bevölkerung, wie es sie nirgendwo in Russland für Minderheiten gibt.

Der dritte Punkt ist: Da hat es keine freien Wahlen gegeben. Da ist militärisch besetzt worden, da konnte man nicht einmal eine Alternative wählen. Deswegen war das kein faires Referendum, sondern sogar eines, wie wir das genau wissen, mit einer sehr geringen Wahlbeteiligung.

Insofern bitte ich, nicht diesen Weg zu gehen mit der Krim. Ich weiß, dass Ihre Partei dort Wahlbeobachtung gemacht hat und dafür Geld von Herrn Putin für ihren Wahlkampf in Frankreich bekommen hat. Das ist keine Grundlage für ein ernsthaftes Gespräch.

**Richard Howitt (S&D)**. - Madam President, I should like to thank the Vice-President/High Representative for her focus on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. As winter sets in, humanitarian access to eastern Ukraine is indeed urgent to prevent starvation and medical emergency. The evidence of it being blocked is, of course, itself a violation of international law. I ask Ms Mogherini in her reply to comment on ECHO's role in this respect. Second, our resolution puts a proper focus on reforming Ukraine itself and endorses the reform priorities under the Association Agreement outlined in the letter from Ms Mogherini to Mr Brok. Ukraine now has responsibilities under that agreement, and it is proper for us to exercise pressure in this respect.

Finally: on Russia, my group endorses the aim of a more proactive approach. As our amendment shows, de-escalation of the sanctions can follow de-escalation of the crisis because, as I had the chance to say to the Vice-President/High Representative earlier, any change in EU restrictive measures must reflect a real change in observance of or prospects for peace, not a weakening of Europe's resolve to achieve it. I trust that the message will be understood by the foreign ministers on Monday.

**David Campbell Bannerman (ECR)**. - Madam President, I have great regard for the Ukrainian people. I collect Ukrainian art, I visited Kiev in the Crimea and I am certainly no excuser of Putin's Russia. Nevertheless, I am deeply concerned at the mess the EU has made of its intervention in Ukraine to date.

Whilst I support a Ukrainian trade deal, the EU Association Agreement is nakedly political. It talks of convergence in foreign and security policy and of military cooperation. An EEAS official has even said there is a clash of geopolitical rivalries of two competing empires. The EU must exhibit its strength, and now Ukraine wants to join NATO. All this just pokes the Russian bear.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

This year, acclaimed US film director Oliver Stone is releasing a documentary alleging that the CIA was involved in the Maidan demonstrations. He says that so-called shooters, who killed protestors, were third-party agitators with CIA fingerprints. And this 'Regime Change 101', as he calls it: is it fiction or fact? I would like to know whether the EU is aware of these claims and if the EU is at all complicit.

**Kaja Kallas (ALDE).** - Madam President, many colleagues have already touched upon our concerns over the humanitarian situation in Ukraine, from these terrible killings of civilians in a bus to the prospect of a frozen conflict in eastern Ukraine, so I would like to point out a different topic.

It is important for Ukraine, especially in this difficult situation, to move forward with reforms. Restoring democratic legitimacy and economic growth, the adoption of anti-corruption laws and the creation of the anti-corruption bureau are steps in the right direction.

But more needs to be done to restore citizens' trust in the legal system, public authorities and democracy. Given the challenges ahead, the EU Support Group for Ukraine has a crucial role to play in identifying the areas where technical assistance is needed for the implementation of a reform programme. So I would like to ask the High Representative: is the allocation of staff and resources enough for the Support Group to fulfil its mission in Ukraine? Finally, I would like to stress that the EU should express clear opposition to lifting sanctions against Russia before clear conditions are met.

**Σοφία Σακοράφα (GUE/NGL).** - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η πολιτική των απειλών, των εκβιασμών και των συνεργασιών, της συνεργασίας με ακροδεξιά στοιχεία, που επέβαλαν συγκεκριμένα ευρωπαϊκά και αμερικανικά συμφέροντα, είναι υπεύθυνη για τη μετατροπή της Ουκρανίας σε κοινωνική και ανθρωπιστική βόμβα. Σήμερα το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο, ο υπέρτατος δημοκρατικός θεσμός της Ευρώπης, των αξιών της αλληλεγγύης, της ελευθερίας, της δημοκρατίας, της ισότητας και των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων, παράγει ένα ακόμη ψήφισμα φόβου. Και αναρωτιέμαι: τι πολιτική παράγουμε εδώ μέσα; Ποιο είναι το θετικό όραμα και η ελπίδα που δίνουμε στους λαούς της Ευρώπης για το ευρωπαϊκό κεκτημένο; Η καλλιέργεια του φόβου, της αβεβαιότητας, της ανασφάλειας, της ψυχροπολεμικής πολιτικής και ρητορικής; Κύριοι συνάδελφοι, σε δέκα ημέρες έχουμε εκλογές στην Ελλάδα και ο λαός της, που φτωχοποιείται και εξαθλιώνεται τα τελευταία χρόνια, απειλείται για την επιλογή του με τον πιο χυδαίο τρόπο από τα πολιτικά και οικονομικά διευθυντήρια της ίδιας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Εμείς εδώ έχουμε χρέος να αγωνιστούμε για να αλλάξουμε αυτήν την κατεύθυνση. Ενωμένη Ευρώπη είναι η Ευρώπη των λαών και όχι των συμφερόντων και των αγορών.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, crisi ucraina, ennesima paradossale puntata. In questo Parlamento pare si possa essere solo pro Porošenko o pro Putin, bianchi o neri. Personalmente, noi del Movimento 5 Stelle non vogliamo iscriverci al club né degli uni né degli altri, ma vorremmo invece fare domanda per quello dell'oggettività. Sulla scacchiera, io vedo soprattutto uno scontro tra la superpotenza affannata a non perdere l'egemonia mondiale e un'antica superpotenza ormai decaduta ma infiammata dall'ambizione di riprendersi un ruolo globale. *In medio stat Ucraina*: un paese profondamente fratturato lungo l'asse Sud-Ovest-Nord-Est.

La Russia gioca a congelare il conflitto perché quel che potrebbe facilmente prendere con la forza, le costerebbe troppo in termini di isolamento geopolitico e punta quindi a usurare l'avversario. L'asse USA-UE è preda della febbrile corsa al *Far East*, costi quel che costi! Per gli ucraini, che rischiano il suicidio economico, e per noi, che non abbiamo mai sviluppato una vera politica energetica alternativa. Il bilancio mi sembra molto chiaro: perdiamo quasi tutti, di sicuro perdiamo noi europei, i russi e gli ucraini; guadagnano solo i cinesi, sempre più allettati dal vantaggio di un'alleanza strategica con la Russia, innaturalmente indotta da noi, e gli Stati Uniti che ci portano verso lo *shale gas* e l'aumento delle spese militari. Non mi sembra sia questo il nostro interesse ma forse qui qualcuno, colleghi, pensa di essere non al Parlamento europeo ma nella terza Camera di Washington!

**Janusz Korwin-Mikke (NI).** - Madam President, the situation is very complicated. I am afraid Ms Mogherini does not understand that the situations in Donetsk and in Lugansk are very different. The independence of Ukraine is a keystone of Polish politics. No responsible voice in Poland would agree on the partitioning of Ukraine – if there were such a plan – between Poland, Russia, Romania, Hungary and Belarus, because one can love Russia or hate it, but we like Russia to be as far from Polish borders as possible.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Still, if Ukrainians hate Russians, from the Polish point of view that is a very good situation, because the typical stance of Ukrainians is to hate Poles, so if their sentiments are directed against Russia, that is a better situation from our point of view. The only point that annoys us is the German-Ukrainian sentiment. We do not like to be between a pro-German Ukraine and a very strong Germany. That is all.

**Cristian Dan Preda (PPE).** - Madame la Présidente, il est toujours difficile d'intervenir après M. Korwin-Mikke. Je le ferai en roumain.

Domnule Președinte, în 16 septembrie 2014, am ratificat aici Acordul de asociere cu Ucraina și spuneam că este o zi istorică pentru această țară - mai mulți colegi au împărtășit această idee. Patru luni mai târziu, astăzi, cred cu tărie că Ucraina are nevoie de noi asemenea zile, momente istorice. Și cred că, mai mult decât oricând, este necesară găsirea unei soluții pentru a readuce pacea în interiorul Ucrainei și a stabiliza frontierele acestei țări. În aceste zile în care confruntările din estul acestei țări s-au intensificat, un astfel de acord ar putea împiedica înrăutățirea situației și destabilizarea tot mai puternică a Ucrainei și, implicit, a Europei. Iată de ce cred că avem datoria de a contribui la pacificarea continentului nostru, încurajând și luând parte la orice dialog care poate conduce la găsirea unui acord. Cred că orice format este bun pentru a merge în această direcție.

Dincolo de spinoasa problemă teritorială și de securitate cu care se confruntă Ucraina, țin să îmi exprim speranța, de asemenea, că liderii de la Kiev vor fi hotărâți să continue lupta anticorupție. Președintele Poroșenko spunea în toamna anului trecut că *«ceea ce paralizază Ucraina este corupția»* și sper ca acest lucru să nu fie uitat, chiar dacă știm cu toții că situația în care se află Ucraina este foarte dificilă, însă cred că lupta anticorupție, construcția unor instituții care să producă rezultate tangibile reprezintă o axă prioritară a acțiunii. De aceea, încurajez Ucraina să fie implacabilă în lupta împotriva corupției; este o experiență pe care o cunoaștem și din alte state foste comuniste și nu cred că aici lucrurile pot fi formulate altfel.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** - Gospođo predsjednice, dok hakerska skupina Cyber Berkut napada svoje ciljeve u cyber prostoru, a njihovi klasično naoružani suborci ugrožavaju teritorijalni integritet zemlje, u realnom prostoru Ukrajine treba hitno odgovoriti na sve dublju recesiju u 2. godini rata.

Gospodarstvo će se smanjiti za 6%. Prošle godine pad je iznosio visokih 7,5% . Nacionalna valuta hrvnija imala je najlošije pokazatelje na svijetu s gubitkom vrijednosti od 38%. Vlada u Kijevu traži novih 15 milijardi dolara pomoći, a neki poznavatelji tvrde da bi tek 50 milijardi bilo dostatno za program održive obnove.

Ali, Ukrajina bi ta sredstva mogla dobiti tek ako ispuni dobro poznate ciljeve međunarodnih vjerovnika: proširenje porezne osnovice, deregulaciju industrije, poboljšanje poslovne klime i prodaju državne imovine. Pri tome valja spriječiti da ekstremne mjere štednje ne ugroze više stanovništva koje ostaje bez socijalnih pogodnosti nego sam rat. Jer milijun ljudi je napustilo domove, 1 500 000 živi u teškim uvjetima na području sukoba, a 1 700 000 djece je pogođeno krizom čiji se kraj ne nazire.

**Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz! To bardzo ważna rezolucja Parlamentu Europejskiego. Jest ona wynikiem kompromisu wszystkich grup politycznych i jest ważna, a może nawet historyczna, ponieważ bardzo jednoznacznie przedstawia warunki, jakie muszą być spełnione, aby cofnąć czy nawet ograniczyć sankcje wobec Rosji. A to, zdaje się, jest takie marzenie niektórych polityków w Europie, którzy myślą, co zrobić, żeby cofnąć sankcje wobec Rosji. Niech myślą o naszym europejskim interesie, a w naszym europejskim interesie jest to, aby Ukraina była coraz bardziej krajem, z którym jesteśmy w świetnych relacjach, także ekonomicznych. Zresztą rezolucja ta mówi także o sytuacji ekonomicznej na Ukrainie. Domagamy się tam reform, ale przede wszystkim podkreślamy, i to jest bardzo istotne, że nie uznajemy samowolnych wyborów w Doniecku i Ługańsku, ale też może najważniejsze jest to, że wprost zachęcamy państwa członkowskie Unii Europejskiej, aby ..

(Przewodnicząca odebrała mówcy głos.)

**Petras Auštrevičius (ALDE).** - Madam President, a week ago the civilised world was deeply shocked by a deadly terrorist attack against journalists in Paris. Yesterday, 12 innocent civilians, including children, were killed because of a bus-shelling near Volnovakha, Donetsk Oblast.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Terror attacks, from Paris to Volnovakha, are just another grim reminder of today's reality. Terrorists have many faces, from jihadists to Talibanis, to Islamists in Northern Nigeria, and the Russian-backed and -funded bandits in eastern Ukraine. But all of them have one thing in common: hatred of Western liberties and democratic societies.

We must give proper and evident recognition to an existing nest of modern terrorism in Europe: the so-called Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics. These are the places where terrorism and instability are breeding.

**Inês Cristina Zuber (GUE/NGL).** - A versão oficial do Parlamento Europeu sobre a história da situação na Ucrânia não bate certo com a realidade.

Aos mais distraídos poderá parecer que não, mas aqueles que hoje se têm oposto ao golpe de Estado na Ucrânia estão a ser vítimas de violência, de restrição de liberdades e direitos, impostas por forças fascistas que hoje estão ligadas às autoridades e às forças policiais e de segurança ucranianas - as oficiais e as mercenárias.

Será que aqui não se ouviu falar da chacina de 2 de maio em Odessa ou dos ataques incendiários às sedes de partidos da oposição, do projeto que o Parlamento da Ucrânia hoje está a discutir para ilegalizar apenas ideologias com que não concorda?

Será que aqui não se ouviu falar do assassinato e tortura de quem se opôs às autoridades saídas do golpe de Estado?

Será que não se lembram do telefonema da baronesa Ashton e do ministro estónio em que ele a avisava de que os franco-atiradores estariam ligados ao mal chamado movimento Maidan e não a Yanukovych e que ela ignorou?

Não era necessário tudo isto apenas porque queriam assinar o Tratado de Livre Comércio.

**Kristina Winberg (EFDD).** - Fru talman! Det är aldrig acceptabelt att ändra länders gränser med hjälp av våld. Det är en grundläggande folkrättslig princip som jag och mitt parti till fullo stöder. Vi är dessutom lika fast övertygade om att det alltid är fel att använda våld för att avsätta en legitim och demokratiskt vald regering.

Vi vill vara tydliga med att vi vänder oss emot varje slags utvidgning av detta EU-projekt, som i alla avseenden har sitt eget liv och nu sträcker ut sina tentakler mot länderna i öster. Detta gäller oavsett om utvidgningen tar sig uttryck i ett faktiskt medlemskap eller någon form av associeringsavtal.

Vad avser situationen i Ukraina finns det många olika aspekter att ta hänsyn till, inte minst ur ett säkerhetspolitiskt perspektiv. Sverigedemokraternas främsta hänsynstagande är att EU under inga omständigheter bör utvidgas. Detta hänsynstagande är lika aktuellt oavsett om föremålet för utvidgningen är Moldavien, Turkiet eller, som i detta fall, Ukraina.

Vi är inte, som vissa har påstått, en beundrare av Putins auktoritära Ryssland. Däremot anser vi att Ukraina och dess folk ska ha samma rätt till självbestämmande som vi kräver att Sveriges folk ska ha.

Min fråga till er, fru vice ordförande, är: Vad anser du vara den avgörande orsaken för det humanitära lidandet i Ukraina?

**Nicolas Bay (NI).** - Madame la Présidente, Madame la Haute représentante, la Commission nous a habitués à tomber de Charybde en Scylla. Pourtant, quand on vous écoute, on ne regrette vraiment pas M<sup>me</sup> Ashton. En effet, pragmatique, vous paraissez défendre des positions bien moins atlantistes que celle qui vous a précédée à ce poste.

Jeudi dernier, à Riga, pendant que l'Europe avait les yeux tournés vers Paris, vous avez ainsi envisagé la possibilité de lever les sanctions prises par l'Union européenne contre la Russie, et ce, disiez-vous, en raison de signes positifs de la part de Moscou. Hélas, on apprenait dimanche que le Canada venait de livrer encore quarante-deux conteneurs de matériel militaire à l'Ukraine, à la veille de la rencontre de Berlin.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

D'après de nombreux observateurs, les autorités ukrainiennes ne cherchent en fait qu'à gagner du temps pour mieux préparer une nouvelle expédition punitive dans le Donbass, plutôt qu'une solution diplomatique, respectueuse des populations d'Ukraine, que la Russie appelle de ses vœux.

Cessons donc d'écouter les va-t-en-guerre américains et essayons de résoudre ensemble, entre voisins du Vieux Continent, ce conflit fratricide qui n'a que trop duré et qui nuit aux intérêts de nos peuples.

**Sandra Kalniete (PPE).** - Priekšsēdētājas kundze, Mogherini kundze, kolēģi! Ukrainai ir jāveic šodien neiespējamais — kara apstākļos jāīsteno reformas. Un mums šeit ir jāapzinās, ka, atbalstot Ukrainu, mēs atbalstām arī Eiropas Savienības drošību. Stabila un vienota Ukraina ir Eiropas Savienības drošības ķīla. Es priecājos par Eiropas Komisijas ierosinājumu piešķirt Ukrainai 1,8 miljardus, taču īstai Ukrainas stabilizācijai nepieciešama lielāka palīdzība. Tāpēc Eiropas Tautas partija aicina strādāt pie Eiropas "Maršala plāna" Ukrainai. Protams, tam ir jābūt visciešākajā veidā saistītam ar mērķtiecīgām reformām, un es ceru, ka to saprot arī ievēlētie Ukrainas līderi. Mums ir jāpalīdz nostiprināt ne tikai Ukrainas aizsardzības spējas, bet jāpalīdz Ukrainai stāties pretī Krievijas propagandai. Šī propaganda ir vēsta arī pret Eiropu un pret mūsu vērtībām. Es sagaidu, ka Eiropas Komisija piedāvās komunikācijas stratēģiju, kas aizsargās Eiropas vērtības pret naidīgu valstu dezinformāciju. Paldies!

**Tibor Szanyi (S&D).** - Az EU sikeres ukrainai szerepvállalásának a kulcsa a következetesség és az egység, és ezen a ponton szeretnék köszönetet mondani Mogherini asszonynak. Éppen ezért a kijevei vezetéssel, az ország európai perspektíváiról, a jogállamiság európai normák szerinti fejlesztéséről folyó párbeszéd keretében... (A képviselő technikai probléma miatt megszakítja a hozzászólását.) Tehát szólnunk kell a fokozódó nacionalizmus veszélyéről is. Az ukrán kormány képviselői az elmúlt hetekben kinyilvánították, hogy a kettős állampolgárságot kizáró törvény lehető legszigorúbb betartása érdekében rendészeti eljárások, büntetések sorát tervezik állampolgáraik egy részével szemben. A fenyegetés, illetve zaklatás az orosz kisebbség mellett egy sor más nemzeti kisebbség tagjai, köztük számos EU állampolgár ellen is irányulnak, akik fokozott politikai védelemre szorulnak.

Bár formailag törvényes, ez a durva hatósági fellépés nem más, mint engedmény a fokozódó nacionalista nyomásnak. A törvény a jelenlegi ukrainai belpolitikai helyzetben ezzel az időzítéssel csakis a feszültség növelését, az eskalációt szolgálhatja. Kérem tehát, hogy a politikai és gazdasági támogatás erősítésének módzatai mellett ezek a szempontok is kapjanak figyelmet az Európai Unió, illetve a főképvisező asszony és a kijevei barátaink közötti aktuális megbeszéléseken.

#### IN THE CHAIR: MAIREAD McGUINNESS

*Vice-President*

**Mark Demesmaeker (ECR).** - Vorige week waren wij getuige van de verschrikkelijke terreur in Parijs en gisteren stierven er twaalf Oekraïense burgers in Volnovakha, toen hun bus beschoten werd door een Grad-raket. Alles wijst erop dat die door pro-Russische militias is afgevuurd. Moeten wij niet overwegen om de leiding van de zogeheten Volksrepublieken Donetsk en Lugansk op de lijst van terroristische organisaties te plaatsen? *Je suis Charlie, je suis Volnovakha.* Het Minsk-akkoord is vier maanden oud, maar van vrede in Oekraïne is geen sprake. Integendeel, Rusland lijkt niet geïnteresseerd om het conflict te ontmijnen en blijft destabiliseren en provoceren.

Zo druist de manier waarop Rusland het Oekraïense parlamentslid Nadia Savchenka gevangen houdt, in tegen de basisbeginselen van internationale betrekkingen. En in Kaliningrad hield Rusland grootschalige onaangekondigde militaire oefeningen. Ik wil graag optimistisch zijn over het vredesoverleg, maar het valt mij eerlijk gezegd moeilijk. En toch is de uitvoering van de Minsk-akkoorden de enige uitweg.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Pavel Telička (ALDE).** - Madam President, first of all I owe the Vice-President an apology, because we are behind schedule and I have a meeting that I have to rush to. Very briefly a few remarks. Madam Vice-President, you said we need unity, and I could not agree more. The unity is to be provided primarily under your leadership. The moment we have a fragmentation of messaging, I think we will have no unity, and we will also have some Czech politicians that will be moving away from the common line.

Secondly, aid: we are doing a lot and we can do more, and I think the Member States can contribute. Financial assistance is important, but it is not the alpha and omega of everything. I think that we are dealing with an administration that needs some significant support. I think we should be looking at opportunities for deploying experts, as was done in the past with acceding countries.

Thirdly and lastly, you have spoken about positive leverage in the context of Russia. Donald Tusk mentioned an adequate, consistent and united strategy towards Russia. We need it, but let us not fool ourselves. We need it, but the key lies in Russia, and at the moment I see a principle of conditionality. Any move has to be conditioned by moves on the Russian side.

**Kateřina Konečná (GUE/NGL).** - Paní předsedající, na začátek mi dovoluete poděkovat vysoké představitelce paní Mogheriniové za její úvodní projev. Za svůj poměrně krátký aktivní politický život jsem nucena zaujmout postoj k již druhé válce v Evropě. Po té první zůstal pocit bolesti a křivd u mnoha lidí na Balkáně. Plus umělý stát – Kosovo – se dvěma centry: administrativním v Prištině a geopolitickým na americké vojenské základně Camp Bondsteel.

Co zůstane na Ukrajině po druhé evropské válce mého života? Kolik zbytečně prolité krve a kolik zášti a jaké nové vojenské základny? Potřebujeme řešení situace na Ukrajině, které nastartuje cestu k soužití lidí různých národů, jazyků a konfesí. Ne v podobě dnešního zdánlivého vítězství, které založí budoucí konflikty. Duch Minska, zastavení bojů, výměna zajatců a v neposlední řadě ústavní reforma, to je politika, kterou musíme prosazovat. To by měl být i důkaz, že si Evropská unie skutečně zaslouží Nobelovu cenu míru.

**Krisztina Morvai (NI).** - Mogherini asszony, illetve a Parlament állásfoglalását szeretném kérni két kérdésben. Egyik sem politikai kérdés, hanem mindkettő emberi jogi természetű kérdés. 1. Az orosz parlament határozatban kérte fel az Európai Parlamentet és a világ más parlamentjeit, hogy működjünk együtt egy független, nemzetközi tényfeltáró vizsgálatban, amelynek tárgya a délkelet-ukrajnai polgári lakosság sérelmére sorozatban elkövetett bűncselekmények. Van-e ennek bármi akadály? A másik: Ukrajnában egyéb nemzeti közösségek mellett, közel 200 ezer magyar él őshonos nemzeti közösségként. Az őshonos nemzeti közösségek emberi jogaira vonatkozóan számos ENSZ, Európa Tanács, illetve európai unió norma áll rendelkezésre. Itt vannak a kezemben, oda fogom adni Önöknek. Meg tudják-e győzni ukrán barátait arról, hogy ezeket a normákat nekik az EU társult országaként be kell tartaniuk.

**Andrej Plenković (PPE).** - Gospođo potpredsjednice, hvala na izloženim stajalištima o glavnim odrednicama vašeg angažmana prema Ukrajini i cijenim da ste na početku vašega mandata već posjetili Kijev te stekli neposredni dojam nakon održanih izbora za novu vrhovnu Radu, 26. listopada, gdje sam s drugim kolegama u Europskom parlamentu imao zadovoljstvo voditi promatračku misiju i konstatirati da su ti izbori provedeni u skladu s visokim međunarodnim standardima.

Kao predsjednik parlamentarnog odbora za pridruživanje između Ukrajine i Europske unije, izražavam sućut ukrajinskom narodu i ukrajinskoj vlasti zbog terorističkog napada koji se jučer dogodio u Volnovakhi gdje je poginulo 12 civila, ukrajinskih državljana. To je još jedan dokaz da je Ukrajina žrtva agresije i neobjavljenog hibridnog rata od strane Rusije, stoga mi kao Europska unija moramo čvrsto inzistirati na očuvanju teritorijalnog integriteta Ukrajine, i to kad je riječ o dijelovima Dombasa, ali isto tako, protivno međunarodnom pravu anektiranoga Krima te naša politika restriktivnih mjera prema Rusiji mora biti konstantna.

**Liisa Jaakonsaari (S&D).** - Arvoisa puhemies, korkean edustajan Mogherinin puheenvuorossa oli todella mielenkiintoista hänen Venäjä-kannanottonsa, jossa selvästi hahmotellaan uutta avausta. Tuli mieleen ihan Willy Brandtin ja Egon Bahrin uusi idänpolitiikka, koska tässä tarvitaan nyt jotain uutta.

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On selvä asia, että viime lokakuussa Ukrainan vaalit olivat demokraattiset. Näiden demokraattisten vaalien pohjalle on mahdollista rakentaa vapauden ja oikeuden yhteiskunta ihmisoikeuksineen. Uskon, että Euroopan unioni ja me kaikki olemme valmiita tukemaan Ukrainaa sitten, kun Ukrainan hallitus esittää konkreettisen uudistusohjelman aikataulun ja niin edelleen. Tästä on mahdollista rakentaa aivan uutta politiikkaa.

Olen vakuuttunut siitä, että korkean edustajan Mogherinin johdolla voidaan vaikuttaa Venäjään niin, että myös siellä herää halu yhteisymmärrykseen.

**Anna Elżbieta Fotyga (ECR).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! To Rosja, kraj który chce sobie podporządkować sąsiednie kraje – mówił w 2008 roku w Tbilisi prezydent Polski Lech Kaczyński. Niespełna 2 lata później zginął w do dziś niewyjaśniony sposób w katastrofie smoleńskiej. Wolny świat przeszedł do porządku dziennego zarówno nad agresją w Gruzji, jak i nad katastrofą smoleńską, a w opinii mojej i wielu ekspertów to wówczas zapadł wyrok na Ukrainę – bo Rosja się nie cofa, jeżeli nie czuje oporu, jeżeli nie ma podjętych stosownych działań: nie słów, nie rezolucji, ale decyzji, realnych decyzji. Sankcje były właściwym kierunkiem, ale potrzebne jest Pani działanie, Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel, Pani osobiste działanie. Nie puste krzesło, o którym mówił pan Saryusz-Wolski, tylko Pani udział, Pani zaangażowanie i zaangażowanie całej Unii.

**Urmas Paet (ALDE).** - Ukraina mure number üks on selgelt julgeolekuolukord. Eile 24 tunni jooksul rikkusid nn separatistid Ida-Ukrainas vahele 84 korral. Sealhulgas tulistati reisibussi, milles hukkus üle kaheteistkümne inimese. Sõjaline aktiivsus on selgelt taas kasvamas. Ilma konflikti lõppemiseta jääb igal juhul häirituks kogu Ukraina areng. Konflikt lõpetamine Ida-Ukrainas ja ka Krimmi annekteerimise lõpetamine on selgelt Venemaa kätes.

Ukraina saab aga nüüd ja kohe alustada põhjalikku võitlust korrupsiooniga ja ka põhjalike reformide läbiviimist. Euroopa Liit saab olla siin abiks. Nii tuleks kõigil Euroopa Liidu liikmesriikidel võimalikult ruttu ratifitseerida assotsieerimisleping, hiljemalt Riia tippkohtumiseks. Samuti tuleb edasi liikuda viisavabaduse suunas. Väga oluline on Euroopa Liidul hoida Ukrainale avatuna Euroopa perspektiivi, teades, et tingimused Euroopa Liidule lähenemiseks saab täita Ukraina ise.

**Gabrielius Landsbergis (PPE).** - Madam President, when a year ago on Maidan Square people gathered in a cold Ukrainian winter and asked that Ukraine stick to its path towards Europe, nobody in Kiev, in Brussels, in Washington or in any other European capital had any idea that a hundred people would perish in the following weeks. Nor could anybody have guessed how the coming year would look: that the situation would be that part of Ukraine is in effect occupied by Russia, and another part of Ukraine is under Russia-backed terrorist control. We were taken by surprise – twice.

All of us want peace, and as soon as possible, but core principles have to be maintained. When talking about the peace process in Ukraine, Europe has to keep stressing the importance of returning Crimea to Ukraine.

Europe has seen its share of frozen conflicts and difficult territorial disputes. Forty years ago, the Helsinki accords were signed by European countries for precisely that reason: to guarantee the inviolability of European borders. There can be no justification for the annexation of parts of Ukrainian territory. Europe has to be very careful about what we consider real progress in the peace process in Ukraine. The Minsk Agreement was a good step in the right direction – too bad that it is not leading to Russia withdrawing its troops. Nor is Russia ceasing its support of groups in Donetsk and Luhansk, which show every sign of being terrorist organisations. Just a few days ago, a bus full of civilian passengers was blown to bits in the Donetsk region. Twelve people were killed, 16 injured. Is there anyone who could call this progress?

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** - Г-жо Председател, г-жо Комисар, колеги, темата за Украйна основателно предизвиква силни реакции и емоция, защото е водеща и ключова за бъдещето и на Европа, и на Европейския съюз. Искам да повдигна един въпрос, който никой днес в залата не засегна, но той също така е ключов за ситуацията в Украйна. Това е въпросът за гражданските и политическите права на националните малцинства на територията на държавата и отношението на новата власт към тези малцинства и техните права.

Известно е, че на територията на Украйна има немскоговорящи, унгарскоговорящи, татари и други. Между тях е и българското национално малцинство, което според различни източници наброява между 250 и 500 хиляди души. Има информация, че има случаи на насилие и нарушаване на човешки права на представители на тези малцинства - насилствена мобилизация и заставяне за участие в бойни действия. Има цивилни жертви сред тях. Отделно, неприемливо е заявеното намерение на новата власт да отмени използването на родните езици и имена на малцинственото население.



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Правото на роден език, на самоопределение е ключово, основно човешко право и новите власти в Киев трябва безусловно да се съобразяват с него. Моят въпрос към Вас, г-жо Комисар, е поставян ли е този въпрос пред новите власти в Киев и какво прави Комисията в защита на основните права и граждански свободи на националните малцинства, сред които е и българското?

**Anna Maria Corazza Bildt (PPE).** - Madam President, Madam Vice-President, the sovereignty, independence and indeed the democracy of a great European nation are under attack – but it is more than that. The core principles upon which peace and security in Europe are based are being grossly violated. Helping Ukraine must be an imperative for the European Union. A lot has been done, but we must pursue our policies over time. The ambitions of the Kremlin will foster division in our ranks and exploit every weakness. Russian failure to live up to the Minsk agreement shows that we must stand united and neither give into threats nor be carried by propaganda. We must stick together on sanctions. It is up to the people of Ukraine to decide on their path. They did it in an impressive way in the elections in 2014, where I had the honour to be an observer, but our task is to help them confront the aggressor, rebuild their economy and strengthen their democracy. We must help Ukraine implement the Association Agreement and support their efforts to tackle corruption. By cutting tariffs we have already been helping Ukrainian exports substantially.

The humanitarian crisis in the East needs instant action. Millions are in desperate need of food, medical care and heating. UNICEF reports are staggering: 1.7 million children live in a conflict zone. Children should be given special attention.

**Kati Piri (S&D).** - De nieuwe Oekraïense regering stelt zichzelf een ambitieus hervormingspakket ten taak. Het is noodzakelijk dat het implementeren hiervan zo snel mogelijk concreet wordt gemaakt. Bovendien moet het een hervorming zijn volgens het principe van inclusiviteit. Een pluralistische samenleving, die recht doet aan de Europese waarden waar de Maidan opstand om begon.

Deze hervormingen worden bemoeilijkt door het aanhoudende conflict in het oosten. Het uitblijven van de implementatie van de Minsk-akkoorden door Rusland en de separatisten, is alarmerend. Dit geeft nogmaals aan dat de sancties die door de EU zijn ingesteld, nog altijd relevant zijn en dat wij eraan vast moeten houden.

Tot slot mag het duidelijk zijn dat Nederland niet zal rusten voordat objectief bewijs is geleverd voor de toedracht van het neerstorten van vlucht MH17 en de verantwoordelijken zijn berecht. Ik eis dan ook met klem dat volle medewerking en toegang verleend wordt aan het internationale onderzoeksteam en dat de onderste steen boven wordt gehaald.

Ik hoor graag van de hoge vertegenwoordiger hoe zij haar rol hierin ziet.

**Marek Jurek (ECR).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Kiedy słuchałem Pani Komisarz Mogherini, miałem nadzieję, że usłyszymy choć jedno mocne zdanie na temat Krymu, dlatego że nie wystarczą deklaracje o tym, że nie uznajemy tej aneksji. Nie oczekuję też tego, że przedstawi Pani tutaj plan, w jaki sposób suwerenność ukraińska ma powrócić na Krym, ale że dowiemy się, jak zareagować, żeby przywrócić równowagę, brutalnie zachwianą w tym regionie aneksją Krymu. Przecież wiemy o tym, że są już jej następstwa, np. wzmocniona militarna obecność Rosji w Abchazji.

I sprawa druga, o którą przy tej okazji chciałem zapytać. Jak jest właściwie oficjalny stosunek Komisji Europejskiej do formatu normandzkiego? Bo mam poważne wątpliwości, czy najlepszy mandat do rozmów z Rosją daje robienie interesów z Rosją. Mam na myśli takie rzeczy całkiem świeże, jak sprzedaż okrętów podwodnych, załatwienie monopolistycznej pozycji na używanie gazociągu Opal zupełnie omijającej reguły unijne. Więc może bardziej pomyślny o Europie Środkowej, wtedy będziemy mieli większy tytuł do tego, żeby mówić o solidarności w Europie.

**Eduard Kukan (PPE)** - Situácia na Ukrajine je v mnohých ohľadoch jednou z najväčších zahranično-politických výziev, ktorým čelíme. Treba preto jasne definovať víziu našich vzťahov s Ukrajinou a naplniť ich. Pravdou je, že na túto krízu sme neboli pripravení. O to dôležitejšie je na ňu odpovedať v duchu našich európskych hodnôt.

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Sú tu dve strategické otázky, v ktorých potrebujeme mať zhodu ešte pred samitom v Rige. Prvá sa dotýka trilaterálnych rozhovorov medzi EÚ, Ukrajinou a Ruskom o asociačnej zmluve a DCFTA. Akceptovali sme bezprecedentné zasahovanie tretej strany do bilaterálnej politickej a obchodnej dohody. Členské štáty spolu s Komisiou preto musia postaviť jasné limity, za ktoré už nemôžeme ustupovať. Je predsa nemysliteľné dosiahnuť nejaký *deal* s Ruskom na úkor suverenity inej krajiny!

Druhá otázka sa dotýka územnej celistvosti Ukrajiny a sankcií voči Rusku. Tie by mali pokračovať dovtedy, kým nenájdem trvalú dohodu o Dombaskej oblasti a Kryme. Bolo by strategickou chybou upustiť od sankcií voči Rusku, pokiaľ tieto otázky nebudú vyriešené so súhlasom ukrajinskej strany.

**Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D).** - Madam President, the illegal annexation of Crimea last March represents the most disturbing aspect of the entire Ukrainian crisis. For the first time since World War II, borders in Europe have been modified through force. Moreover, by doing this, Russia got closer to NATO by hundreds of kilometres, being able to strike deeply into NATO territory using long-range weapon systems deployed in the peninsula.

If Ukrainian territorial integrity and sovereignty can be restored in the eastern part of the country, provided the Russian forces withdraw, Crimea remains the biggest challenge, both legally and militarily. Of course, refusing international recognition of the annexation and imposing sanctions on business coming from and going to the peninsula will continue for long as it will take, but the challenge remains. It will have to be addressed politically too.

**Richard Sulík (ECR)** - Vážená pani Mogherini, gratulujem Vám k pozícii vysokej predstaviteľky a som rád, že ste nahradili pani barónku, ktorá tento parlament vytrvalo ignorovala. Predsedám strane, ktorá podporuje sankcie voči Rusku a anexiu Krymu považujem za porušenie medzinárodného práva.

Ale rád by som vám pripomenul, že úlohou EÚ nie je zachraňovať, respektíve riešiť ekonomické problémy všetkých štátov naokolo. Európska únia má obrovské množstvo vlastných problémov – obrovské dlhy, nezamestnanosť, stagnáciu. Ľudia, ktorí chcú poslať na Ukrajinu peniaze, to robia z cudzieho, nie z vlastného.

Ukrajinci si za svoje ekonomické problémy môžu sami, lebo 20 rokov si volili vlády, ktoré nereformovali, ale kradli. Ak dnes treba Ukrajine ekonomicky pomôcť, máme tu Medzinárodný menový fond, ktorého členmi sú všetky štáty EÚ. Ak sa bude takýmto spôsobom Európska únia angažovať ďalej ako doteraz, zažije svoje druhé Grécko.

**Lars Adaktusson (PPE).** - Fru talman! Rysslands utveckling i auktoritär riktning och annekteringen av ukrainska områden spär på oron i Europa. Att president Putin inte visar några tecken på att förändra sitt kriminella beteende är allvarligt, men i historiskt perspektiv inte förvånande.

I den finländska historieskildringen *Orostider i Ukraina* skildras hur regeringen i Kiev 1919 krävde ett tillbakadragande av de ryska trupper som då fanns på ukrainskt territorium. Svaret från Moskva då var detsamma som det är i dag: Inga ryska trupper finns i Ukraina. Historien lär oss om den ryska inställningen till Ukraina, men historien lär oss också vad priset för eftergiftspolitik är mot ett Ryssland vars verktyg är lögnen och våldet.

För att lyckas med att komma till tals med en icke-demokratisk rysk statsledning krävs gemensamt och kraftfullt agerande från EU:s sida. I dag vet vi att sanktionerna har effekt, valutan rasar, investerarna flyr och tillväxten sjunker. Mot den bakgrunden är det beklagligt att Frankrikes president nu talar om lättnader i sanktionspolitiken. Det är att skicka fel signaler.

Inför unionens utvärdering av sanktionspolitiken är därför uppmaningen till Europas socialdemokrater: Säg nej till slopade sanktioner, svik inte frihetskampen i Ukraina.

**Tanja Fajon (S&D).** - Teško je povedati še kaj novega. V zadnjih mesecih smo priča – sicer skromnemu – napredku razvoja dogodkov v Ukrajini, saj so mirovni pogovori v Minsku prinesli izmenjavo ujetnikov, a so se nato pogajalci zaradi razhajanj o tem, kako doseči trajno prekinitve ognja in obojestranski umik sil, spet znašli v slepi ulici.

To je realnost in to je izziv. Humanitarni položaj je zaskrbljujoč. Prizadevanja za rešitev predolgo trajajoče ukrajinske krize moramo okrepiti. V letošnjem letu pričakujem spremembo retorike med Unijo in Rusijo, ki je začela pridobivati prizvok hladne vojne. Rusija mora spoštovati dogovore.

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Šele potem bo možen korak naprej tudi za hitre nujne reforme v Ukrajini, da bo ta zadihala s polnimi pljuči. V svetu smo priča zaskrbljujočemu trendu upadanja stopnje miru. Tudi Evropa ni več varna, ampak ravno Ukrajina je primer boja za proevropske vrednote in imejmo to v mislih in začnimo odločneje in hitreje ukrepati.

**Marcus Pretzell (ECR).** - Frau Präsidentin, Frau Mogherini, meine Damen und Herren! Heute wurden eine Menge Völkerrechtsbrüche, insbesondere von russischer Seite, angeprangert. Das geschieht sicherlich zu Recht, denn das sind es, Völkerrechtsbrüche, insbesondere durch die Annexion der Krim.

Aber in der gleichen Entschließung wollen Sie, meine Damen und Herren, nun auch über eine EU-Mitgliedschaft der Ukraine nachdenken. Da frage ich mich, ob wir nicht bislang unter uns in der jetzigen Form der Europäischen Union bereits genug Probleme haben, als dass wir jetzt darüber nachdenken müssten, diese Europäische Union auch noch zu vergrößern.

Und dann, meine Damen und Herren, denken Sie ernsthaft darüber nach, ob die Ukraine nicht in Zukunft auch NATO-Mitglied sein könnte! Da frage ich mich wirklich: Nehmen Sie Realitäten eigentlich noch zur Kenntnis? Nehmen Sie eigentlich noch zur Kenntnis, was Ihre Aufgabe ist, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren von den Mehrheitsfraktionen? Schließlich wollen wir morgen eine Russland-Entschließung verabschieden, die ganz unverblümt die Einmischung in innere Angelegenheiten Russlands mit erheblichen finanziellen Mitteln unterstützt! Das ist Verlogenheit, wie es schlimmer nicht mehr geht!

**President.** - Before I give the floor to Mr Wałęsa for one-and-a-half minutes, can I just repeat the announcement to the Chamber that we are not taking blue cards because of the time constraints on our debate. I do apologise for that, but that is the ruling of the previous chair and I am maintaining that.

**Jarosław Wałęsa (PPE).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Trudno nie odnieść się do słów mojego przedmówcy, które były po prostu skandaliczne. Wydaje się, że to, co wyraził w swoim przemówieniu, należy potępić bardzo dosadnie.

Ale przechodząc do rzeczy, łatwo zauważyć, że kryzys spowodowany przez Rosję będzie trwał jeszcze na tyle długo, że musimy zastanowić się, jak zwiększyć solidarność wśród krajów członkowskich. Najlepszym wyjściem z tej sytuacji będzie przyjęcie bądź określenie jasnych celów, które nas scala. Przestrzeżenie postanowień z Mińska od początku okazało się problematyczne dla strony rosyjskiej. Zawieszenie broni, bezwarunkowe wycofanie się wojsk rosyjskich z Ukrainy, powstrzymanie zbrojenia grup zbrojnych czy najemników, wymiana wszystkich – powtarzam wszystkich – więźniów i przywrócenie ukraińskiej kontroli nad terytorium całego kraju wydają się tutaj oczywistymi warunkami. Należy tutaj podkreślić przywrócenie kontroli nad terytorium całego kraju, bo odnoszę wrażenie, że zapominamy już o Krymie, a przecież od tego wszystko się zaczęło.

Ocieplanie się wizerunku Moskwy, nawet jeżeli jest widoczne, jest jedynie iluzoryczne. Unia Europejska nie może rozluźnić swojego zdecydowanego stanowiska, a wręcz przeciwnie, musi być gotowa na dalsze restrykcyjne kroki, które powstrzymają rosyjską destabilizację Ukrainy. Wierzę w ten sukces, ale dyplomatyczne kanały muszą pozostać otwarte.

**Boris Zala (S&D).** - Madam President, solving the conflict in Ukraine is the most urgent task. On the one hand I applaud the leadership of Germany and France in their pursuit of a negotiated solution within the Normandy format. I understand the demands of crisis management, but my fear is that, as a result, the institutions of our common foreign policy as provided for by the Lisbon Treaty are becoming marginalised. I would like to see the High Representative, despite her comprehensive explanations, and the Commission take on an even more prominent role. I would like to see the EU – as an autonomous strategic actor representing the interests of all its Member States and its citizens – engaging with Russia and Ukraine. It will carry much more weight and legitimacy, which is what counts in geopolitics.

**Artis Pabriks (PPE).** - Madam President, we miscalculated the beginning of the conflict and war in Ukraine, so let us not mismanage the end of the conflict.

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We sometimes speak about a strong Russia; but Russia is not as strong as we are weak, because we are divided and we are afraid – partly because of our misunderstanding of the situation and also partly because of the assistance of our far right and far left, which are united in order to weaken the European Union.

We also do not need to leave the back door open for a retreat, and to go back to business as usual with Russia, just because we can find excuses to do this. We have to first stop the aggressor, and only afterwards can we start to go back to business as usual.

The key to success is a firm stance against the Russian aggression, and at the same time also firm support for Ukraine. Ukraine should be supported first of all with funding and advice. This is what many analysts and experts, such as Alex Motyl and Anders Åslund, are saying. Even George Soros is saying this. But to do this, we also need to be firm with the Ukrainians and tell them that they need to implement their reforms. I am not sure they understand this very clearly in the limited time they have.

We also should understand that we have to speak a clear language and have a clear head with all of this. So let us not live in an illusion, and let us be realistic, because Ukraine is our strategic interest.

**Miroslav Poche (S&D).** - Paní předsedající, vážená paní Mogheriniová, dovoluji mi, abych na úvod poděkoval všem kolegům, se kterými jsem se mohl podílet na přípravě zmiňovaného usnesení. Nicméně já vidím v naší pomoci ukrajinským reformátorům v současné chvíli jednu velkou hrozbu. Pokud chceme skutečně pomoci Ukrajině při politických a hospodářských reformách, musíme podle mého názoru změnit přístup na naší straně. V minulosti jsme byli svědky špatné koordinace nebo možná dokonce rivality mezi jednotlivými představiteli Evropské unie. Jasným důkazem pro to je jakési nepochopení mezi vysokou představitelkou Ashtonovou a komisařem Füleem v počátcích ukrajinské krize. Nyní se ta situace opakuje a my v mnoha případech nemluvíme jedním hlasem. Chtěl bych se zeptat, zda budete iniciovat diskusi o dlouhodobé, jednotné a koordinované unijní politice a o jednotném hlasu vůči ukrajinským představitelům?

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** - Frau Vorsitzende, Frau Hohe Vertreterin! Ich glaube, wir können unsere Hilfe für die Ukraine noch zielgerichteter durchführen, und ich glaube, dass die Personen, die seitens der Kommission dorthin geschickt werden, bei Weitem nicht ausreichen.

Ich glaube, wir sollten uns erinnern, was wir konkret im Vorbeitrittsprozess für viele Beitrittskandidaten gemacht haben. Wir haben zum Beispiel Behörden-Twinning gemacht, Twinning also von erfahrenen Behörden in den alten Mitgliedstaaten, bei der Reform der Behörden insbesondere. Wir haben auch teilweise – ich weiß das aus meinem Mitgliedstaat – Institutionen, die nichts anderes machen, als zum Beispiel Gesetze en bloc zu übersetzen, wenn sie sich bewährt haben – also die Zeit etwas zu verkürzen dahin, dass die Ukraine eben auch schnell das implementiert und realisiert, was notwendig ist.

Ich glaube, da können wir noch sehr viel gezielter agieren, um da Zeit zu sparen, und wir haben auch, glaube ich, viele Verbündete in politischen Fraktionen. Ich denke an mindestens vier der Regierungskoalitionen, wo Leute direkt vom Majdan in die verschiedenen Parteien – auch ins Parlament – gewählt worden sind. Das sind auch die Antreiber für wahre Reformen gegen die alten Strukturen.

Ansonsten muss es klar dabei bleiben, dass natürlich Sanktionen nur aufgehoben werden, wenn Russland die Dinge erfüllt, die im Minsker Abkommen vorgesehen sind. Und ansonsten wundere ich mich weiterhin, dass hier offenbar von ganz links und von ganz rechts so eine Art geistiger Hitler-Stalin-Pakt im Gange ist. Das ist nämlich auch ein Skandal, den wir hier immer wieder thematisieren sollten.

**Goffredo Maria Bettini (S&D).** - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Alto rappresentante, l'attacco di ieri al bus che trasportava civili, dove 13 persone hanno perso la vita, rappresenta l'ennesima violazione del protocollo di Minsk, di cui la popolazione civile paga purtroppo il prezzo più alto. È molto drammatica la conseguente battuta d'arresto del processo di pace.

Sottolineo due punti che rappresentano questioni essenziali per la gestione imminente del conflitto: l'Unione europea deve rafforzare il suo impegno affinché gli aiuti umanitari verso l'Ucraina orientale siano effettuati nel pieno rispetto del diritto internazionale umanitario, nella neutralità e in stretto coordinamento con il governo ucraino, l'ONU e il comitato centrale della Croce Rossa; il rispetto di questi stessi principi da parte della Russia allontanerebbe i dubbi sui carichi dei convogli umanitari, come alibi per traffici illegali di attrezzature militari. Inoltre, l'Ucraina ha urgente necessità di concentrare i suoi sforzi sulle riforme politiche, economiche e sociali. Non è oggi il momento di spingere l'Ucraina verso la NATO.

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**Michaela Šojdrová (PPE).** - Vážená paní vysoká predstaviteľka, ďakujem za Vašu zprávu a také za Vašu výzvu k jednotnému postupu. K jednaní o Ukrajině se vracíme pět měsíců od přijetí asociační dohody a nezbývá nám než znovu odsoudit anexi Krymu a vojenské nepokoje, které jsou podporované Ruskou federací. Bohužel situace se příliš nezměnila.

Oceňujeme to, že na Ukrajině je po demokratických volbách nová vláda. Ta má vůli k reformám, ale má problémy, protože její země je zdevastovaná. Ukrajina potřebuje naši pomoc, nejen morální, politickou, ale zejména materiální, a proto také vítám dosavadní finanční podporu i aktuální navýšení půjčky.

Neméně důležitá je ale pro Ukrajinu podpora z hlediska odborných kapacit a expertíz v řadě oblastí, které musí projít reformou. Dovolím si být konkrétnější, protože na Ukrajině jsem byla v polovině listopadu a opakovaně jsem jednala s poslanci i zástupci škol a jsem s nimi stále v kontaktu. Víím, že právě v oblasti vzdělávání připravují zásadní reformu a očekávají naši pomoc. Tak jako kdysi postkomunistickým zemím i Ukrajině dnes může při prosazování těchto reforem velmi prospět expertíza OECD. Zde vidím také příležitost pro efektivní pomoc Evropské unie a obracím se na paní vysokou představitelku s touto výzvou k technické kapacitní pomoci, která není drahá, ale účinná. Děkuji Vám za pochopení.

**Agnieszka Kozłowska-Rajewicz (PPE).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel! Rozpoczęliśmy tę dyskusję od rozmowy na temat wyzwań, które stoją przed Ukrainą, trudnych reform, które prowadzą do rozwoju gospodarki demokratycznej, ale kontynuowanie tej rozmowy, tej debaty wymaga tego, żebyśmy odpowiednio mocno potraktowali kontekst. A kontekst jest taki, że na wschodzie Ukrainy toczy się regularna wojna, wojna z czołgami, z codziennym ostrzeliwaniem ludzi, ze śmiercią żołnierzy i cywilów. I z perspektywy Brukseli lub Strasburga wydaje się, że Donieck, Ługańsk jest gdzieś daleko, ale z perspektywy Warszawy to jest bardzo blisko i nieprzypadkowo dzisiaj polska delegacja jest bardzo zgodna i w ocenie sytuacji, i w proponowaniu rozwiązań. Nie ma żadnych wątpliwości, że rozwiązanie sprawy na Wschodzie, rozwiązanie sprawy ukraińskiej to jest kwestia bezpieczeństwa Unii Europejskiej, bezpieczeństwa nas wszystkich, jedna z najpilniejszych, najważniejszych spraw do rozwiązania.

I tutaj kluczowa jest rola Rosji, bo to rosyjskie wojska wspierają separatystów, rosyjskie media uprawiają antyeuropejską i antydemokratyczną propagandę na ogromną skalę. Unia Europejska wobec tych wydarzeń nie może być podzielona, nie może być niezdecydowana. Musimy być konsekwentni i konsekwentni w okazywaniu niezgody na naruszanie integralności granic ustalonych w ramach umów międzynarodowych. Konsekwentni w stosowaniu sankcji gospodarczych, które są skuteczne, w kontynuowaniu i rozwijaniu dialogu i współpracy z krajami Partnerstwa Wschodniego i w końcu w udzielaniu pomocy Ukrainie, która jest kluczem do stabilizacji sytuacji na Wschodzie.

**Monica Macovei (PPE).** - Doamnă Președintă, de la începutul agresiunii Federației Ruse în estul Ucrainei peste 4 000 de persoane au fost omorâte și peste 9 000 de persoane au fost rănite. Numai de la data semnării acordului de încetare a focului de la Minsk, din 2014, peste 1 000 de persoane au fost rănite. Același raport ONU menționează că 600 000 de persoane s-au mutat din Ucraina și alte 600 000 au fost forțate să părăsească țara, ca refugiați. Astăzi, în fiecare zi, peste 1 200 de persoane fug din Ucraina. Practic, cei care rămân se luptă pentru medicamente și mâncare; separatiștii au ocupat spitalele și bolnavii nu mai pot să fie îngrijiți și așa mai departe.

Cer și cerem cu toții trupelor Federației Ruse să înceteze orice agresiune, să se retragă de la granița cu Ucraina pentru a lăsa loc trupelor OSCE de-a lungul graniței. Haideți să fim uniți, fermi și puternici, să vorbim pe aceeași voce și să arătăm Federației Ruse că democrația a învins și comunismul a pierdut!

**Andrea Bocskor (PPE).** - Tisztelt Elnök Asszony, Képviselőtársak! Ukrajna az európai orientáció érdekében súlyos belpolitikai válságba, nehéz gazdasági helyzetbe, külpolitikailag pedig egy elhúzóó és több ezer emberi áldozatot követelő orosz-ukrán katonai konfliktusba került. A kelet-ukrajnai háború napi 5 millió euróba kerül az országnak, ami óriási terhet jelent az ukrán gazdaságnak, elszabadult inflációt, elszegényedést jelent a civil lakosságnak. A humanitárius katasztrófa és a létbizonytalanság azonban nem csak a Krímen és a háborús területeken érezteti hatását. A belpolitikai válságból való kilábalást az új szemléletű ukrán kormány és az Európai Unió segítsége jelenti.

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Mivel nem létezik egységes és fájdalommentes megoldás a bajokra, gyökeres változásokra van szükség: a korrupció és a kettős mérce megszüntetésére, a gazdaság tőkésítésére, decentralizációra és az emberi és állampolgári jogok teljes betartására a többség és a kisebbség számára egyaránt. Úgy gondolom, legfontosabb, hogy Ukrajnának európai demokratikus állammá kell válnia, és ehhez az EU-nak minden segítséget meg kell adni pénzügyi, szakértői és erkölcsi szempontból, de felügyelnie is kell azt... *(Az elnök megvonta a szót a képviselőtől.)*

**Deirdre Clune (PPE).** - Madam President, unfortunately, yes, we have seen repeated violations of ceasefires of late and a very unstable security situation in Ukraine. Nonetheless I note the comments you have made that, since 9 December, there has been relative peace and the situation has become more calm. However, it is fragile and uncertain.

Like my colleagues, I want to see implementation of the Minsk Agreements. We need to stress that sanctions will be upheld if Russia does not change its course of action. A commitment to ceasefire is necessary, and Russian sanctions must only be eased or lifted after real progress in implementing the Minsk ceasefire is made by the Russians.

I was very happy to see the result of the free and fair parliamentary elections, but now we must insist on swift implementation of necessary reforms in Ukraine also.

As leaders we have a duty to engage in an overall peace settlement. Ramifications for the world from anything other than a lasting peace agreement are unthinkable. A dangerous distrust has built up between Russia and the West. Nevertheless I do note your comments that we need a less reactive and more proactive approach to Russia – a more strategic discussion in EU-Russian relations, but no easing of sanctions until we see change.

**Jaromír Štětina (PPE).** - Paní předsedající, vážená paní místopředsedkyně Komise, jistě je Komisi známo, že moje země, Česká republika, nedávno zaslala kurdským bojovníkům do Iráku 250 tun kulometné munice. Přispěla tak výrazně v boji proti islamistickým teroristům.

Víme velmi dobře, vážená paní místopředsedkyně, že se v Sýrii a v Iráku bojuje o příští podobu světa a napříč těmito zeměmi probíhá fronta boje proti terorismu. Víme, že to není fronta jediná. Ta druhá probíhá napříč východní Ukrajinou. Náš Evropský parlament již několikrát nazval ruskou agresi na Ukrajině pravým jménem a podpořil použití sankcí vůči Ruské federaci. Sankce začaly fungovat, ale válku na východní Ukrajině zastavit nedokázaly. Proto je tak velmi důležité v sankcích pokračovat. A nejenom to, Ukrajina se potřebuje agresi bránit. Její vojáci nutně potřebují materiální pomoc v podobě zbraní a munice. Právě tak jako kurdští bojovníci v Iráku, Ukrajina brání Evropu.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Cristian-Silviu Buşoi (PPE).** - Madam President, given that we are happy to see that Ukraine took a very clear road to European Union values and principles and that those free and fair legislative elections validated a pro-European orientation of Ukraine, the situation is still far from being stable and predictable. There are still strong tensions in the regions controlled by the separatist forces, and the security of all Ukrainian citizens is far from being guaranteed. The European Union has to continue to support Ukrainian integrity and sovereignty.

The Commission's Ukraine Support Group should provide more substantial technical assistance and EU institutions should work harder in order to strengthen a genuine civil society, one that is independent and courageous. Energy security is a major issue. It is important that, with the assistance from European institutions, the situation has somehow been solved until spring, but we need to consolidate long-term solutions which would also be beneficial for the EU strategic objective for a secure and diversified supply.

**Doru-Claudian Frunzuliță (S&D).** - Madam President, the current situation in Ukraine is again alarming, dangerous and needs further humanitarian – and I insist, humanitarian – and diplomatic steps and stronger multilateral dialogue between the parties involved, and the EU has to play a very important role in this.

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Today it is of vital importance that the Minsk Protocol is fully implemented, including Russia as well. All threats to the lives of Ukrainian citizens are to be condemned. Obstacles to the work by the special monetary mission must be removed and Ukraine needs to carry out the political, economic and social reforms that the nation needs.

I firmly believe that Ukraine needs a strong, committed Europe at her side in order to maintain her independence and integrity of territory and to fulfil the Ukrainian people's desire to live in a democratic, civilised state that also respects the rights of the national ethnic minorities.

**Franz Obermayr (NI).** - Frau Präsidentin! Wir haben eine höchst besorgniserregende Lage in der Ukraine. Es ist zwar nett, dass die Union die Umsetzung des Friedensplans fordert. Allerdings wäre es klüger gewesen, gleich zu einem Trilog aufzurufen und die Gespräche auch mit Russland gleich zu Beginn zu führen. Zum Streiten gehören bekanntlicherweise zwei.

Russland hat natürlich viele Fehler gemacht und hat viel Schuld auf sich geladen, aber auch Europa sollte sich nicht vor den amerikanischen Karren spannen lassen und ein transatlantischer Erfüllungsgehilfe sein. Denn der Schaden bleibt letztlich in Europa: 3 000 Tote, eine Million Vertriebene, Milliarden Kosten für Europa und letztlich eine zerstrittene und immer noch korrupte Ukraine. Und Russland: wirtschaftlich und finanziell eine gefährliche, brandgefährliche Situation. Ich schlage daher vor, dass wir rasch zur Normalität zurückkommen, den Trilog aktivieren und die Sanktionen einstellen und sehr dämpfend und vernünftig mit beiden Seiten kommunizieren.

**Андрей Ковачев (PPE).** - Г-жо Председател, г-жо Могерини, Европейският съюз трябва да продължи да подкрепя сътрудничеството между демократично избраните президент, парламент и правителство на Украйна с цел смели реформи и преодоляване на настоящата тежка криза, както и гарантиране на правата на всички украински граждани, независимо от етническия им произход.

Правителството на Украйна има нужда от единна политическа воля и солидна финансова подкрепа от международната общност, за да успее програмата му. Тя е част от европейската перспектива на Украйна и единен начин за дългосрочно развитие на страната и нейните граждани. Агресивното поведение на Русия е главната причина за кризата и представлява заплаха за европейската сигурност и грубо погазване на международното право. Отпадането на санкциите зависи единствено от поведението на Кремъл.

Призовавам също така за освобождаването на отвлечената от сепаратистите украинска военслужеща Надя Савченко, която в момента се намира в Русия. Смятам, че ни е необходима донорска конференция за възстановяване на Домбас, модернизирани на стратегическата и енергийна структура на Украйна. Не може да се поставя под съмнение суверенитета и териториалната цялост на Украйна.

**Julie Ward (S&D).** - Madam President, I am very pleased to hear the High Representative's report on the high level of activity observed amongst NGOs during this difficult time.

In preparation for this debate, I have been in communication with cultural actors from Ukraine, Russia and EU Member States, who agree that more consideration must be given to the power of civil society to pursue peace-building initiatives through the arts, with the EU as a key player: able to share, support and develop best practice, particularly in respect of young people who are, after all, the future.

**József Nagy (PPE).** - Tisztelt Alelnök Asszony! Engedjék meg, hogy visszatérjek az alelnök asszony hivatalának a befolyásához. Ahogy azt a beszédek elején hallottuk, én is szeretnék csatlakozni ahhoz a véleményhez, hogy az Ön hivatala az Európai Unió legeslegfontosabb külpolitikai és biztonságpolitikai kérdésében szimbolikusan is félre van állítva. Ön nagyhatalomról, globális befolyásról beszélt az előbb, ami nagyon helyes hozzáállás. De amint eljutottunk a kulcskérdéshez, láthatjuk, hogy még csak a széket se kapja meg a tárgyalásokon az Európai Unió külügyi és biztonságpolitikai főképviselője. Úgy gondolom, hogy nemcsak az Európai Parlament, de az Európai Unió polgárai többségének is igenis érdeke, és szeretné látni az Ön hivatalának az erősebb pozícióját. Úgy gondolom, hogyha hangsúlyosabban fogunk erre a politikai elvárásra rámutatni... (Az elnök megvonta a szót a képviselőtől.)

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE).** - Pani Przewodnicząca! Niestety oczywiście jest, że wciąż łamane jest porozumienie o zawieszeniu broni. Moskwa musi bezwzględnie przestrzegać niezawisłości Ukrainy i zaprzestać działań destabilizujących sytuację we wschodnich regionach. Uważam za niezwykle ważne, aby w tej sprawie Unia Europejska mówiła jednym głosem. Potrzebujemy silnego, wspólnego frontu do rozmów z Rosją, wspierającego rząd Ukrainy. Jednocześnie również ważne jest, aby stabilizacji uległa wewnętrzna sytuacja polityczna w Kijowie. Rząd ukraiński musi odzyskać zdolność do przeprowadzenia niezbędnych reform, dlatego tak bardzo cieszy mnie, że udało się przeprowadzić wybory parlamentarne. Wybór, jakiego dokonało społeczeństwo ukraińskie, jest zdecydowanie proeuropejski. Badania wskazują, że Ukraińcy są gotowi na zmiany i nawet na krótkoterminowe wyrzeczenie, jeśli mają one przynieść długofalowe korzyści.

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Przed nowym rządem stoi wiele wyzwań. Mam nadzieję, że szybko przystąpi on do wdrażania tak potrzebnych i oczekiwanych zmian.

**László Tóké**s (PPE). - Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Negyed századdal az Orosz-Szovjet Birodalom felbomlása és Európa újraegyesülésének a kezdete után teljes szolidaritásunkról és föltétlen támogatásunkról kell biztosítanunk az Unióhoz csatlakozó Ukrajnát. Európai néppárti és magyar álláspont szerint pénzügyi, gazdasági, humanitárius téren minden segítséget meg kell adnunk „a hadüzenet nélküli hadiállapotban” lévő keleti partnerünknek, és a minszki egyezmény maradéktalan megvalósulásáig az Oroszországot sújtó szankciókat is hatályban kell tartanunk. Hosszú távon azonban a gazdasági és katonai eszközök önmagukban nem vezethetnek eredményre. Politikai megoldásra van szükség a formálódó új eurázsiai világhatalmi központ és az euro-atlanti szövetség geopolitikai erőterében az orosz-ukrán-európai konfrontációra, illetve az ukrajnai válsághelyzetre.

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

**Federica Mogherini**, *Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. - Madam President, let me reassure those who have insisted on this point of my personal full commitment to working with the European Parliament. Perhaps I can make a suggestion for organising our calendar in a wiser way, because I think it is a pity that we face such an important discussion at this late hour in the evening. We still have three debates to go, and I think it is a pity that so many Members of Parliament have left. So this is just an invitation to the Presidency to think, perhaps, of a better way of organising our work.

Let me restate what many of you said tonight: that unity is our strength. We need to keep this unity; we need to keep this strength. I know very well what my responsibility is: it is to work on the unity of the European Union, be it in the Council, be it in the Commission – and be assured that the unity of our efforts and our objectives is there, on the Commission side and on the Council side – or be it at the European Council, where we had a strategic discussion on this question in December with the Heads of State and Government, or at the level of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which will meet again on Monday for the second time in two-and-a-half months.

I have been in office now for two-and-a-half months, and the majority of my time has been dedicated to this unity on the message and on the proposals, be it on the support for Ukraine internally, or be it on the strategy that we need towards Russia. Let me quote Mr Brok and others in saying that our role, and my role, is to support any form and any format of dialogue that can make us, and can make the Ukrainians, first of all, together with the Russians, move towards positive results on our common objective, which is a resolution to the conflict based on respect for, and the restoration of, Ukrainian sovereignty and Ukrainian integrity and on respect for international principles and basic laws – which means no change of borders by force.

Maybe I did not underline that point well enough at the beginning. I took it for granted: we have been saying it for such a long time that I expected the Chamber to share this position, which is natural to me. I understand from the debate that this is not the case, and I would invite you, too, to exercise your personal, individual, political and institutional responsibility to work on signs of unity coming from this Chamber, because this is also the European Union voice. And let me say that I am quite worried by the level of the debate tonight.

Let me also say something that I did not mention before, on a question which was asked during the debate. I am going to underline it clearly: it has not only been stated by me several times but it is also in all our official positions. There is not going to be any change in our policy on the non-recognition of the annexation of Crimea. That is clear; that is to be taken for granted; that is not going to be changed. You do not change borders by force: not in this continent, not in this century, not in this millennium. You do not do it, and we will never accept anything like that. Not only will we never accept something like that, but we will always keep our non-recognition policy.



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Now, when it comes to my role, my job, you are right: I lead the European Union's foreign policy and security policy. But my role is more complicated than worrying about what and where my chair is, or perhaps what table I should be at, because my real point is to have a table that works: one that yields results. I am sorry to say that very bluntly, but my main preoccupation day and night is not where I am sitting. My main preoccupation is to create the conditions for negotiations to be successful. If we manage to move forward on resolving the conflict in the east of Ukraine that will be my result. It will not be to get a picture at a negotiation table.

Whatever I can do to facilitate that – whatever I can do with other European ministers, or the prime ministers or presidents, or the Members of the European Parliament or of other regional organisations – I will do. My objective is to contribute to resolving the crisis: playing in full the European Union role but also, if possible, being smart and intelligent in playing that role. And we have to understand what is the best that we can do, at what times and in what format. As many of you have said, we have to support, in a cooperative and intelligent way, anything that we see can work, starting with the full implementation of the Minsk Agreement.

Now, what are we united on? There were some basic elements in the debate tonight, and, while this is not my role, let me personally invite you to explore the possibilities of having a joint, united message and a joint resolution. I think we are united on the support for Ukraine at different levels. On the political level, first of all, on 15 December 2014 we had the first European Union / Ukraine Association Council meeting following the Association Agreement, and there we defined, together with the Ukrainian Government, the ways in which the Union will support the reform programme in Ukraine, including through technical assistance.

Secondly, on security – and if this went unnoticed by some of you, we will definitely need to improve our communication strategy internally – we started our EU assistance mission on reform of the civil security sector in Ukraine on 1 December 2014. This is a concrete thing that the Union is doing to support Ukraine in the security sector, and I think that you should listen to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian authorities with regard to the recognition they give to our role in that.

Thirdly, the support for Ukraine on a humanitarian level. If you put everything together – what we do on development, what we do on humanitarian assistance and what Member States do – it comes, all in all, to EUR 74 million, which makes the EU the first and most active supporter of the situation in Ukraine on a humanitarian level.

Is all of this it enough? I do not think so. Again, we will need to work – including, as one of the last speakers mentioned, with the people of Ukraine, civil society organisations, young people and those who a year ago were in the Maidan. Not all of them were in the Maidan, but many of them were. We have work to do on the role and empowerment of civil society in Ukraine. Civil society can play a major role in monitoring and supporting the reform process in the country, and this is key.

I was surprised when I was there last time, on 17 December 2014, at how high on the agenda the issue of reforms was for all the actors that I met, whether in government, other institutions, civil society or parliament. In some cases, reform was higher on the agenda than the security issue. This is a message coming from Ukraine that we must not underestimate. We need to work very hard on this issue, and to work at their side.

A second element that I think unites us, or at least the majority of us here – and it certainly unites the Council and the Commission unanimously – is the need to keep up the pressure on Russia. Again, maybe I was not clear enough in my opening remarks. I took it for granted that we start not always from zero but from where we left off last time we met, and we do not always have to repeat and reiterate our common positions. But that is clear. Sanctions on Russia are in place and, yes, they have worked economically. Have they worked politically? Maybe they are starting to. But it is clear – and again it has been expressed repeatedly, not only by me but also by President Tusk recently – that we are going to continue working on this, as we have been working in these months, hand-in-hand, because this is not only foreign policy, it is also internal policy. Any decisions on sanctions would be based on concrete developments on the ground. This is, I think, something that no one has talked about.

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The real point is the third element. Many of you have insisted on the need to have a dialogue. That is the point – probably the missing point on our side. I alluded to it when I said we have to be less reactive and more proactive, when I said we need to be more strategic and to develop a comprehensive approach – a comprehensive European Union approach – towards Russia. That is what we need to do, making it clear that the sanctions are based on the situation on the ground. Evaluation of that is going to mean taking stock of the situation on the ground and of developments, negative or positive, or the fact of no development. On the other hand, it does not mean that we do not have to talk: first of all because it is difficult to negotiate if you do not talk to the people you have to negotiate with, and secondly because the Ukrainians and the Russians are talking to each other, and we need to support that dialogue.

So, talking about opening channels of dialogue with Russia from the EU side – as the Latvian Presidency did at the very beginning, as some of the Member States are doing and as I have been doing by having a bilateral meeting with Foreign Minister Lavrov in December — I think this is my duty. It is the only way in which we can play our role. It does not mean we are being soft because, even for purposes of being hard, you need to talk.

**President.** - The debate is closed.

The vote will take place tomorrow, Thursday, 15 January 2015 at 12.00.

*Written statements (Rule 162)*

**Gerard Batten (EFDD), in writing.** – It is a big mistake for those opposed to the European Union to make common cause with President Putin just because he opposes Ukraine's ambitions for closer association with the EU. President Putin is not our friend or ally: he is the leader of a gangster state. In Russia, state-sponsored terrorism, corruption, intimidation and murder are commonplace.

The Ukrainians threw out their corrupt pro-Russian President and Government because they were under the domination of Russia. The Ukrainians are not absolved of all blame for things that have happened there in the wake of the revolution, but all revolutions bring chaos, injustice and suffering. However, the Ukrainians want to be free of Russian domination. The Ukrainians are between a rock and a hard place. They see no alternative to the Russian threat but to seek closer association with the EU. I regret that but I understand their position.

I hope that the Ukrainians eventually achieve independence and freedom without the need to submit themselves to the undemocratic EU. I wish them well in that ambition.

**Kinga Gál (PPE), írásban.** – A nemzeti kisebbségi közösségek léte olyan érték, amelyet védeni és óvni kell többek között a médián keresztül, illetve az iskolásban, közintézményekben is. Elsőrendű fontosságú, hogy Ukrajnában mindenki biztonságban érezze magát a jelen helyzetben is, még a legsérülékenyebb közösségek is, mint például a nemzeti kisebbségek. A „zéró tolerancia” elvét kell erősíteni és érvényesíteni, elítélve mindennemű diszkriminációt, különös tekintettel az emberi és kisebbségi jogok tiszteletben tartására. Hasonlóan igaz ez a megszállt, krími tatárok lakta területre, ahol különösen fontos lenne a kisebbségi jogok betartása. Mélyen elítélendő e nemzeti közösség ellen irányuló mindennemű jogsértés. Ezek kivizsgálására független vizsgálóbizottság felállítására lenne szükség, ahogy azt a krími tatárok vezetői szorgalmazták.

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**Ildikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE),** *írásban.* – Az utóbbi hónapokban az európai közvélemény fokozott figyelmet fordított Ukrajnára. Az európai orientáció érdekében Ukrajna egy súlyos belpolitikai válságba, nehéz gazdasági helyzetbe, külpolitikailag pedig egy elhúzódo és sok emberi áldozatot követelő orosz-ukrán katonai konfliktusba került. A kelet-ukrajnai területeken zajló háború napi 5 millió euróba kerül az országnak, ami óriási terhet jelent az amúgy is gyenge lábakon álló ukrán gazdaságnak, elszabadult inflációt, áremelkedést, teljesíthetetlen adóterheket és közüzemi árakat jelent a civil lakosságnak, akik megélhetési szintje az európai létminimum legalsóbb szintjét sem közelíti meg. Úgy vélem, hogy a változások eléréséhez radikális intézkedések szükségesek: a korrupció és a kettős mérce megszüntetése, a gazdaság tőkésítése, az emberi és állampolgári jogok teljes betartása a többség és kisebbség irányában egyaránt. Minden eszközzel törekedni kell arra, hogy Ukrajnából demokratikus európai jogállam váljék. Ez a civil társadalom minden polgára, így a kárpátaljai magyarság jogainak érvényesüléséhez elengedhetetlen. Az európai szintű jogbiztonság alapvető elvárás, ennek érvényesüléséhez az EU-nak határozott lépéseket kell tennie a békefolyamat érdekében és minden segítséget meg kell adnia Ukrajnának: anyagi, szakértői, erkölcsi szempontból egyaránt, de emellett felügyelnie, kontrollálnia is kell a reformfolyamatot és az elfogadott törvények végrehajtását.

**Tunne Kelam (PPE),** *in writing.* – It is encouraging to see a strong EP position in expressing solidarity with Ukraine and its people, reiterating our commitment to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and European choice of Ukraine. It is significant that EP recognises not merely 'European perspective' for Ukraine but clearly states that as a European state Ukraine may apply for EU membership. But first, EU has to provide structural, financial aid to Ukraine to best support the country's efforts in conducting reforms, eradicating corruption, and rebuilding what has been destroyed last year. Secondly, EU has to be adamant in maintaining non-recognition policy towards Crimea. Also, EU together with UN need protect Tatar minority against violent and arbitrary persecution and forced exile, basically deportation. Most importantly, EU needs to maintain and in fact, seriously consider expanding sanctions towards Russia. These sanctions have had a clear effect on Russia; it would absolutely irresponsible to start to soften them. EU can only, and only then, give in, when Russia has fully and tangibly fulfilled Minsk agreement. Ukrainian and European security cannot be diluted by short-term national economic considerations. This is a war of nerves, and EU, based on solidarity with victims and European values has all the advantages if it can demonstrate strong nerves.

**Yana Toom (ALDE),** *in writing.* – I would like to support the sincere assessment by the High Representative of the situation in Ukraine, underlining the need for internal reforms and for the urgent necessity to address the humanitarian crisis in this country, especially in its eastern part. The support that the EU may provide to Ukraine for reforms and humanitarian aid cannot be overestimated. The need for cooperation with Russia, for unfreezing EU-Russian relations is also obvious, regrettably not to all Members of this Parliament. The ongoing economic and energy crisis in Ukraine cannot be overcome without active and positive involvement of Russia. We should be realistic. Neither the EU nor other Western countries and institutions can provide all necessary funding. The losses to the Ukrainian economy are huge, due to a decline in trade with Russia, which may still be recovered. We need to break the vicious circle of sanctions that have proved to be largely ineffective and try to find better solutions, based on mutual respect of legal and legitimate interests, first of all the interests of the people of Ukraine.

## 8. Skład delegacji międzyparlamentarnych: patrz protokół

## 9. Inauguracja Europejskiego Roku na rzecz Rozwoju (debata)

**President.** - The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on the launch of the European Year for Development (2014/2508(RSP)).

**Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica,** *President-in-Office of the Council.* - Madam President, this is the first European Thematic Year to be dedicated to EU external relations, and it will give us a unique opportunity to bring EU development cooperation into the spotlight throughout the whole year. The EU has been engaged in development cooperation since 1957. It has long been the largest donor of official development assistance in the world and aspires to continue to remain the largest donor for the years to come.

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This is something we can be proud of, but it is also something which is unknown to many of our own citizens, however supportive they are of development cooperation. Hence we need to communicate more and better on what we do. The European Year for Development will highlight the results that the EU, acting together with its Member States, has achieved and will continue to strive for in the future. We will work to foster direct involvement and critical thinking on the part of EU citizens and stakeholders in development cooperation. We want to show that EU development cooperation is good not only for EU partner countries but also for EU citizens. In a changing and increasingly interdependent world in which major shifts have taken place in the global economic and political balance, we should spare no effort to stimulate a sense of shared responsibility and solidarity among citizens in Europe and in partner countries.

The 2014 Eurobarometer paints a clear picture. More than 85% of EU citizens say that the EU should continue development cooperation efforts, and 67% think that the EU should actually be giving more aid. This is despite the current economic difficulties. At the same time, EU citizens also demand that we use public funds effectively and efficiently to achieve concrete results in terms of reducing poverty and building a more stable, peaceful, prosperous and equitable world.

In 2015, the international community will have to agree on a new post-2015 development agenda. We will have the third Financing for Development Conference in July in Addis Ababa, the UN post-2015 Summit in September, and the global climate agreement at COP 21 in Paris in December.

The European Year for Development will enrich the debate on the challenges we face in shaping future EU development policies. The twelve thematic months will put a strong focus on some of the most important topics related to development: education, gender, food security, demography, immigration, human rights and governance, to name but a few. The EU institutions and Member States, but also local authorities, NGOs social partners and the private sector, will be closely involved. The European Year for Development was launched in Riga on 9 January this year with the presence of Mr Jean-Claude Juncker, Ms Federica Mogherini, the Prime Minister of Latvia, Ms Laimdota Straujuma and the Chair of the Committee on Development of the European Parliament, Ms Linda McAvan.

The Riga event focused on good governance as a key priority for the EU both at home and in the post-2015 process. Several Member States will officially launch their own programmes in the coming days: Belgium, Austria, Ireland and France are some examples. The Member States will organise a large number of events and activities at all levels throughout the year. In addition to the Riga event last week, in March the Latvian Presidency will hold a high-level conference in Riga on gender, women's economic empowerment and sustainable development in the post-2015 agenda.

Apart from high-visibility events in Latvia, we have centralised the activities to make the year as close to the citizens as possible. It will be implemented by all relevant stakeholders, NGOs, private sector representatives, academia, line ministries and local authorities. In May, Expo Milan will open its doors to thousands of visitors, involving them and inviting them to reflect on the theme of 'Feeding the planet, energy for life'. This will be another unique opportunity for the EU to showcase the achievements of its development policy.

I would like to underline how well the European Parliament, the Council, the Member States and the Commission have worked together in preparing the European Year for Development. The European Parliament played a key role, and Mr Charles Goerens has been a very dedicated and enthusiastic rapporteur. The discussions and exchanges between the European Parliament and the Council have always been constructive. The programme of activities prepared by the European Parliament will make a significant contribution to that success. I have no doubt that we will all continue to demonstrate the shared sense of commitment and implementation throughout 2015. I can assure you that the Presidency will do its utmost to ensure the success of this important endeavour.

**Federica Mogherini**, *Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. - Madam President, I would like to thank the Latvian Presidency very much for the launch of the year that they organised last Friday in Riga. I was personally very happy to be present, together with the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Commission, the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee, and Linda McAvan. It allowed us to highlight the important role of the European Parliament in the process and also that of many NGOs and young people. I think that one of the things that we will need to work on very much – and I really appreciate the Latvian Presidency's focus on that – is to make this year a European Year, a Year of the European People, and not only an institutional year. We have to use, in particular, the links through NGOs, civil society organisations, schools, universities, and young people. You have also presented a couple of exciting competitions for normal people. I think this is

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really going to be a very unique opportunity – a unique opportunity in a unique year somehow.

The year 2015 is the year in which the Millennium Development Goals come to an end. Some of them will have results, some of them will not. It is also the year in which the whole global community is going to be working on the final decisions on the post-2015 agenda. This will give us Europeans, in particular, the chance to work on our own internal responsibilities, as most likely the post-2015 agenda will also ask us to meet some goals internally – we tend to forget that we also have problems of inequality, poverty, lack of access to basic fundamental rights – and to work seriously on policy coherence internally, as I said, but also externally. I think this is going to be a great chance for us together, without partners in the rest of the world, to work on the root causes of not meeting Millennium Development Goals this year – and also on those that were met – on ways of improving results.

I would only say that tonight I also speak on behalf of my colleague, Commissioner Mimica, who unfortunately, due to the time could not be present, and on behalf of Commissioner Vella. They were both present at the launch of the year in Riga last week, and together with them we stand ready to work together with the Presidency, the Council, the European Parliament and all the stakeholders, starting from the international ones and the NGOs, to make this year a success.

**President.** - Thank you, Ms Mogherini, for what has been a long day for you here in the Chamber, but this is an important debate so we appreciate your presence.

**Davor Ivo Stier, u ime kluba PPE.** – Gospođo predsjednice, sigurnost i prosperitet Europe su više nego ikada povezani s događajima na drugim kontinentima u slabo razvijenim zemljama koje su često obuhvaćene oružanim sukobima ili epidemijama koje ne mogu same kontrolirati i koje zatim postaju globalne prijetnje.

Stoga, iz moralnih, humanističkih razloga, ali isto tako iz sigurnosno političkih razloga, Europa ima snažnu politiku razvojne suradnje, a kao što smo čuli od predsjednika Junckera na otvaranju Europske godine razvoja u Rigi, a i sada od Visoke predstavnice, Europska unija namjerava zadržati lidersku poziciju u razvojnoj suradnji, ojačati svoju globalnu ulogu, dalje biti snaga za dobro u svijetu, a također time osigurati mir, sigurnost, zdravlje i prosperitet europskim građanima.

Međutim, bitno je da ta poruka dođe do europskih građana. Da se njih više nego dosad uključi u definiranju prioriteta u razvojnoj suradnji. To bi trebala biti i glavna svrha europske godine razvoja, posebice u trenutku kada se na međunarodnoj sceni pregovara o novom razvojnom okviru koji će zamijeniti milenijске ciljeve. Mi smo u studenome donijeli rezoluciju kojom smo postavili prioritete koje Europski parlament želi naglasiti u novom, globalnom razvojnom okviru, koji mora biti transformativan i usredotočiti se ne samo na simptome, već i na uzroke siromaštva i nejednakosti u svijetu. Među tim prioritetima je promocija vladavine prava, izgradnja učinkovitih institucija, borba protiv korupcije. To nije bilo u fokusu milenijških ciljeva, ali sada mora postati dio novog razvojnog okvira, jer bez toga nećemo niti iskorijeniti siromaštvo niti smanjiti nejednakosti.

I would like to end the last seconds I have to congratulate the leadership shown by the Latvian presidency and let me also express our appreciation to the High Representative - not only for being during this very long afternoon, almost evening, here with us, but also for the leadership that she is showing in these particular developing issues. I think it is very important, we really appreciate it and we look forward to working with you in the future. Thank you.

I would like to end by congratulating the leadership shown by the Latvian Presidency. Let me also express our appreciation to the High Representative not only for being here during this very long afternoon – it is almost evening now – but also for the leadership that she is showing today in these particular development issues. I think it is very important, and we really appreciate it. We look forward to working with the High Representative in the future.

**Linda McAvan, on behalf of the S&D Group.** – Madam President, I want to echo those words of thanks to the Latvian Presidency for the excellent launch on Friday, and also to Mrs Mogherini for taking time out of her agenda and for showing leadership. I know she is coordinating across many departments now to lead on this issue in the next few months, and that is crucial for Parliament.

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We now have to build on our words tonight and the warm words in Riga to make the year a year of action. We will have the first chance in New York in September, when we will get together to replace the MDGs by the sustainable development goals (SDGs). My lesson from the last 15 years of MDGs is that development policy works. Millions of people have been lifted out of poverty, millions of people now have access to water and sanitation and millions of children are now going to school. So we need to see that same kind of commitment now to the SDGs, so that after the end of this year we have laid the foundations for a real legacy of the European Year for Development.

Linked to the debate on the SDGs is, of course, the climate change agenda, and we will have the climate talks in Paris in December. It is the poorest in the world who are already paying the price of climate change, and we have to link climate change and development, which is why it is very important that we have the kind of coordination that I know you, Mrs Mogherini, are leading in the Commission.

I hope we will also see support in 2015 from the Commission and the Council on an updated gender action plan for the European Union. In too many countries, progress and our rights as women are being undermined and women are being subjected to violent attacks in conflict situations: by Boko Haram, in the DRC and in Syria. We want action on that. Finally, we want to work with NGOs, which are vital to our work in this European Year of Development. It was great that the Latvians got behind this idea. They pushed the idea and now we have to work with them to deliver it here in Europe.

**Beatriz Becerra Basterrechea**, *en nombre del Grupo ALDE*. – Señora Presidenta. Gracias, señora Mogherini, por su presencia aquí y por sus palabras, con las que yo creo que todos coincidimos de manera sustancial.

En nombre del Grupo ALDE, quiero felicitar a la Comisión de Desarrollo del Parlamento Europeo, y especialmente a mi colega Charles Goerens, por su iniciativa de convertir 2015 en el Año Europeo del Desarrollo y dar a los ciudadanos cumplida cuenta de lo que hacemos y cómo lo hacemos.

Nuestro mundo, nuestra dignidad, nuestro futuro. Un lema inmejorable para un año que es también de balance y evaluación de los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio.

En estos quince años hemos conseguido algunos logros importantísimos sobre aquellos ocho objetivos, como reducir a la mitad la tasa de pobreza extrema, estabilizar el VIH y avanzar en la lucha contra la malaria y la tuberculosis. Pero también es el momento de asumir nuestros errores, limitaciones y fracasos.

En 2015 no vamos a lograr que todos los niños puedan acceder a la enseñanza primaria y terminarla; tampoco eliminar la desigualdad de género. No hemos mejorado lo suficiente en mortalidad infantil ni en el acceso universal a la salud reproductiva. El suministro de agua potable sigue siendo un desafío en muchas partes del mundo y la brecha digital en realidad es un abismo.

No podemos estar satisfechos. Por eso, hemos de renovar el compromiso de futuro que contrajimos en el año 2000, de un futuro que pertenece a los niños. El año 2014, 25º aniversario de la Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño, ha sido un año pavoroso para ellos.

Unicef nos recuerda que 230 millones de niños viven en zonas de conflicto. Algunas, crisis prolongadas, olvidadas o apenas noticia de un día por episodios terribles, como las brutales acciones de Boko Haram o la masacre talibán de Peshawar. Cifras aterradoras de niños desplazados, mutilados, ejecutados, secuestrados, torturados, reclutados, violados e incluso vendidos como esclavos.

No hay desarrollo sin educación. No hay educación sin libertad e igualdad. No hay libertad e igualdad sin respeto de los derechos humanos. No hay, por tanto, desarrollo sin respeto de los derechos humanos. Por tanto, ese es el marcador de nuestras acciones.

El Año Europeo del Desarrollo será el de los niños o no será. Los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio serán los niños o no serán. Libres del miedo, la violencia, el hambre y la ignorancia.

*(La Presidenta retira la palabra a la oradora.)*

**Lola Sánchez Caldentey**, *en nombre del Grupo GUE/NGL*. – Señora Presidenta, el año 2015 es clave para el futuro del desarrollo internacional. Vamos a fijar un nuevo marco normativo y también se determinará su marco financiero. En este contexto es importante que la Unión Europea haya declarado el 2015 como Año Europeo del Desarrollo. Es la oportunidad de incrementar la voluntad política de cara al desarrollo en respuesta a nuestros valores de justicia y solidaridad que tanto pregonamos.

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La gente ya respalda ampliamente la cooperación internacional, como se refleja en los eurobarómetros —el último fue publicado ayer—. Son los gobernantes los que deben aplicarse el cuento y, de una vez por todas, actuar consecuentemente con lo que predicán. Hay que dejar de ponerse medallas con la política de desarrollo cuando realmente se quiere usar para los intereses y beneficios de las corporaciones europeas.

Resulta cínico pedir más solidaridad a los ciudadanos. Ellos son los que están pagando, a través de dramáticos recortes sociales, las consecuencias de una crisis que no han provocado. La solidaridad debe exigirse a los de arriba y comienza por la instauración de una fiscalidad justa y progresiva.

**President.** - I know that one of our colleagues has asked for the floor with a blue-card question but, colleagues, because the debates have overrun quite significantly I am not going to take any blue cards, which is fair to everybody. I am apologising in advance to those who wish to ask blue-card questions.

**Ulrike Lunacek, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion.** – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Hohe Vertreterin, Frau Staatssekretärin! Wir beginnen nun das Europäische Jahr der Entwicklung.

Das ist ja eigentlich für heuer geplant, weil wir jetzt die Millenniums-Entwicklungsziele hätten erfüllen sollen. Das ist leider nicht bei allen gelungen. Aber ich hoffe, dass dieses Jahr dazu beitragen wird, dem Ziel dieses Jahres – unsere Welt, unsere Würde, unsere Zukunft – näher zu kommen. Denn es geht darum, auf diesem Planeten für alle ein menschenwürdiges Leben zu erreichen. Das ist auch die Grundlage der Definition für die Post-MDG-Agenda der Europäischen Union.

Wenn ich von menschenwürdigem Leben rede, dann geht es mir vor allem auch um Geschlechtergerechtigkeit. Es ist einfach nicht akzeptabel, dass 21 Jahre nach der Kairoer Bevölkerungskonferenz und 20 Jahre nach der Pekinger Frauenkonferenz sexuelle und reproduktive Rechte und Gesundheit für Frauen immer noch nicht allgemein anerkannt sind, dass Frauen immer noch keinen menschenwürdigen Lohn für ihre Arbeit gezahlt bekommen oder Mindestlöhne bekommen oder dass sie, wenn sie schwanger werden, keinen Job mehr bekommen oder dass sie Gewalt ausgesetzt sind. Alles das trägt dazu bei, dass Frauen immer noch diejenigen sind, die weltweit am meisten unter Armut zu leiden haben.

Wir brauchen aber auch mehr Politikkohärenz. Es geht da um Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Das ist nicht nur Helfen. Denn was nützt es, wenn wirtschaftlicher und handelspolitischer Druck erzeugt wird, dann lokale Märkte zerstört werden und wir dann kommen und helfen, wenn es brennt. So kommen wir globaler Gerechtigkeit nicht näher.

Ich möchte mit einem kurzen Slogan enden – aus Österreich etwas umgewandelt: Es darf uns nicht wurscht sein, wenn globale Solidarität ...

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

**Ignazio Corrao, a nome del gruppo EFDD.** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, 2015: lanciamo l'anno dello sviluppo ed è sicuramente un'iniziativa lodevole, è stato sicuramente un qualcosa di positivo a livello comunicativo, sicuramente sono stati raggiunti dei buoni risultati nel passato, in termini di accesso all'acqua potabile, in termini di accesso alla sanità, in termini di miglioramento allo stato di vita in alcuni dei paesi in via di sviluppo.

Il problema è: che cosa intendiamo però noi per sviluppo, colleghi? Perché l'impressione che ho io è che siamo un po' ipocriti quando affrontiamo questo tema, perché lasciamo andare le nostre multinazionali europee, ad andare a creare dei danni encomiabili in questi paesi che poi vogliamo aiutare, invece, probabilmente, nell'anno dello sviluppo – quindi nel 2015 — la comunicazione che dovremmo fare dovrebbe essere nei confronti dei nostri cittadini sulla sensibilizzazione ad una decrescita, quindi ad un consumo più ragionevole, perché utilizziamo le risorse di quei paesi che vogliamo poi aiutare.

**Hans Jansen (NI).** - Ook ik wil iedereen bedanken die zich de afgelopen tijd heeft ingespannen om het Europese Jaar van de ontwikkelingshulp tot een succes te maken. Ik mag u verzekeren dat naar aanleiding van dit Europese Jaar van de ontwikkelingshulp in de campagnebureaus van de eurokritische partijen binnen de EU de champagneflessen zijn opengevoerd. Nooit was het zo gemakkelijk onze kiezers te laten zien wat de EU is en waar de EU voor staat.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

In plaats van erbarmen te hebben met de Europese belastingbetaler gaat de EU een propagandacircus in sovjetstijl organiseren ten behoeve van vage plannen om Europees geld weg te geven in corrupte landen ver weg. Zeker in de landen die zijn getroffen door een naheffing op hun EU-bijdrage zal dit plan de kiezer verbijsteren. Ik vraag u dan ook: voer dit plan niet uit! Zie af van de viering van dit jaar.

Tot slot het volgende: academisch onderzoek naar ontwikkelingshulp bestaat nauwelijks nog. Het is immers aangetoond dat hulp niet helpt. Ontwikkeling komt uitsluitend voort uit de eigen inspanningen van een maatschappij. Hulp kan daar niets aan toevoegen of afdoen.

**Norbert Neuser (S&D).** - Frau Präsidentin! Vielen Dank an die Staatssekretärin aus Lettland! Wenn Frau Mogherini jetzt zuhören könnte, wäre das schön. Frau Mogherini, ich hätte gerne, dass Sie zuhören, weil ich Ihnen ein Kompliment machen möchte. Sie sitzen jetzt seit sechs Stunden ununterbrochen hier. Wir können in Zukunft die Debatten nicht so führen. Mein Appell geht an das Präsidium – Sie haben mittlerweile die vierte oder fünfte Vizepräsidentin verbraucht, weil die Debatte so lange geht –, dass wir in Zukunft konzentrierter arbeiten. Weniger ist mehr.

Ich will mich in meinem Beitrag nur auf einen Punkt im Europäischen Jahr der Entwicklung konzentrieren, das ist die permanente Unterfinanzierung unserer Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Ich sehe das ganz anders als der Kollege Jansen, der aus einem Mitgliedstaat kommt, der mit dazu beigetragen hat, dass wir eine gewaltige Unterfinanzierung in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit haben. Sprechen Sie mit den EU-Delegationen in den Entwicklungsländern. Im letzten Jahr mussten Entwicklungsprogramme gekürzt werden, Entwicklungsprogramme wurden ins nächste Jahr gestreckt. Wir als EU haben Nichtregierungsorganisationen, Hilfsorganisationen aufgefordert, vorzufinanzieren. So kann Entwicklungszusammenarbeit nicht sein.

Unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger wollen eine effektive Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Dazu gehört auch eine vernünftige Finanzierung. Wenn wir die europäischen Werte – wie Solidarität, wie Hilfe, wie Nächstenliebe, wie Menschenwürde – hochhalten, gehört dazu eine vernünftige Finanzierung. Deswegen mein Appell an die Mitgliedstaaten: Helfen Sie mit, dass die Unterfinanzierung der EU in der Frage nicht mehr stattfindet, und nähern Sie sich dem gemeinsamen Ziel, 0,7 % des Budgets für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auszugeben.

**President.** - I note your comments on the arrangements for the debate and indeed Ms Mogherini's comments. We shall pass those on to our colleagues.

**Λάμπρος Φουντούλης (NI).** - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το 2015, όπως ανακοίνωσε ο Πρόεδρος της Επιτροπής κύριος Juncker, θα είναι Ευρωπαϊκό Έτος Ανάπτυξης. Είναι όμως τα πράγματα τόσο ρόδινα όπως μας τα παρουσιάζει η Επιτροπή; Υπερηφανεύεστε πως η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση είναι ο μεγαλύτερος δωρητής στον κόσμο. Βέβαια, δεν σταθήκατε τόσο γενναίοι με τον ελληνικό λαό, τον οποίο έχετε εξαναγκάσει σε τρομακτικές θυσίες τα τελευταία πέντε χρόνια. Μας λέτε πως είσαστε υπερήφανοι για τα επιτεύγματα της Ευρώπης σχετικά με το βιοτικό επίπεδο τρίτων χωρών. Για τα επιτεύγματα των μνημονίων στην Ελλάδα είσαστε υπερήφανοι; Να σας θυμίσω μερικά στοιχεία: 439.000 παιδιά στην Ελλάδα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης υποσιτίζονται και ζουν κάτω από το όριο της φτώχειας, σύμφωνα με τη UNICEF· το 37% των παιδιών στην Ελλάδα ζουν σε νοικοκυριά με αδυναμία θέρμανσης· 7.500 αυτοκτονίες απελπισμένων Ελλήνων. Για αυτούς τους αριθμούς είστε υπερήφανοι; Φυσικά και επιθυμούμε η Ευρώπη να μεριμνά για την άνοδο του βιοτικού επιπέδου παγκοσμίως. Όμως αυτό σε καμία περίπτωση δεν μπορεί να γίνει εις βάρος των λαών της. Ας φροντίσουμε πρώτα για τους δικούς μας ανθρώπους και ύστερα για όλους τους υπόλοιπους. Όσο για το Έτος Ανάπτυξης, σας θυμίζω ότι η Ελλάδα βρίσκεται στον έκτο χρόνο ύφεσης.



Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. ANTONIO TAJANI***Vicepresidente*

**Arne Lietz (S&D).** - Herr Präsident! Mit der Ausrichtung auf die nachhaltigen Entwicklungsziele der Post-2015-Agenda wird die Frage nach einer kohärenten Entwicklungspolitik umso dringender.

Dies bedeutet vor allem, dass die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit enger mit weiteren politischen Themenfeldern wie Menschenrechte, Einwanderungs- und Flüchtlingspolitik, Klimawandel, Konfliktbewältigung, aber auch – und vor allem – mit der Handelspolitik verzahnt wird.

Politikkohärenz muss meiner Meinung nach zum Leitmotiv dieses Themenjahres werden. Das geht in drei Schritten: der guten Koordinierung innerhalb der Europäischen Kommission, einer verbesserten Koordinierung zwischen den Europäischen Organen und einer guten Abstimmung unter den EU-Mitgliedstaaten, die im Rat für die Umsetzung der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit verantwortlich sind.

Neben der Europäischen Union legen bereits einige Länder wie Dänemark und Finnland regelmäßig ihren nationalen Parlamenten einen Kohärenzbericht vor. Es wäre ein sehr großer Erfolg des Europäischen Jahres der Entwicklung, wenn alle europäischen Nationen dem folgen würden.

Des Weiteren sollten wir das entwicklungspolitische Themenjahr nutzen, um weitere nationale Initiativen mit der europäischen Ebene zu verbinden. In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland gibt es zum Beispiel einen Bundestagsantrag „Gute Arbeit weltweit“, in dem an die weltweite Umsetzung der IAO-Arbeitsnormen appelliert wird.

Darüber hinaus gibt es in Deutschland einen Vorstoß des Bundesentwicklungsministers zu einem Textilbündnis, was aber an seine Grenzen gestoßen ist. Die Initiative sollte durch Rückverfolgung der Handelsketten in der Textilindustrie die Arbeitsbedingungen in den Herkunftsländern verbessern. Weil fairer Handel jedoch so komplex ist, haben solche Initiativen nicht auf nationaler, sondern auf EU-Ebene Erfolg.

Ich rufe deswegen unseren Entwicklungskommissar und die Hohe Vertreterin auf, bei diesen Initiativen eine Führungsrolle seitens der EU-Kommission zu übernehmen. Es wäre zudem wünschenswert, wenn die Kommission noch weitere und jugendgerechte Informationsmaterialien zum Europäischen Jahr der Entwicklung bereitstellen könnte. So kann es noch leichter zu einem Europäischen Jahr der Bürger werden. Ich danke auch ganz herzlich für die Eröffnung in Riga, wo ich mit dabei sein konnte, und Frau Mogherini für ihre lange Anwesenheit heute hier in unserer Kammer.

**Enrique Guerrero Salom (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, señora Vicepresidenta, fue una buena decisión de este Parlamento proponer el año 2015 como Año Europeo del Desarrollo porque 2015, con sus «Doce meses, doce metas», es un año esencial, crucial, en el que tenemos dos grandes cumbres donde se juega el destino de miles de millones de personas en el mundo: la Cumbre del Cambio Climático, fenómeno que afecta especialmente a los menos favorecidos, y el relanzamiento de un nuevo período de cooperación al desarrollo post 2015.

Tenemos que mantener la ambición de la Unión Europea en la negociación en ambos campos. Y quiero, como ponente permanente de ayuda humanitaria, pedir la integración de esa perspectiva en el Año Europeo del Desarrollo. Es la primera vez que tenemos cuatro crisis del máximo nivel de exigencia humanitaria: Irak, Siria, Sudán del Sur, República Centroafricana y, actualmente, también el ébola.

**Elly Schlein (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, sarà un anno fondamentale per le politiche dello sviluppo: abbiamo appena inaugurato l'Anno europeo dello sviluppo a Riga e ci saranno molti appuntamenti importanti che avete già ricordato, quello di Parigi, quello di Adis Abeba, l'EXPO di Milano che deve essere un appuntamento europeo che deve portare ad una grande riflessione sui temi della fame nel mondo e dello spreco alimentare, ma soprattutto ci sarà la scadenza dei *Millennium Goals* e la definizione dei nuovi *Sustainable Development Goals* che saranno, come ricordava prima, finalmente universali, finalmente validi per tutti e quindi anche per noi.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

Questo Parlamento ha adottato una posizione molto ambiziosa, che rilancia gli obiettivi più innovativi come quello sulla lotta alle disuguaglianze e quello sulla parità di genere. Credo che la questione delle disuguaglianze sia la più grande questione dei nostri tempi ed è cruciale per costruire un futuro che sia veramente sostenibile per le nuove generazioni. Quindi, sfruttiamo insieme questa occasione dell'Anno europeo dello sviluppo per comunicare meglio tutto questo processo e per costruirlo insieme alla società, insieme a tutti gli *stakeholder* e per trovare quella voce sola e forte che serve all'Europa proprio per trovare quel ruolo guida che deve avere nella definizione della nuova agenda e per questo ci affidiamo soprattutto a Lei, Vicepresidente Mogherini, e anche al Commissario Mimica.

**Doru-Claudian Frunzuliță (S&D).** - Mr President, I am very pleased that 2015 has been dedicated to the issue of development, and especially about its timing. 2015 will be a year of important negotiations on how to tackle global poverty. The UN Climate Change Conference in Paris next November is one of the most important of these. This is because climate change threatens to undermine decades of development and puts future development trajectories at risk. Many of the main drivers behind poverty in developing countries are intertwined with climate change. Increased drought, for example, leads to crop failure and food insecurity, reduces opportunities and boosts inequality around the world.

When dealing with the issue of development, we should strongly promote environmental initiatives, energy efficiency, exchange of technologies and best practices, investment in public education and in disaster risk reduction and, more generally, emphasise low carbon emission development. Developing countries will bear the brunt of the effects of climate change as they strive to overcome poverty and achieve economic growth. In fact, one of the top priorities of the European Union development agenda is to achieve accomplishment of the COP 21 negotiations in Paris.

**Pedro Silva Pereira (S&D).** - Senhor Presidente, Comissária, caros Colegas, a comunidade internacional está convocada para tomar decisões importantes nas cimeiras deste ano para novos objetivos e novas metas para o período de 2015 no que diz respeito à política de desenvolvimento, e o desafio que temos é claro. A União Europeia, para estar à altura dos seus valores, deve assumir a liderança na construção da agenda da política global de desenvolvimento, mas não há liderança sem exemplo. A União Europeia não pode liderar se, a pretexto de restrições orçamentais quiser andar para trás nos seus compromissos financeiros ou furtar-se a compromissos concretos e, por isso, o que pergunto à Sr.<sup>a</sup> Comissária é se, antes ainda da Conferência de Adis Abeba, a União Europeia vai estar em condições de reafirmar o seu compromisso com 0,7% do rendimento nacional bruto à ajuda ao desenvolvimento. É isso que esperamos. Talvez não se possa pedir mais, mas não se pode aceitar menos.

**Patrizia Toia (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ringrazio anch'io Consiglio e Commissione per quest'iniziativa e ho tempo solo per due brevissime considerazioni.

La prima è questa: noi dobbiamo contestualizzare questo Anno dello sviluppo e lo dobbiamo contestualizzare purtroppo nei tragici fatti che sono accaduti in questi giorni, che hanno però svelato come uno scenario agli occhi di molti cittadini che non conoscevano la barbarie, l'arretratezza, la povertà e le diverse condizioni di vita in molte aree del mondo. Quindi, usiamo anche quest'occasione per poter spiegare cosa c'è nel mondo, come si vive, di quali esigenze oggi molta parte della popolazione mondiale è portatrice e facciamo in modo, con iniziative, convegni e azioni nelle scuole, che si faccia capire il valore della cooperazione, la sua funzione, per dire che un mondo più giusto non solo è un mondo più equo ma è anche un mondo più sicuro, è un mondo forse migliore anche nel nostro interesse, che queste non sono risorse sottratte a noi ma sono risorse per rendere la realtà mondiale più equa per tutti.

La seconda cosa, quella di EXPO, è stata detta: una sola parola, l'Unione europea è presente in EXPO, referente è la Commissione, bisogna che i temi di EXPO diventino i temi della cooperazione internazionale. Nutrire il pianeta vuol dire confrontarsi sugli obiettivi, vuol dire affrontare le disparità e molte altre cose, non è così facile e non è scontato. Chiedo che ci sia un impegno forte della Commissione perché tutta questa tematica entri prepotentemente in EXPO.

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**Seb Dance (S&D).** - Mr President, I am going to decline the invitation of our colleague from the freedom party to say I am not proud of the Year of Development, because I am incredibly proud of the Year of Development. Development works, and we now have a real opportunity to put international development right at the heart of European policymaking, and I want to pay tribute to the Latvian Presidency for doing this.

Specifically, we have an opportunity now to ensure that Member States deliver on their commitments for 0.7% of GNI spending on development. This is a fundamental aspect of human principle; saying that we have a commitment to those who live in the poorest parts of the world is a fundamental aspect of who we are and the values that we should share. Of course, having development at the heart of policymaking should remove the all-too-familiar problems we have with policy undermining development objectives: financial decisions taken at home that undermine tax receipts in developing countries and foreign policy decisions that fail to promote fundamental aspects of human dignity, such as rights for LGBTI people.

Having the Year of Development will put humanity – humans, people – at the heart of our policymaking, and I welcome the decisions made to do that this year.

*Interventi su richiesta*

**Csaba Sógor (PPE).** - A Fejlesztés Európai Éve kapcsán fontosnak tartom kiemelni, hogy az Európai Uniónak és a tagállamoknak, valamint a világ legnagyobb segélyezőjének a jelenleginél is nagyobb figyelmet kellene fordítaniuk az emberi jogok érvényesülésére. Persze a humanitárius vészhelyzetek gyors beavatkozást igényelnek, a fejlesztéspolitikában azonban érvényesíteniük kell azokat a szempontokat, amelyek az emberi jogok védelmének terjesztését hivatottak szolgálni. Meggyőződésem, hogy Európának nem csupán a hagyományos humanitárius segélyezésben kell az élen járnia, hanem a fejlődő világ gazdaságának fenntartható és komplex fejlesztésével is segítenie kell ezeket a társadalmakat. Rendkívülinek tartom, hogy az idei év során a hónapokra lebontott témák révén gyakorlatilag világunk legégetőbb problémáira hívjuk fel az európaiak figyelmét. Az oktatás, az egészségügy, a migráció vagy az élelmiszerbiztonság szavak teljesen mást jelentenek a világ kevésbé fejlett térségeiben, mint nálunk.

**Ivan Jakovčić (ALDE).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, Europa je danas predvodnica u donacijama u svjetskim razmjerima, i to treba i ostati. Dapače, više od toga, treba pozvati naše partnere-prijatelje Ameriku, Japan i druge da sudjeluju zajedno s nama u našim ciljevima, a to je kao što ste dobro rekli, prije svega, prehraniti planet.

Svaki čovjek na ovom planetu ima pravo na obrok, ima pravo na život, i mislim da upravo trebamo postaviti temelje takve solidarnosti danas u svijetu, i otvoreno govoreći, trebamo uzeti u obzir i naše interese. Mi ovdje često govorimo o problemima imigracije u Europu i svemu što ona donosi, a s druge strane imamo i mehanizme kojima možemo djelovati da bismo pomogli zemljama iz kojih dolaze nesrećeni ljudi.

Zato mislim da Europa treba ostati predvodnica i pozvati svoje partnere da sudjeluju zajedno s njom upravo u solidarnosti koja je Europu i dovela na prvo mjesto, visoko mjesto, najveće donatorice u svijetu.

**Miguel Viegas (GUE/NGL).** - O Ano Europeu do Desenvolvimento acontece num ano chave em que será necessário fazer um balanço sobre a concretização dos Objetivos do Milénio. Será também necessário fazer um balanço sobre o programa para a mudança, aprovado em 2011, e sobre os resultados concretos das reformas então anunciadas.

Ninguém nega o papel importante da União Europeia para o desenvolvimento. O que se questionam são os resultados e os métodos. De acordo com as informações disponíveis, a maioria dos objetivos do milénio ficam longe das metas traçadas, apesar de alguns progressos.

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Este ano europeu deverá servir para informar, esclarecer e mobilizar os cidadãos europeus para esta causa. Cidadãos, milhões destes cidadãos que ficaram sem emprego e viram-se remetidos para abaixo do limiar da pobreza em função das políticas de austeridade que afetam a maioria da população e concentram a riqueza e o rendimento nas mãos de uma minoria. Não podemos dar com uma mão e tirar com a outra. Não podemos ajudar o povo palestiano e o seu governo e permitir depois que as bombas de Israel destruam escolas construídas com fundos europeus. Temos também de anular a dívida ao terceiro mundo.

**Jonathan Arnott (EFDD).** - Mr President, I am a strong supporter of humanitarian aid in the case of natural disasters, and the challenge for all nations must be to deliver that quickly. I think we all agree here that the aim must be to help countries develop. Much more, in my view, could be done through trade, by breaking down tariff barriers to make it easier for developing countries. For example, a higher tariff on chocolate than cocoa hardly encourages processing to be done in the countries themselves and the development of their economies. We must also be careful that policies intended to help do not end up hurting people in those countries. I refer, for example, to fishing agreements under which EU vessels are able to exploit the natural resources of other countries, and to the Pesticides Directive, which does not help in terms of the mosquito population or, therefore, the fight against malaria. There are many issues, and I think they are wider than just development. We must not help with one hand whilst hurting with the other.

*(Fine degli interventi su richiesta)*

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** - Mr President, I would like to underline some of the elements that were raised by some of you and try to answer a couple of questions.

One is the fact that, yes, the European Union is the first donor and this is not charity. This is an investment. It is an investment on the one hand in our own stability and security – and in our prosperity as well, because those of you who may have been in this room at the beginning of the session at 3 p.m. will have heard a long debate about the fact that there are no divisions, no limits and no borders between internal and external threats, and if we do not invest in reaching the objectives we have for development – for sustainable development – and for equality in the world, the threats to our security and also the limits to our economic development will just grow and grow.

So this is an investment in our own future, not just in the future of the people in the rest of the world. And yes, it is one of the most effective tools for preventing conflicts and for foreign policy, and also for following up conflicts, not to mention what was said before regarding the effects this has on other elements of global challenges and policies, starting with migration and asylum-seeker flows.

So I see no contradiction between improving the living conditions of European Union citizens and improving the living conditions of other countries' citizens. Actually I see a certain complementarity in that. I think that making it possible to keep the European Union as the foremost donor in the world is our common challenge and job. This requires a lot of work, not only on communication but also on explaining the fact that, no, this is not charity that we give when we can afford it, but rather it is a strategic investment in our own security and prosperity.

Secondly, someone said, and I agree with this, that it is not just a matter of help, and this is indeed so. It is a matter of policy coherence, and that goes for the challenges we have in front of us this year, when we know that we will be called again to be coherent in all our choices, be this in internal policies or external policies. That means that we need to work hand in hand with many other chapters.

I would like to thank Linda McAvan for reminding us of the role I am trying to play in coordinating the different Commissioners and also the different Councils – but in particular the different Commissioners – because here we have first to make sure that what we do, for instance, on trade does not contradict what we do in development or that what we do on humanitarian issues goes hand in hand with what we do in development, and that we intervene with the right tool at the right moment and in the right place, and that what we do on certain policies does not influence in negative terms what we do with other instruments that we use.

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So the concrete effects of this coordination will probably take a little time to emerge, but I think that this is the key issue for post-2015 – the real policy coherence of our policies.

I will try to answer two issues. One is about the commitment to the 0.7%. This was precisely one of the issues we discussed in the last meeting of the Commissioners group. We will have a discussion about this, not only with the development ministers but also probably with the finance ministers and finally with the European Council. Obviously we will discuss that with the Latvian Presidency, but there is a need for Member State ownership in this because it is not only a matter of spending money, but also of setting priorities politically. Yes, we do believe that we should keep this target, but we need to develop a strategy to get there.

The second point on which we will need very close coordination, not only within the Commission but also with the Council, is in managing the mix, the balance, between financing for sustainable development and financing for the climate. This year will be crucial in this regard, and we will need to play this carefully – first of all in the Commission, but I think that we will need coordinated work on this.

Let me say a final word on Expo, because I commented when you introduced the debate that this is the first time that I am not the one talking about Expo because, when I started the Presidency as a Minister, that was one of my main issues. But some of your comments allow me to say that, yes, we will indeed be present, as the European Union, at Expo, and the reason for that is that, as was just mentioned, we need to put the content on our development policy, on feeding the planet, at the centre of the event.

So count on the European Union to be part of that effort, together with the UN Agencies based in Rome, which I know are also going to be major players in focusing on the content of the Development Year, and to make sure that Milan Expo will also be a crucial event politically for the European Year for Development.

**Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. - Mr President, this has been a really fruitful exchange of views, which I think shows once again our common strong engagement for the European Year for Development. I can assure you that the Presidency will do its utmost to ensure the success of this important endeavour. The year 2015 will be a crucial year, with the Financing for Development Conference in July in Addis Ababa and the UN post-2015 summit in September in New York. I think the common event of this year will be COP 21 in Paris in December. We have a unique opportunity to address the global challenges of poverty, education and sustainable development.

We must agree on an ambitious and transformative package in September 2015. The Latvian Presidency will work towards reaching a common European position. We anticipate complex negotiations around means of implementation on how the post-2015 framework will be implemented and by whom. We need to ensure that everybody plays a part, based on shared responsibility, mutual accountability and respective capacities.

We have to admit that awareness on, and civic participation in, development cooperation issues should be improved. The opening event of the European Year for Development in Riga last week was a step towards achieving this goal. We hope that the impact of this Latvian Presidency initiative will be felt long after the end of our Presidency. It is symbolic that at this time, a global alliance for the European Year for Development will be established that will bring together hundreds of European NGOs.

To conclude, I would like to note that successful development cooperation leaves a positive impact on the well-being of our partner countries. This in turn will unavoidably have a positive boomerang effect on the lives of Europeans, most notably in terms of welfare, security and global position. So I really hope we will have a successful and fruitful European Year for Development.

**Presidente**. - La discussione è chiusa.

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**Cătălin Sorin Ivan (S&D)**, *in writing*. – In 2015 we are launching the year of development, and major challenges lie ahead. The EU has to intervene where it is needed and where it can make a difference. EU development policy is a centrepiece of the Union's relationship with the outside world. With 50% of all global development aid, the EU is the world's leading donor. Now we need to define the post-2015 agenda.

The overarching goal is the eradication of poverty. While the proportion of people living in extreme poverty has dropped, there are many who still live below the internationally defined poverty line. The new framework should provide for improved living standards, access to primary healthcare systems, free education and improvements in agriculture and, above all, for the existence of basic fundamental rights. Working with developing nations and emerging economies should create a win-win situation.

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE)**, *na piśmie*. – Rok 2015 jest dla polityki rozwoju rokiem szczególnym. Właśnie mija uzgodniony 15 lat temu termin na osiągnięcie Milenijnych Celów Rozwoju. Stoimy też u progu kolejnej drogi, wyznaczonej przez nowe Cele Zrównoważonego Rozwoju. Uważam zatem, że wybór roku 2015 na Europejski Rok na Rzecz Rozwoju jest szczególnie trafny. Unia Europejska, będąc największym donatorem na świecie, przeznaczająca na pomoc rozwojową łącznie ponad 50 miliardów euro rocznie. Niezwykle ważne jest więc, aby nasi obywatele mieli świadomość, dlaczego taka pomoc jest potrzebna, kto z niej korzysta i na jakich zasadach jest ona udzielana. Chciałbym też, aby ten rok pozwolił się nam dogłębnie przyjrzeć skuteczności udzielanej przez Unię pomocy, pomógł w lepszym definiowaniu przeszkód w zwalczaniu ubóstwa, jak również przyczynił się do poprawienia rozpoznawania źródeł biedy. Mam nadzieję, że przez najbliższy rok udowodnimy, że dla Europy dbanie o ludzką godność, spokojną przyszłość i prawa człowieka nie ma granic.

**Victor Negrescu (S&D)**, *în scris*. – Anul european pentru dezvoltare trebuie să reprezinte un moment în care să constăntimizăm nevoia ca Uniunea Europeană să se implice în rezolvarea problemelor generate de subdezvoltare în întreaga lume. Țările membre ale UE și-au asumat obiectivele de dezvoltare ale mileniului însă, din păcate, nu și-au respectat angajamentele politice sau financiare. Suntem departe de obiectivul financiar de procentajul de 0,7% din PNB alocat cooperării pentru dezvoltare de către țările membre și încă și mai departe în atingerea criteriilor de dezvoltare de către țările sărace. UE și statele membre trebuie să profite de Anul european pentru dezvoltare pentru a readuce problema dezvoltării internaționale pe agenda publică. Vă asigur în acest sens de toată susținerea mea în calitate de euro-deputat, dar și de cadru universitar specializat în domeniu și sunt sigur că mulți europeni, mulți dintre ei tineri, sunt dornici să se implice în a susține o Europă - lider în domeniul asistenței și cooperării internaționale.

**Claudia Schmidt (PPE)**, *schriftlich*. – Die im Jahr 2000 in New York abgeschlossenen Millenniums-Entwicklungsziele kommen 2015 zu einem Ende. Viele der damals angesprochen Herausforderungen und Ziele konnten leider nicht erreicht werden. Große Meilensteine wie die Gleichberechtigung von Frauen und Männern, die Möglichkeit zu freier Bildung oder die Verringerung der Armut sind nach wie vor existent oder haben sich in manchen Teilen der Welt sogar verschärft. Natürlich waren diese Ziele in vielen Bereichen zu ambitioniert und zu hoch gesteckt. Unsere Aufgabe ist es nun, die Ergebnisse der Entwicklungsziele zu bewerten und positive Ergebnisse innerhalb von Europa weiterzuführen. Europa kann nur dann eine Vorreiterrolle in der Welt übernehmen, wenn es uns gelingt, die bei uns herrschenden Probleme in den Griff zu bekommen und Lösungen für Armut, Jugendarbeitslosigkeit oder Gleichberechtigung zu schaffen. Solange wir auf unserem Kontinent die großen Herausforderungen nicht gemeistert haben, können wir auch nicht auf anderen Kontinenten oder Ländern nach Lösungen suchen!

**Olga Sehnalová (S&D)**, *písemně*. – Vyhlášení roku 2015 Evropským rokem pro rozvoj je příležitostí důrazněji upozornovat na světové rozvojové problémy a podrobněji se věnovat možnostem jejich řešení. S koncem termínu pro naplnění Rozvojových cílů tisíciletí bude v letošním roce potřeba vytyčit si rozvojové cíle do budoucna. Mezinárodní společenství se bude muset domluvit na novém postupu, jak se pokusit vymýtit chudobu, podpořit hospodářský růst zemí postižených přírodními pohromami i konflikty a jak vyřešit otázky spojené se změnou klimatu. Přestože se již v roce 2010 podařilo dosáhnout jednoho z Rozvojových cílů tisíciletí, snížení extrémní chudoby o polovinu oproti roku 2000, tento výsledek není uspokojivý. Dosažení tohoto cíle navíc více podpořil hospodářský rozvoj Číny a Indie než práce na rozvojových projektech. Evropská unie by se tedy měla důsledněji zasazovat o opatření na zlepšování situace lidí žijících v nejhudších zemích světa. Evropská unie je největší dárcé rozvojové pomoci na světě a je tedy potřeba, aby členské státy na snižování chudoby ve světě spolupracovaly.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Richard Sulík (ECR), písomný** – V súvislosti s Európskym rokom rozvoja EÚ nezabúda pripomínať, že je „najväčším donorom oficiálnej rozvojovej asistencie na svete“ a ani to, že „každé euro minuté na rozvoj“ má pomáhať ľuďom v chudobných krajinách a aj v samotnej EÚ. Tieto vyhlásenia síce znejú pekne na papieri, no realita je zásadne odlišná. Za peniaze z rozvojovej pomoci EÚ v Bielorusku napríklad bieloruské tajné služby nakúpili techniku, ktorá slúžila na ešte väčšie utlačanie domáceho obyvateľstva. Ešte absurdnejšie skončila rozvojová pomoc v africkej Ghane. Tam Európska únia roky posielala milióny eur, pričom až neskôr zistila, že tieto peniaze mali putovať ľuďom, ktorí reálne ani neexistovali. EÚ teda vyhlasuje, že každé jedno euro rozvojovej pomoci pomáha, no reálne si nevie ustrážiť ani milióny. Rozvojová pomoc EÚ je navyše kritizovaná aj z jej vnútra – napríklad Európskym dvorom audítorov alebo aj v správe Európskeho parlamentu z roku 2012. Európsky rok rozvoja by tak mal skôr slúžiť na osvetu ohľadom toho, ako zúfalo neefektívna často rozvojová pomoc Európskej únie býva.

**Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D), schriftelijk**. – Twee kernpunten van het kader voor de periode na 2015 houden ook verband met de vreselijke aanslagen in Parijs: universaliteit en mensenrechten. Met universaliteit wordt afstand genomen van een “wij en zij”- denken, dat de wereld opdeelt in “ontwikkelde” en “onderontwikkelde” landen. De problemen waarmee traditionele ontwikkelingslanden geconfronteerd worden, zijn grensoverschrijdend en komen ook voor in de geïndustrialiseerde wereld. Echte ontwikkeling is onmogelijk zonder dat mensenrechten universeel nageleefd worden.

De omstandigheden waarin terrorisme kan groeien, zijn dezelfde die ontwikkelingssamenwerking tracht aan te pakken: gebrek aan een goed functionerende rechtsstaat, schendingen van mensenrechten, discriminatie, politieke uitsluiting, sociaal-economische marginalisering, gebrek aan behoorlijk bestuur en onderwijs. Zwak sociaal-economisch beleid leidt tot grotere ongelijkheid en draagt bij tot de omstandigheden waarin radicalisering en geweld groeien.

Dat geldt buiten maar ook binnen de grenzen van de Europese Unie. Waar overheden zich terugtrekken, vullen radicale organisaties het vacuüm en promoten ze hun mensonterende ideeën: de rechts-radicale Gouden Dageraad in Griekenland, IS in Irak en Syrië of Boko Haram in Nigeria. We moeten de daad bij het woord voegen door consequent en overal de mensenrechten te verdedigen én door omstandigheden waarin radicalisering kan groeien om te buigen via herverdeling en solidariteit met de zwaksten in elke samenleving, zowel binnen als buiten Europa.

**Bogdan Brunon Wenta (PPE), napisany**. – Unia Europejska odgrywa czołową rolę w formułowaniu i realizacji koncepcji spójności polityki na rzecz rozwoju. Ważne jest, aby polityka Unii wychodziła naprzeciw potrzebom rozwojowym krajów rozwijających się. W szybko zmieniającym się świecie niezbędne jest stałe wspieranie współpracy na rzecz rozwoju. Około 1,3 mld ludzi nadal żyje w warunkach skrajnego ubóstwa, a potrzeby w zakresie rozwoju społecznego w dalszym ciągu nie są zaspokajane. W większości obszarów świata wzrastają nierówności wewnątrz poszczególnych krajów. Środowisko naturalne jest poddawane coraz większej presji, a kraje rozwijające się szczególnie cierpią z powodu skutków zmiany klimatu. Wyzwania te są powszechne i wzajemnie powiązane, dlatego sprostanie im wymaga współdziałania wszystkich państw. Niezbędne jest informowanie, w jaki sposób Unia zwrócona na zewnątrz może przyczynić się do zapewnienia zrównoważenia w skali globalnej. Europejski Rok Rozwoju powinien, sprzyjając podnoszeniu świadomości. Zwalczanie ubóstwa na świecie pozwoli budować bardziej stabilny, pokojowo nastawiony i sprawiedliwszy świat, odzwierciedlający współzależność krajów bogatszych i biedniejszych.

**Iuliu Winkler (PPE), in writing**. – Eradicating poverty in developing countries is an important priority for the EU. Our efforts should go hand in hand with those aiming for the achievement of the sustainable development goals. I welcome the European Year for Development initiative and I am convinced that an integrated European approach together with the involvement with the various stakeholders will result in significant progress. Instability and conflict situations are unfortunately typical for the less developed areas in Africa, South America and Asia and in many cases violent conflicts and illegal activities of local militias are financed from mineral extraction and trade. Breaking the link between mineral extraction and conflict financing is a complex challenge. The European Parliament is taking the lead in the EU action to promote responsible behaviour by companies operating in such areas. An integrated approach is entailing a trade-related EU regulation but also foreign policy action and development cooperation initiatives. As the rapporteur for the regulation setting up an EU system for supply chain due diligence self-certification of importers of 3TG originating in conflict-affected and high-risk areas I am committed to contributing to the elaboration and adoption of an efficient and balanced regulation at the core of the EU integrated approach.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

*(La seduta, sospesa alle 21.30, è ripresa alle 21.50)*

## 10. Sytuacja w Egipcie (deбата)

**Presidente.** - L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione del Vicepresidente della Commissione/Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per la politica estera e di sicurezza comune sulla situazione in Egitto (2014/3017(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini**, *Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* - Mr President, on the situation in Egypt, this is a time that is quite symbolic. If we look back exactly four years ago, Egypt was on the brink of the 25 January revolution, with people taking to the streets calling for dignity, social justice and simply bread – their legitimate political and socio-economic rights. Ever since, the European Union has stood by Egypt and its people, fully supporting these democratic demands.

Today, four years later, Egypt is still in political transition. Eighteen months after the ousting of President Morsi, Egypt is still in transition pending the parliamentary elections planned to start at the end of March, which will be a crucial step in concluding the Constitutional Roadmap. Two steps have been achieved. Egypt has given itself a constitution and it has elected a new President. Both steps were monitored by the European Union with the mission for the presidential elections in May. A delegation of the European Parliament was part of it. Now we would like to see the mission recommendations taken on board, particularly in view of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Difficulties, however, remain, and I have decided not to send a fully-fledged observation mission this time but, instead, to deploy a smaller Expert Mission (EEM). The purpose of the mission is closely to assess and report on the electoral process, including on the political environment and electoral campaign.

The list of recommendations to be drawn up by this mission will facilitate constructive engagement with the authorities on much-needed reform efforts. But democracy goes beyond elections, and we all know that very well here. A parliament is key to having a legitimate legislator in place to tackle the many tasks of urgent legislative reform – including the law on NGOs and the controversial protest law – and to ensure compliance with the new constitution, which will need to be implemented.

The parliamentary elections are also an important step towards providing a broad base for political engagement that can ensure fundamental rights and freedoms, security and economic reform accepted by the whole of society. Open political engagement and discussion will reduce the risk of radicalisation.

Another challenge is clearly that of the deteriorating security situation spreading beyond the Sinai. We have always affirmed that the European Union stands by Egypt in fighting terrorism. There is no place for violence. The Special Coordinator for Counterterrorism travelled to Egypt in December 2014, and we are looking now into possibilities of holding a dialogue on counterterrorism and security. Let me add that this is not only in Egypt's interest but also in our own European Union interest.

Seeing the fragility, to say the least, of the situation in the whole region, we welcome and have welcomed Egypt's re-emergence as an important regional player. In particular, the role that the country played over the summer in reaching a ceasefire in Gaza, facilitating the Israeli-Palestinian talks, and then more recently with the conference for reconstruction in Gaza that was held in Cairo in the autumn, was very important.

Furthermore, Egypt is re-emerging as an important foreign policy player in the League of Arab States, in the African Union and in Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular over the Nile water issues with Ethiopia and in national dialogue efforts with Sudan.

While still in political transition and facing security threats, Egypt also urgently needs to tackle an economic situation that is particularly difficult. Steps taken by the new authorities go in the right direction, with subsidy cuts and large-scale infrastructure projects such as the new lane in the Suez Canal. The EU will continue to support Egypt in addressing its socio-economic reforms. We will participate in the international investment conference planned for March. We will continue to focus our support in the socio-economic field, to help improve living conditions for the most vulnerable among Egypt's population.



Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

These challenges and the ongoing political transition cannot allow any compromise on human rights. Egypt needs to address its human rights situation, including the lack of political space for dissenting opinion and shrinking space for freedoms of assembly and expression. Too many of the issues that you mentioned in your resolution on freedom of expression and assembly in Egypt last July have not yet been addressed. Only last December we saw another decision by a court to pass preliminary death sentences on 188 defendants. We keep calling on the judicial authorities to respect due process and ensure fair trial. A truly professional and independent judiciary is a key element for functioning and trusted state institutions.

Another concern – a deep concern, as we have said in statements – is the lack of accountability and the continued crackdown not only on the Muslim Brotherhood and affiliates but also on political opponents and liberal activists, illustrated by often disproportionate sentencing. There are too many civilians tried by military courts, and too often, laws such as the new draft anti-terrorism law and the existing NGO law, which does not comply with the new constitution, give too ample a degree of discretion to the executive.

We keep addressing these issues when we meet with our Egyptian counterparts. In particular, I have to thank the Special Representative for Human Rights, Stavros Lambrinidis, a former colleague of some of you, who repeatedly raised these issues with the Egyptian authorities on the occasion of both of his visits to Egypt during 2014. The question for the EU is not whether we should support Egypt – there is no other option but to stay engaged with Egypt – but how best to support its transition. Therefore Egypt, like all our southern and eastern partners, will be closely involved in the review of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

The outdated Action Plan with Egypt will need to be re-negotiated, taking into account the ENP review and to better reflect the reality on the ground. We will monitor the parliamentary elections with our experts, as I said, and we will monitor the further implementation of the constitution and, with a view to the upcoming parliamentary elections, the freedom of the press and media. But we will also help Egypt with its economic reform efforts and its fight against security threats. We will work with Egypt too in the context of our own efforts and our own fight against our own security threats.

**Cristian Dan Preda, în numele grupului PPE.** – Mulțumesc, domnule Președinte! Mulțumesc, doamnă Înalt Reprezentant, pentru intervenția dumneavoastră! Aș dori să fac, în primul rând, câteva precizări legate de poziția grupului PPE față de rezoluția comună pe care am negociat-o împreună cu celelalte grupuri politice și aș vrea să spun că avem un text foarte detaliat, foarte lung - aceasta pentru că ne-am dorit să introducem în acest text tot ce s-a întâmplat din iulie încoace, din iulie 2014, când am adoptat ultima dată o rezoluție despre Egipt. Aceasta face ca textul să fie greu de urmărit; uneori cifrele nu sunt foarte fiabile, pentru că am citat diverse surse și de aceea aș vrea să plasăm rezoluția într-un context care este descris de mai multe fapte esențiale.

Și, în primul rând, aș numi relația noastră cu această țară în lupta împotriva terorismului - Egiptul este un partener esențial și nu cred că putem neglija acest fapt, așa cum Egiptul joacă un rol geopolitic extrem de important în procesul de pace din Orientul Apropiat. A doua coordonată importantă este, evident, tranziția la democrație, pe care o dorim, pe care o susținem în Egipt, respectarea principiilor statului de drept, respectarea drepturilor omului - toate acestea trebuie să devină o realitate pentru că asta îmi doresc și cetățenii Egiptului.

În al treilea rând, cred că trebuie să avem în vedere implementarea Constituției care a fost adoptată, care a intrat în vigoare acum aproape un an. Este o Constituție mai bună decât cea dinainte, dar este esențial ca ea să devină un fapt din perspectiva drepturilor fundamentale, în primul rând, cu atât mai mult cu cât avem aceste alegeri pe care le-a pomenit și doamna Mogherini. Subscriu la ceea ce a fost spus despre nevoia implementării recomandărilor făcute de către ultima Misiune de observare, condusă de colegul nostru Mario David.

În fine, aș vrea să abordez chestiunea noilor proiecte legislative care ar putea avea un impact negativ asupra ONG-urilor, știu că este o chestiune controversată în Egipt, dar vreau să fac apel la autoritățile egiptene pentru a aborda aceste proiecte sub semnul deschiderii și nu sub semnul reprimării.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

**Victor Boștinaru**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, distinguished colleagues, this is a day to remember. The High Representative staying in this House for more than seven hours is a gesture of respect for Parliament, who welcome and respect this gesture. Now I will switch to Romanian.

Mulțumesc, domnule Președinte! Egiptul este o țară-cheie, o țară extrem de importantă pentru Uniunea Europeană - acest lucru s-a mai spus - și trebuie să subliniem contribuția sa la efortul de încetare a focului în urma conflictului din Gaza. Trebuie să subliniem contribuția Egiptului la lupta împotriva Daesh și a amenințărilor regionale și globale de această natură. Din această perspectivă, Parlamentul European este atât de interesat de evoluția procesului de modernizare și democratizare a țării prietene și de aceea trebuie să ajutăm Egiptul să progreseze. Suntem, desigur, îngrijorați de situația actuală în privința respectării drepturilor omului și a libertăților fundamentale. Înțelegem pe deplin situația complexă creată după Revoluție, ca și gravitatea amenințării teroriste cu care se confruntă Egiptul. O înțelegem acum chiar mai mult după recentele atacuri de la Paris. Salutăm apelul președintelui Sisi pentru modernizarea gândirii islamice, considerăm că aceasta este o încercare curajoasă, care trebuie sprijinită și susținută de către toți cei care vor o lume mai calmă, o lume mai puțin amenințată de terorism. Alegerile parlamentare așteptate de mult timp sunt esențiale pentru a demara procesul de democratizare. Ele trebuie să asigure accesul liber, trebuie să se desfășoare corect și trebuie să fie incluzive, iar, odată desfășurate alegerile, Parlamentul European trebuie să se angajeze într-o cooperare susținută cu Parlamentul egiptean pentru a asigura evoluțiile pe care ni le dorim cu toții.

**Charles Tannock**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, since the overthrow of President Mubarak, Egypt has undergone many changes and been gripped by much political turbulence. Following the removal of President Morsi in response to genuine public revolt against his rule and the direction in which he was taking his country, we are now beginning to see stability once again return to that great country. Since then, we have seen the adoption of a new Constitution by referendum, the election of President al-Sisi and, most recently, the announcement of parliamentary elections. These achievements are all to be welcomed.

However, this is just the start of the journey rather than the end. Many internal issues need to be addressed if Egypt is to become the pluralistic Arab democracy that its people wish for and deserve. Whilst my Group welcomes the improvements to the lives of Coptic Christians, in particular, and other minorities, it is crucial that this level of tolerance be exercised in other areas too. Freedom of speech, freedom of expression, the right to peaceful protest and the rule of law are all key tenets of democracy which should also be respected. The large number of citizens who have been charged to date, and who have been detained and sentenced in Egypt for non-violently exercising these rights is a grave cause for concern. Reports that, since July 2013, more than 40 000 people have been detained and an estimated 1 400 protestors killed are extremely worrying. I am also concerned by the crackdown on media freedom and the fact that one of my own London constituents, Sue Turton from al-Jazeera television, a journalist, has been tried in absentia and is now prevented from resuming her job anywhere in the region.

In broader terms, we must not forget Egypt's role as a leader of the Arab world, and a regional power and actor, and its ability to play a part in finding solutions to the current situation in neighbouring Libya, for example, or in the fight against Islamist terrorism in the wider Middle East and North Africa. As a friend, there is much to be gained from positive relations with this great country of Egypt, and I welcome the interest of this House in seeking to support Egypt in its transition to democracy. This is a great challenge for the country.

**Johannes Cornelis van Baalen**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Mr President, Egypt itself made commitments through its new Constitution. In this Constitution, which is better than the previous one, human rights have their place, including equality between men and women. Therefore Egypt has to live up to the commitments it has itself made. I agree with all the previous speakers that we, as the European Union, should be on the side of those people who are fighting for freedom in a democratic way and are now being tried – to our concern – on the basis of emergency laws.

Środa, 14 stycznia 2015 r.

I would recall what Charles Tannock said, that Egypt will play a vital position in the Arab world – and so it should. After the presidential elections we will see parliamentary elections and it would be of great benefit if they were free and fair because this is another milestone in the process leading to real democracy. Let us also see what, apart from being vigilant, we can do to help Egypt to respect human rights, for instance through the European Neighbourhood Programme. Maybe the High Representative can see what we can do together with Egypt to promote human rights.

**Marisa Matias**, em nome do Grupo GUE/NGL. – Senhor Vice-Presidente, de facto o diagnóstico é muito semelhante. O Egito atravessa um processo difícil e instável e, por isso, as coisas não podem ser vistas a preto e branco. Todos conseguimos identificar as ameaças que estão a ser colocadas aos direitos democráticos no Egito, nomeadamente a liberdade de expressão ou a liberdade de reunião, como a própria Sr.<sup>a</sup> Vice-Presidente referiu, mas nós temos que aprender com as lições do passado e, sobretudo, com os últimos quatro anos nesta região e eu penso que é necessário tirar lições dos acontecimentos recentes e a primeira das lições é evitar dar lições.

Temos que saber que o futuro do Egito passa, necessariamente, pelas mãos e decisões do povo egípcio. Neste processo de transição, obviamente que a União Europeia pode apoiar e deve apoiar, pode apoiar como intermediário, como intermediário se as partes assim o entenderem, um intermediário para tentar promover a instauração da paz social.

Eu entendo que a realização das eleições parlamentares é um passo positivo, mas temos que ter em conta que essa organização cabe sobretudo aos egípcios. Temos seguramente objetivos comuns e a Sra. Vice-Presidente referiu, e bem, a nossa questão é saber como apoiar melhor e não entrar num processo de ingerência. Penso que devemos salvaguardar o direito de o povo egípcio decidir o seu destino.

Mas quero também realçar, Senhora Vice-Presidente, para terminar, o seu profundo respeito por esta Casa, tantas horas aqui a debater connosco. É, de facto, uma honra poder contar com um tratamento da Comissão Europeia como aquele que nos está a conceder hoje nesta Casa.

**Judith Sargentini**, namens de Verts/ALE-Fractie. – Vier jaar geleden bevrijdden de Egyptenaren - tenminste dat poogden zij - zich van dictator Mubarak. Dat werd in dit Huis toegejuicht, zonder dat de vraag werd gesteld hoe het kwam dat Mubarak zo ontzettend lang aan de macht bleef. Toen verkozen ze Morsi. Dat waren verkiezingen die min of meer redelijk gingen, niet geweldig en ook niet naar onze zin qua uitslag. Want er is geen Europeaan die zegt: "Wat waren wij blij met president Morsi." Maar het was er wel. Toen gaf Morsi zichzelf extra rechten. Daar waren wij helemaal niet blij mee, want wij hadden afspraken met hem gemaakt over de opbouw van zijn land. Morsi gaf zichzelf extra rechten en de respons was een militaire coup. Dat wilde dit Huis eigenlijk niet zien. Sommige mensen zeiden: "Het is heel erg goed dat er een militaire coup heeft plaatsgevonden." En nu zitten wij met dat militaire regime.

Ik zeg niet dat het goed was in het verleden. Ik zeg niet dat wij terug moeten naar Mubarak, noch dat wij terug moeten naar Morsi. Maar ik hoor een veranderende toon in dit debat tussen een halfjaar geleden en nu. Nu spreken wij over Egypte als geopolitieke partner, Egypte dat zijn rol in het Middellandse Zeegebied moet spelen en Egypte dat zichzelf moet kunnen beschermen tegen terroristen, zeker in het licht van wat er nu gebeurd is in Parijs.

Die laatste vergelijking vind ik echt stuitend. Het kan niet zo zijn dat wij, omdat wij bang zijn - en wij zijn terecht bang -, zeggen: "De vrijheid van de Egyptenaar moet maar weer even wijken, want het was eigenlijk wel gemakkelijk dat mijnheer Mubarak zijn mensen een beetje rustig hield." Want Sisi is Mubarak 2.0.

En op het moment dat de Egyptische ambassade hier drie mensenrechtenactivisten in de aanbieding heeft en iedereen in dit Huis wil spreken, dan zijn wij toch wakker genoeg om te begrijpen dat mensenrechtenactivisten nooit door de ambassade worden aangenomen.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo**, a nome del gruppo EFDD. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'Egitto è oggi l'occhio di un ciclone che sta scuotendo l'intero Medio Oriente e buona parte del Nord Africa. Nel paese c'è ancora moltissimo da lavorare in tema di diritto, libertà di espressione, libertà di orientamento sessuale e diritto di assemblea, diritti civili e politici. Non dobbiamo nasconderci, tra amici sinceri il compito è proprio quello di essere uno specchio e portare all'attenzione dell'altro tutte le critiche costruttive necessarie, ma bisogna anche essere oggettivi e riconoscere il grande ruolo svolto dall'Egitto nella lotta al terrorismo, nella conclusione di una tregua tra Israele e Palestina che ha posto fine a un bagno di sangue, la situazione di grande fragilità economica e sociale che affligge il paese, alcuni segnali di distensione e attenzione verso le minoranze religiose. Di certo non basta, ma è già un progresso!

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Per questo la tempistica di questa risoluzione non dovrebbe essere letta come un pregiudizio anticipato sulle prossime elezioni, ma interpretata come uno stimolo, un invito a un sano approccio *more for more* nell'ambito del partenariato meridionale. Se nei prossimi mesi non ci saranno i passi in avanti che sono ormai ineludibili, allora, sarà il tempo di criticare e con tutta la forza necessaria. Questa sera chiediamo invece un grande e immediato sforzo, la liberazione dei giornalisti e dei blogger detenuti nel paese, per ridare la giusta eco al vento di libertà che ne ispirò la rivoluzione.

**Aymeric Chauprade (NI).** - Monsieur le Président, il y a un islam acclimaté aux nations, qui inscrit les préceptes coraniques dans les cultures nationales et qui accepte que la loi des États soit supérieure à la charia. Mais il y a aussi l'islam fondamentaliste, qui refuse l'histoire, qui ne reconnaît comme nation que l'oumma et comme constitution que le Coran. Cet islam nous fait la guerre et, dans ce grand combat qui ne fait que commencer, nous avons besoin d'alliés musulmans.

Nos gouvernements européens ont détruit les forces laïques qui tentaient d'acclimater l'islam au pouvoir des États en Iraq, en Syrie, en Libye, faisant partout le jeu des islamistes. Le résultat est catastrophique. Les régimes sur lesquels nous devons nous appuyer sont confrontés à une pression islamiste considérable. Quel serait le niveau d'état de droit de la France dans la situation égyptienne quand on voit l'état de sidération du pouvoir français provoqué par trois terroristes?

Je rappelle que l'Égypte et ses forces de sécurité en particulier ont eu plus de 500 morts dans les dix-huit derniers mois. Abdel Fattah al-Sissi a lancé un appel exceptionnel venant du plus grand pays arabe. Il a demandé que l'islam lui-même soit purgé de sa violence. Il a appelé à une révolution religieuse.

Mesdames et Messieurs, il est trop facile, dans le confort de cet hémicycle, de lancer des leçons de morale à la terre entière. Le temps est venu d'avoir des alliés et d'assumer les différences politiques qu'ils ont avec nous. Ce n'est pas une manipulation de l'émotion, ce n'est pas un slogan infantilisant que les peuples attendent de nous, ce sont des choix politiques et responsables courageux.

Nous, partis souverainistes, avons fait depuis longtemps ces choix parce que notre priorité est que nos peuples vivent en paix et gardent leur civilisation.

**Mariya Gabriel (PPE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute représentante, l'Égypte est un des pays qui peut jouer un rôle déterminant dans la stabilisation de la région méditerranéenne et sur bien d'autres questions, comme vous l'avez si bien rappelé. J'insisterai sur cinq éléments.

Tout d'abord, j'insiste sur la mise en œuvre des dispositions constitutionnelles en matière de droits fondamentaux et de libertés fondamentales. Nous savons bien que l'énumération de droits et de principes ne suffit pas. Il faut des actions concrètes, et pas seulement des promesses électorales. Mais comment faire en sorte que les autorités égyptiennes respectent réellement la constitution?

Deuxièmement, la liberté de la presse et d'expression. Ni stabilité ni sécurité ne riment avec une presse emprisonnée. Au contraire, la liberté des médias permettra l'émergence d'une société pluraliste inclusive et démocratique, car elle constitue un des instruments de dialogue au sein de la société. C'est ce dialogue qui permettra de dépasser la polarisation de la société égyptienne.

Troisièmement, il me semble que le dialogue interreligieux pourrait grandement contribuer à réduire les tensions et favoriser le pluralisme. J'encourage le gouvernement égyptien et l'Union européenne à soutenir les initiatives qui promeuvent la compréhension mutuelle et la tolérance religieuse.

Quatrièmement, le rôle des femmes. Sans la participation des femmes, la transition démocratique ne peut être que partielle. Il faut garantir leurs droits, lutter contre la violence faite aux femmes et encourager leur participation dans la prise de décisions politiques. Là encore, il nous faut des initiatives concrètes avec des résultats, avec la participation des hommes et avec la participation de l'Union.

Enfin, la lutte contre la traite des êtres humains. C'est un défi majeur auquel l'Égypte s'attaque, sur lequel nous pouvons coopérer davantage. Nous avons les instruments. Il faut maintenant les rendre opérationnels.

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Voilà, les défis sont nombreux. Notre soutien doit être à la hauteur pour enfin renforcer les institutions et la société démocratique égyptienne sans lesquelles, nous le savons, aucune stabilité durable du pays n'est possible.

**Richard Howitt (S&D).** - Mr President, I recognise that Egypt is an important partner to the European Union, but tonight we are debating a resolution that is deliberately critical of Egypt. We want our criticisms to be heard.

The mass detention campaign in that country continues to lock up tens of thousands of people. In 2014, ten thousand people were arrested on charges of rioting, sabotage and terrorism. This is not a credible approach to justice and the rule of law. Equally, the Egyptian representative told me that it is the wrong time for us to protest on the use of the death penalty. But Egyptian courts have this year meted out preliminary death sentences to over a thousand supporters of the ousted President, Mohamed Morsi. The point is not that we oppose or agree with the previous President, but that we absolutely disagree – and always will do – with death sentences. All unwarranted detentions are wrong, but Egypt should understand that the damage to its international reputation comes with the continued detention of the three al-Jazeera journalists. No one outside the country believes them to be anything other than bonafide journalists. After the highest court of law overturned their conviction on procedural grounds, they should, frankly, be released and not retried.

My Group also condemns the attack on LGBT rights, represented by the raid on the bathhouse leading to the arrest of 26 allegedly gay people. I am relieved that these charges have now been dropped, but I emphasise that sexual rights must be respected, just like any human rights.

Finally, it is proper for us to question the status and content of the NGO bill and to insist that international foundations and donors can have a proper role in facilitating the free flow of ideas without improper interference in the political choice of the Egyptian people. Partnership should mean partnership.

**Mark Demesmaeker (ECR).** - Mijnheer Howitt, u neemt mij de woorden uit de mond. Drie van mijn ex-collega's van Al-Jazeera zitten nog altijd in een cel in Egypte. Ik ben geweest journalist. Ik zal het blijven herhalen zo lang het nodig is: die mensen horen niét in een gevangenis te zitten, ze hebben gewoon hun werk gedaan en moeten naar huis kunnen gaan, zonder meer!

De controversiële wetten blijven verder afbreuk doen aan burgerlijke vrijheden. Nu is het voor ngo's verboden om fondsen uit het buitenland te ontvangen en wordt de macht van het leger fors uitgebreid. Militaire rechtbanken kunnen nu ook burgers oppakken en vervolgen op basis van de minste aanwijzingen.

Dit alles wordt gelegitimeerd in het kader van de strijd tegen het internationale terrorisme en islamisme. Dat is een strijd die belangrijk is. Maar heiligt het doel nog wel de middelen en is de remedie niet erger dan de kwaal?

Daarom, mevrouw Mogherini, ben ik blij met de nadruk die u legt op mensenrechten en zijn de parlementsverkiezingen van maart en ons toezicht daarop van cruciaal belang.

**Илхан Кючюк (ALDE).** - Г-н Председател, г-жо Върховен представител, колеги, днес обсъждаме ситуацията в Египет, точно една година след приемането на новата конституция на страната. Конституционният референдум бе важна първа стъпка към всеобхватен политически процес и Европейският съюз застана зад него.

Но за съжаление след провеждането на президентските избори през юни политическата обстановка в страната остана нестабилна, а методите на власт са твърде силови и несъразмерни по отношение на фактора, който ги е предизвикал. Изолацията на определена част от египетското общество от настоящия политически процес в страната ерозира държавността.

Издаването на смъртни присъди, нарушаването на човешките права, натискът върху гражданските организации и липсата на свобода на словото, довела до арест на студенти и журналисти, действа с дестабилизиращ ефект върху демократичния процес и социално-икономическата обстановка.

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Редом с негативните тенденции във вътрешнополитически план, трябва да отчетем активната регионална роля на Египет. Страната успя да посредничи за спиране на войната от 2014 г. между Израел и Газа, полага усилия за диалога в Либия, дава нов импулс на разговорите с Етиопия и Судан за спорния проект „Ренесанс“, а през октомври организира международна донорска конференция за възстановяването на Газа.

Ето защо трябва да осъществим диалог и активно да сътрудничим с всички представители на египетското общество.

**Patrick Le Hyaric (GUE/NGL).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute représentante, ce qui avait été baptisé «Printemps arabe», c'est-à-dire un mouvement populaire cherchant les chemins de l'émancipation et de la démocratie, a manqué d'un vrai soutien politique, social et culturel de la part de nos institutions européennes. C'est l'esprit de liberté et de souveraineté qui aurait dû être soutenu davantage.

Dans un contexte où des ingérences extérieures dans la région, comme l'intervention en Libye, ont libéré des forces de la barbarie fondamentaliste, l'Égypte a connu plusieurs soubresauts dans lesquels la liberté n'a pas gagné, bien au contraire.

Le musellement de toutes les oppositions et de la presse et les exécutions après des jugements de masse ne sont pas acceptables. Nous devons tendre davantage la main vers le peuple égyptien et prendre en compte la dimension régionale de ce grand pays qui a été longtemps l'un des phares culturels de la région de même qu'un élément facilitateur, particulièrement pour le dialogue israélo-palestinien.

Un processus plus suivi doit être engagé avec ce pays pour jeter les bases d'une politique de codéveloppement durable de chaque côté de la Méditerranée.

**Eva Joly (Verts/ALE).** - Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute représentante, chers collègues, ce n'est pas la première fois que nous discutons ici de la situation en Égypte.

Malheureusement, et alors que certains osent encore parler de transition démocratique, la situation n'a cessé de s'aggraver. L'Égypte compte aujourd'hui plus de 15 000 prisonniers politiques dont un tiers sont des militants non religieux et 147 sont nos collègues.

En tant qu'ancienne magistrate, je ne peux que dénoncer le manque d'indépendance du système judiciaire égyptien. Une soi-disant justice, qui n'est plus que l'instrument de la répression aveugle et indiscriminée de l'État. Alors que ceux qui étaient hier aux commandes d'un système sophistiqué de corruption et d'abus de biens publics sont acquittés, de jeunes militants pacifiques, dont Yara Sallam et Sanaa Seif, sont condamnés, avec vingt-trois autres personnes, à deux ans d'emprisonnement. Leur seul crime est d'avoir manifesté afin de dénoncer des lois liberticides adoptées par le régime en place.

L'Égypte doit rapidement retrouver le chemin de la transition démocratique sous peine de laisser mourir les espoirs nés de la révolution.

**Amjad Bashir (EFDD).** - Mr President, Egypt is still reeling from the effect of the Arab Spring. It relies heavily on the tourist industry, and I can testify to that having been there myself. Any perception of instability or danger drives away tourists and increases poverty and despair. Sadly that industry now lies in ruin. About a year ago the country's military dictatorship issued death sentences against 188 defendants, including journalists, political opponents and innocent protestors. The trials were deeply flawed.

Freedom House, a much respected international organisation, recently issued a very disappointing report ranking Egypt as one of the worst countries in terms of free society. It noted with concern the lack of political and civil rights, and another charitable organisation, Open Doors, has stated that Egypt lacks any religious liberty. We now learn with shock and horror that the dictator Hosni Mubarak has been cleared of all charges of conspiracy in the killings of hundreds of protestors and the embezzlement of huge sums of money desperately needed by Egypt's citizens.

Egypt's record with its neighbours and especially Ethiopia is appalling. It denies them the fundamental right of access to the waters from the Nile, although in fact 85% of the water has Ethiopia as its source.

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**Franz Obermayr (NI).** - Herr Präsident! Vorab ein herzliches Dankeschön der Frau Mogherini und ein Kompliment für ihre Ausdauer, dass sie sich die Zeit genommen hat.

Das Verfassungsreferendum von 2014 in Ägypten hat eine Verbesserung der rechtlichen Situation der Minderheiten, insbesondere auch der Christen, gebracht – aber leider nur dem Papier. Das Leben der Kopten ist nach wie vor ein sehr schwieriges. Der rechtliche und der gelebte Schutz klaffen deutlich auseinander, und weiterhin stehen Übergriffe auf koptische Kirchen und ihre Mitglieder auf der Tagesordnung.

Besonders dramatisch ist die Situation in der Region Assiut, wo Kopten laufend entführt werden, ohne Bezahlung eines Lösegeldes leider auch ermordet werden. Noch in anderen Bereichen werden die Kopten massiv benachteiligt. Nach jüngsten Studien werden Christen in vielen Bereichen wie Rechtsprechung, Ausbildung, soziale Dienstleistung und Versorgung kontinuierlich diskriminiert. Deshalb verwundert es auch nicht, dass Ägypten auch im Jahr 2014 im Weltverfolgungsindex traurigerweise noch unter den 25 Topnationen liegt.

Es ist daher die Pflicht der Europäischen Union, sich der Minderheiten, insbesondere der christlichen Minderheiten, im Nahen Osten ernsthaft anzunehmen und von Ägypten den tatsächlichen und nicht nur den rechtlichen Schutz der Christen einzufordern und für eine weitere Zusammenarbeit dies auch zur Bedingung zu machen. Denn wer sonst in Europa sollte sich um diese Minderheiten kümmern? Ich glaube, das ist unsere Aufgabe hier: Schutzfunktion zu übernehmen.

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, señora Mogherini, Egipto es para la Unión Europea un socio muy importante de la vecindad mediterránea, como ya se ha dicho. Ocupa tradicionalmente un lugar de liderazgo en todo el mundo árabe, que habitualmente ha tenido en Egipto un auténtico país de referencia. La orilla sur del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo atraviesan hoy una situación muy difícil. Son numerosos los enfrentamientos y los conflictos que proliferan en todo este amplio espacio: pensemos en Libia, en el todavía abierto conflicto árabe-israelí, la cuestión de Gaza, la situación en Siria e Irak o el nuevo desafío que supone el EIII.

Necesitamos, por consiguiente, un importante actor internacional y regional como Egipto que colabore con nosotros en la búsqueda de soluciones en todos estos desafíos, incluido el que supone el terrorismo yihadista, desgraciadamente tan de actualidad estos días.

Necesitamos a Egipto para el restablecimiento de la paz y la estabilidad que pide toda esa región. Señorías, creo que Egipto sabe perfectamente que entre las señas de identidad irrenunciables de la Unión Europea se encuentran lo que llamamos el Estado de Derecho, la democracia pluralista, la división de poderes y el respeto de los derechos humanos y libertades individuales, incluidas la igualdad y la no discriminación. Para nosotros, son valores que consideramos universales y nos gustaría que sean compartidos y disfrutados también por todos los egipcios.

La nueva Constitución egipcia recoge estos derechos pero, desgraciadamente, como ya se ha dicho, no ha habido el desarrollo legislativo necesario para su implementación, mientras que se mantienen además leyes que no están el línea con ese texto constitucional.

Por consiguiente, el Parlamento que nacerá de las elecciones del próximo mes de marzo tendrá una importantísima tarea legislativa que desarrollar. Espero que esas elecciones discurran en un clima de diálogo y apertura, y sean lo más inclusivas posible.

Egipto es un socio relevante de la Unión. Debemos ayudarle en su proceso de transición hacia la democracia y también ayudar a los numerosos ciudadanos egipcios que todavía tienen ante sí muy numerosos problemas.

**Josef Weidenholzer (S&D).** - Herr Präsident! Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass die Entwicklungen in Ägypten für Europa von elementarer Bedeutung sind, und es ist nicht gleichgültig, was in diesem bevölkerungsreichen und wirtschaftlich potenten Mittelmeeranrainerstaat vor sich geht.

Natürlich ist Stabilität und Berechenbarkeit im Interesse aller Seiten und es ist auch wertzuschätzen, dass sich Ägypten darum bemüht. Stabilität muss aber auf Nachhaltigkeit ausgerichtet sein. Die Politik der gegenwärtigen Regierung As-Sisi, die durch eine Militärcoup an die Macht gelangt ist, ist leider vorrangig an kurzfristigen Resultaten orientiert. Sie bedeutet eine mehr oder minder unverblümete Fortsetzung der bis zum Arabischen Frühling bestehenden Repressionsspolitik.

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Zivilgesellschaftliche Aktivitäten, egal ob sie aus dem säkularen Sektor oder den Kreisen der Muslimbruderschaft kommen, werden mit autoritären Mitteln unterdrückt. Die rechtliche Grundlage stellt ein Gesetz vom Dezember 2013 dar, das sich euphemistisch das Recht auf öffentliche Versammlungen, Umzüge und friedliche Demonstrationen nennt. Dazu kommt die Praxis, Zivilisten immer häufiger vor Militärgerichte zu stellen.

Alle Maßnahmen, die auf dieser Basis gesetzt werden, tragen dazu bei, dass Unzufriedenheit um sich greift und damit genau das Gegenteil dessen bewirkt wird, was man eigentlich erreichen will: Stabilität gerät dabei immer mehr ins Wanken. Zudem sollte Ägypten daran erinnert werden, dass es sich in seiner per Referendum beschlossenen Verfassung ausdrücklich dazu verpflichtet hat, alle internationalen Menschenrechtsübereinkommen einzuhalten.

**Dawid Bohdan Jackiewicz (ECR).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Chciałbym zwrócić Państwa uwagę na szczególną sprawę, na sytuację Koptów, egipskich chrześcijan, którzy stanowią 10% populacji Egiptu i są najliczniejszą chrześcijańską mniejszością na Bliskim Wschodzie. W ostatnich tylko kilkunastu miesiącach w Kairze zaatakowanych zostało wiele kościołów, szkół i domów koptyjskich. Przejawem dyskryminacji na tle religijnym w dalszym ciągu jest m.in. brak dostępu do wysokich stanowisk w administracji, wojsku, blokowanie budowy kościołów, ale także oznaczanie sklepów koptyjskich czarnym znakiem „x”, aby odróżnić je od sklepów muzułmańskich. Członkowie duchowieństwa, jak też działacze koptyjscy bezskutecznie zwracali się do władz Egiptu z prośbą o zapewnienie im ochrony.

Co więcej we wrześniu 2013 r. to właśnie służby bezpieczeństwa zaatakowały wioskę Jabal Al-Deir, spłądowały ją, a mieszkańców pobito. Zaznaczam na tym przykładzie, że to nie Bractwo Muzułmańskie było odpowiedzialne za ten atak, ale właśnie funkcjonariusze państwowi. Jest to bez wątpienia efekt islamizacji kraju za rządów Mursiego, która doprowadziła wręcz do zmiany konstytucji i do ustanowienia Egiptu państwem islamu. Dziś funkcjonariusze państwowi, których obowiązkiem jest ochrona wszystkich obywateli, prześladują ich za wyznania religijne inne niż islam. Nadszedł czas, aby społeczność międzynarodowa przestała przyzywać czy na prześladowania chrześcijan w Europie i głośno, zdecydowanie opowiedziała się za ich prawami. O to właśnie apeluję do pani komisarz Mogherini.

**Ivo Vajgl (ALDE).** - Našli ste prave besede v uvodu, pravo ravnotežje med pomembnostjo države Egipt, tudi za nas, tudi za regionalni mir, za stabilnost, in seveda med našimi pričakovanji od takšne države. Mi se ne moremo odreči najvišjih pričakovanj, ko gre za uresničevanje pravne države, človekovih pravic – individualnih in kolektivnih.

Vendar pa, ko pišemo resolucije – in rekel bi, da je ta naš dokument nekoliko ostrejši, kot si ga mogoče Egipt zasluži v tem trenutku in kot si ga mi želimo –, ko pišemo takšne resolucije, moramo vedeti, da takšno državo, kot je Egipt, na Bližnjem vzhodu potrebujemo. Na turbulentnem Bližnjem vzhodu.

In moramo znati ceniti potencial, ki ga takšna država lahko pomeni pri reševanju stabilnosti, boju proti terorizmu in celi vrsti drugih strateških interesov naše celine in sveta. Zato mislim, da je prav, da pričakujemo, tudi v Egiptu, da se bo razvijal v demokratično smer, da bo uresničeval svojo ustavo in da bo imel demokratične volitve z izvoljenim parlamentom.

**Lynn Boylan (GUE/NGL).** - Mr President, as we heard yesterday, the Egyptian Foreign Minister has said there is a possibility that the three al-Jazeera journalists could be pardoned. I would ask you to spare a thought for their cellmate, Irish teenager Ibrahim Halawa, who has been imprisoned without trial since August 2013.

Ibrahim, at 17, was a child when first arrested following the protests in Cairo and has since been deemed a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International and Reprieve. Denied urgent medical attention for a gunshot wound to his hand following the protest, he is now permanently disfigured. He has been badly beaten and subjected to solitary confinement in prison. His trial has been postponed three times and today he still faces a mass trial, along with 493 other prisoners with whom he has been jointly charged, despite a complete lack of evidence. I would like to take this opportunity to remind the High Representative of my requests to meet to discuss Ibrahim's case and the urgent need for his immediate and unconditional release.

**Alyn Smith (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, I think we are all agreed that Egypt is a vital strategic partner within the region. I think we are also agreed, as we say in this resolution, that Egypt has a considerable way to go in meeting our norms, and we have a duty to the Egyptian people to be frank about the shortcomings in their governance. We have a duty to the Egyptian people, who took such enthusiastic part in the Arab Spring and the revolution, not to dash their hopes and let them down. Ms Mogherini, I am very impressed by your comments, as ever, this evening. You have a common agenda with us and I hope that we are in a position to strengthen you in your dealings with the Egyptian authorities.



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I would echo the previous comments made about political prisoners, journalists, LGBT people, and particularly the NGO rule as NGOs in Egypt are now in a very dangerous position. I would also specifically raise with you paragraph 17, in which we call on Egypt to cooperate with all UN human rights external organisations and mechanisms, and paragraph 6, where we go one better and call on Egypt to ratify the Rome Statute and start the process towards accession to the International Criminal Court. Have you raised that point with them? What would be your attitude towards it? It strikes me as a worthwhile effort to encourage them in that direction.

**Γεώργιος Επιτήδειος (NI).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η απειλή η οποία προέρχεται από την τρομοκρατική δραστηριότητα των τζιχαντιστών είναι πολύπλοκη και πολυδιάστατη. Οι ομάδες που πραγματοποιούν τις τρομοκρατικές επιθέσεις στις μεγάλες ευρωπαϊκές πόλεις δεν αποτελούνται μόνον από κατοίκους των πόλεων αυτών. Έχουν συνεργάτες και ομοϊδεάτες σε μουσουλμανικές χώρες της νότιας κυρίως γειτονίας της Ευρώπης.

Εάν επιθυμούμε να περιορίσουμε ή να εξαλείψουμε το φαινόμενο αυτό, θα πρέπει να βοηθήσουμε τις κυβερνήσεις των χωρών αυτών να απαλλαγούν από τους τζιχαντιστές στην χώρα τους, ούτως ώστε να μη μπορούν αυτοί να έρχονται στην Ευρώπη. Για να το επιτύχουμε αυτό θα πρέπει να τους βοηθήσουμε να βρουν την χρυσή τομή ανάμεσα στην ασφάλεια και στην προστασία των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων.

Μία από αυτές τις χώρες για τις οποίες η τζιχαντική τρομοκρατία αποτελεί απειλή είναι η Αίγυπτος. Εκεί, οι τζιχαντιστές δολοφονούν, πραγματοποιούν απαγωγές και στοχοποιούν χριστιανούς ιερωμένους, κυρίως τους ελληνορθόδοξους μοναχούς των Μονών του Όρους Σινά. Για αυτό και το κράτος αντιμετωπίζει τον κίνδυνο αυτόν τόσο με νομοθετικά μέσα όσο και με στρατιωτικά μέσα. Στο σύνταγμα της χώρας χαρακτηρίζονται ως εγκλήματα η τρομοκρατία και η διακίνηση ατόμων. Συνεπώς, η συνεργασία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης με την Αίγυπτο θα συμβάλει στο να αντιμετωπισθεί η τρομοκρατία εκεί και να αισθανόμαστε περισσότερο ασφαλείς εμείς στην Ευρώπη.

**Davor Ivo Stier (PPE).** - Gospodine predsjedniče, jasno je da Europska unija mora podržati stabilnost Egipta, a isto tako, podržati i potaknuti daljnji razvoj procesa demokratizacije zemlje. Ta dva spektra nisu kontradiktorna, nego komplementarna. Izgradnja učinkovitih, inkluzivnih institucija, promocija dobre vladavine, poštivanje ljudskih prava, borba protiv korupcije moraju biti prioritet u suradnji s Egiptom, pogotovo ako to gledamo i sa spektra europske politike razvojne suradnje. Bez napretka u izgradnji vladavine prava je nemoguća učinkovita borba u protiv terorizma i radikalizma koji su u ovom trenutku doista glavna prijetnja za stabilnost i razvoj Egipta.

Kratkoročno, prioritet mora biti osigurati stabilnost zemlje, jer je to za Europsku uniju od strateške važnosti, ako želimo spriječiti stvaranje pojasa kaosa na južnom Mediteranu, od Sirije do Libije koji bi najizravnije ugrožavao sigurnost našeg kontinenta. Ali isto tako smatram da je dobro, da je potrebno upozoriti na demokratske deficite, na nedostatke u Egiptu i to ćemo, između ostalog, učiniti izglasavanjem ove rezolucije.

**Jeppe Kofod (S&D).** - Hr. formand! Mange tak til Federica Mogherini for klart at tale om de helt grundlæggende og store udfordringer, vi står over for, hvad angår menneskerettigheder og demokrati i Egypten. Jeg er selv lige vendt hjem fra Egypten efter at have talt med politiske partier, med pressen, med ngo'er, med medier og med tænketanke, og beskeden fra Kairo er helt klar: Nu må EU vise, at vi tager menneskerettigheder, demokratikamp, ytringsfrihed og mediefrihed alvorligt. Det, vi ser i øjeblikket, er, at præsident al-Sisis greb om civilsamfundet, om demokratiet, om menneskerettighederne er så hårdt, at mennesker ikke kan få lov til at ytre sig, at folk bliver kastet i fængsel, og man ser sig om mod resten af verden for at se, om vi kan hjælpe.

Vi vil ikke have en situation i Egypten, hvor det, der var det arabiske forår mod demokrati, menneskerettigheder og større åbenhed, i realiteten blot bliver et generationsskifte i militærstyret. Det er der mange, der frygter i øjeblikket. Mange siger, at situationen er værre end under Mubarak. Derfor opfordrer jeg til, at man klart fra EU's side kræver en ændring af straffelovens artikel 78, således at menneskerettighedsaktivister og politiske modstandere ikke f.eks. risikerer livsvarig fængsel for at modtage udenlandsk støtte. Dette burde ikke kunne lade sig gøre. Vi skal gøre op med den situation, der er i Egypten.

**Jan Zahradil (ECR).** - Pane předsedající, paní Mogheriniová, vláda prezidenta as-Sísího je určitě daleko od toho, aby mohla být považována za ideální. Na druhou stranu je to vláda, která zabránila chaosu, která zabránila ekonomickému rozvratu, která zabránila kolapsu státu. A ukazuje se, že v zemích arabského jara, v zemích Maghrebu a Mašreku, vlastně máme dvě možnosti. Jedna možnost je vláda pevné ruky tak, jak to předvádí prezident as-Sísí, druhá možnost je spojení parlamentní demokracie s převládajícím ideologickým a náboženským směrem v zemi, tedy s islámem tak, jak to předvádí třeba Tunisko nebo Maroko, vlastně nejlepší příklad toho je samo Turecko.

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Samozřejmě, že ta druhá cesta je lepší než ta první, ale měli bychom si jako Evropané zvyknout, že ani jedna z těchto cest nevede a nepovede k tomu západnímu modelu demokracie, na který jsme zvyklí, včetně dodržování všech lidských a občanských práv. V každém případě ale obě tyto cesty jsou pořád lepší, a to řádově lepší, než to, co vidíme v Iráku, Libyi nebo Sýrii. A s tím bychom měli počítat, měli bychom s tím pragmaticky pracovat a já věřím, že paní Mogheriniová, protože se tímto tématem zabývala, to zvládne.

**Paloma López Bermejo (GUE/NGL).** - Señor Presidente, en 2010 millones de egipcios y egipcias ocuparon la plaza Tahrir y las calles de todo Egipto reclamando derechos sociales y libertades.

Cuatro años después asistimos a una oleada de represión en el país, con más de ochocientos muertos en la masacre de la plaza Raba y detenciones de miles de personas, condenas a muerte en macrojuicios masivos, encarcelamiento y represión de opositores, sindicalistas, periodistas, estudiantes y activistas, detenciones y opresión por razón de género u orientación sexual.

Valoramos los llamamientos del Presidente Al Sisi a la moderación de los imanes en su discurso y también el positivo intento de parar la masacre israelí contra la población palestina. Instamos a Egipto a que abra el paso de Rafah para poder aliviar el sufrimiento de los palestinos encarcelados a cielo abierto en la franja de Gaza. Pero no se pueden cerrar los ojos ante la situación de los derechos humanos en el país priorizando las razones de carácter estratégico.

El ejército egipcio vuelve a recibir financiación de los Estados Unidos. El FMI reanuda sus contactos y la Unión Europea parece más preocupada por profundizar en el libre comercio con el país. Esto ya sucedió en el pasado. No debemos repetir la historia. El futuro de Egipto debe estar en manos del pueblo egipcio, sin injerencias. Estas injerencias tampoco pueden ser de la Unión Europea.

**Klaus Buchner (Verts/ALE).** - Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Hohe Vertreterin! In Ägypten werden zurzeit die Menschenrechte in dramatischer Weise mit Füßen getreten. Deshalb beschließen wir ja morgen auch die Entschließung. Aber das allein genügt nicht. Die Situation ist so, dass die Muslimbrüder mit aller Macht versuchen, wieder an die Regierung zu kommen. Sie machen bewaffnete Demonstrationen, morden und entführen.

Wichtiger ist auch, dass ein großer Teil der ägyptischen Bevölkerung hungert. Und das ist die Chance für die Muslimbrüder, die eine minimale Hilfe leisten und deshalb großen Zuspruch bekommen.

Deshalb meine dringende Bitte: Es darf nicht bei dieser Entschließung bleiben, sonst wird sie nichts bewirken. Wir müssen die Gründe für die Schwierigkeiten annehmen und müssen die Hilfen für die Regierung aufstocken, sodass die Wirtschaft wieder in Schwung kommen kann. Deshalb meine dringende Bitte an Sie, Hohe Vertreterin: Schauen Sie, dass die Mittel aufgestockt werden, damit die Wirtschaft wieder in Schwung kommen kann.

**Bogdan Brunon Wenta (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel! Fala arbitralnych aresztowań, przerażające przypadki tortur wobec zwolenników byłego prezydenta Mursiego i innych dysydentów są dowodem na pogarszającą się sytuację praw człowieka w Egipcie. Powszechnie są również doniesienia o znikaniu ludzi zatrzymanych przez policję i wojsko. Egipski wymiar sprawiedliwości doznał poważnych porażek w ciągu ostatniego roku, kiedy ogłoszono kilka politycznie umotywowanych wyroków. Seria masowych wyroków śmierci po rażąco niesprawiedliwych procesach wobec zatrzymanych oskarżonych o przemoc ujawnia wady wymiaru sprawiedliwości. W wielu przypadkach oskarżeni nie byli obecni na rozprawach, a prawnikom wielokrotnie uniemożliwiano zaprezentowanie linii obrony i przesłuchanie świadków.

Egipski wymiar sprawiedliwości pokazał ze strasznymi konsekwencjami, że nie jest w stanie wymierzać sprawiedliwości. Pomimo powtarzanych obietnic obecnego i poprzedniego prezydenta o respektowaniu rządów prawa, w ciągu ostatniego roku przerażające naruszenia praw człowieka były kontynuowane na niewyobrażalną skalę. Równocześnie służby bezpieczeństwa otrzymały przyzwolenie, aby bezkarnie te prawa łamać.

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Na wszystkich poziomach Egipt pokazuje, że zawodzi pod względem praw człowieka. Dlatego Unia Europejska nie może godzić się na ich łamanie. Kluczowe w tej kwestii jest zdecydowane działanie i odwrócenie tej sytuacji poprzez rozpoczęcie niezależnego bezstronnego śledztwa w sprawie wszystkich doniesień o naruszeniach praw człowieka i wysłanie silnego przekazu, że łamanie tych praw nie będzie tolerowane.

**Afzal Khan (S&D).** - Mr President, after the military takeover, violations of human rights have reached alarming proportions in Egypt. The current Government led by President Sisi has undermined the democratic journey of Egyptians and is making the issue of radicalism worse by the day. More oppressive Sisi-led government policies will result in more support for ISIS. A quarter of the Middle East lives in Egypt, so what happens there will affect the rest of the region.

Unlawful killing, imprisonment, torture – targeting journalism in particular, as witness the case of the treatment of Al Jazeera’s three reporters, who need to be released immediately – and the stifling of civil society are now regular in Egypt. Those responsible for human rights abuses must be held accountable for their actions. The EU cannot turn a blind eye to what is happening. It must use all its available tools to stop this. We must stand in solidarity with the detainees and harassed civil society in Egypt. Only by building a truly pluralistic society that is respectful of the diversity of views can we ensure long-term stability and security in Egypt.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** - Г-н Председател, колеги, г-жо Комисар, ситуацията в Египет продължава да бъде особено обезпокоителна. В резултат от вълната от метежи, известни като Арабска пролет, правителството в Кайро беше свалено след вълна от насилие и кръвопролития. Арабската пролет се превърна в дълга ислямистка зима и заплахата една от най-големите арабски държави да бъде превзета и овладяна от ислямисти все още е актуална. Мюсюлмански братя е ислямистка организация, една от първите такива в новото време.

Те са в тесни връзки с останалите ислямистки бойни групи и са основна заплаха за мира и сигурността в региона. По време на ислямистките метежи в Египет бяха избити и изгонени стотици хиляди християни, копти и православни и бяха разрушени техни градове, имуществата и домове. Все още са под заплаха и християнски светини.

Ако овладеят властта в Египет, Мюсюлмански братя ще представляват сериозна военна заплаха за Европа и държавата Израел и ще се превърнат в поредното звено от ислямистката атака срещу Европа и нашата цивилизация, редом с Хамас, Ислямска държава, Боко Харам, Аш Шабаб ал муджахедин, Съвета на ислямските съдилища, Ал Кайда и други.

Не случайно е сътрудничеството между Мюсюлмански братя и неосоманисткия и проислямистки режим на президента Ердоган в Турция.

Уважаема г-жо Комисар, моят въпрос към Вас е: Какво прави комисията, за да подкрепи днешното правителство в Египет и да се противопостави на ислямистката заплаха на Мюсюлмански братя?

**Miguel Viegas (GUE/NGL).** - Passados quatro anos de ilusões, com inúmeras atrocidades cometidas contra a população, temos novamente à frente da mais populosa nação árabe aqueles que, na prática, nunca deixaram de mandar no Egito. As forças armadas egípcias são, de facto, a instituição mais poderosa do país e o Ocidente sabe disto. Não é por acaso que o regime egípcio foi largamente suportado pelos Estados Unidos com um subsídio médio anual de 1,8 mil milhões de dólares que dura há décadas. Apenas Israel e a Colômbia recebem mais. Ao mesmo tempo que o governo vai às compras para abastecer o seu exército, o povo tem fome de pão e sede de democracia e de direitos sociais. O nosso apelo é para que deixem aquele povo decidir o seu futuro e cessem de apoiar as oligarquias locais em função dos interesses geoestratégicos do Ocidente.

**Francesc Gambús (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, señora Vicepresidenta, en enero de 2012 una revolución popular derrocó a Mubarak. Egipto se sumaba a la primavera árabe, una primavera a la que no ha seguido el verano. Y es que las realidades complejas siguen empecinándose en resistirse a las soluciones simples.

La sociedad egipcia era compleja en tiempos de Mubarak, era compleja en tiempos de Morsi y es compleja en tiempos a Al-Sisi. Y en su complejidad, Egipto era y es un pueblo amigo de la Unión Europea, porque siempre ha sido un elemento de moderación y equilibrio que ha sintonizado y sintoniza con los objetivos y las ambiciones de la Unión en Oriente Próximo.

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Eso no significa que, ante determinadas medidas tomadas que socavan los derechos humanos y las libertades, no debamos alzar la voz para hacer saber a Egipto que debe rectificar y volver a la senda del afianzamiento democrático y el Estado de Derecho. Al contrario, hay que poder decirselo con la franqueza de los amigos, pero también con la comprensión y la calidez de quien quiere que el amigo siga siendo amigo —mejor amigo, si cabe—. Y ahí tenemos un programa de vecindad al que hay que dar todo el sentido.

Entiendo y comparto la preocupación del Parlamento sobre el devenir de los acontecimientos en Egipto, igual que aprecio síntomas de mejoría —y ahí tenemos las elecciones de marzo como una oportunidad—. Por ello, les confieso que tengo mis dudas sobre la necesidad de una tercera resolución del Parlamento Europeo en menos de un año sobre la situación en Egipto, especialmente en estos momentos.

¿Hay que ser enérgicos con Egipto? ¿Hay que hacer lo necesario para que Egipto sea una democracia con todos sus estándares? Sí, claro, como en todos los lugares del mundo. Pero es fundamental poder hacerlo sin estropear ese gran motor de moderación y equilibrio que ha sido y debe seguir siendo Egipto en la región.

**Pier Antonio Panzeri (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, sappiamo tutti che l'Egitto è un paese chiave nella regione, un paese che ha giocato e può giocare un ruolo importante. La vicinanza al focolaio dello Stato islamico rende maggiormente delicata la posizione di questo paese e credo che dobbiamo esserne consapevoli e usare il giusto equilibrio nel posizionamento politico.

Per questo, non ho dubbi nell'affermare che è decisivo che si concluda positivamente in Egitto il processo di transizione democratica, perché è la migliore risposta che può essere fornita alle sfide di oggi, in particolare quelle poste dal terrorismo, e non quella invece di limitare la libertà e i diritti, ma al contrario di consolidare democrazia e diritti. In definitiva, proprio perché riteniamo l'Egitto importante nel quadro regionale, abbiamo bisogno di un Egitto che assuma i principi democratici come elemento costitutivo della sua azione futura.

**Fernando Ruas (PPE).** - Pela importância que o Egito representa é natural que acompanhemos a sua situação com preocupação. Nesta secular nação prevalecem ainda alguns dos problemas que levaram à revolução primaveril de janeiro de 2011.

De facto, o elevado desemprego jovem, o desemprego das mulheres, a pobreza crescente, a elevada iliteracia, as tensões religiosas e as dúvidas e sérias preocupações que são expressas pela comunidade internacional sobre o estado geral da democracia e do Estado de direito fazem ainda parte da realidade do mais populoso país árabe.

Contudo, e apesar deste cenário, olhamos com esperança para o futuro do Egito e dos egípcios. Desde logo porque brevemente teremos eleições legislativas, o que implica sempre a abertura de novas janelas de oportunidade, num cenário de maior estabilidade política. Depois porque se evidencia uma recuperação económica que poderá levar o PIB a crescer 3,5% em 2015.

Espera-se, agora, das autoridades egípcias o escrupuloso respeito pelos princípios universais a que se obrigaram e naturalmente que esperamos da União Europeia, através da Sr.<sup>a</sup> Alta Representante, um olhar atento sobre o processo eleitoral e uma atenção redobrada no âmbito da aplicação da política europeia de vizinhança.

**Ana Gomes (S&D).** - A liderança egípcia tem uma escolha a fazer: quer integrar a comunidade internacional como Estado de Direito e ser um ator responsável na região do Médio Oriente e Norte de África ou quer manter um Estado opressor do seu povo, pondo na prisão jornalistas, incluindo os da Al Jazeera, ativistas políticos e de direitos humanos, homossexuais, enquanto liberta o corrupto ditador Mubarak. O Egito pode ter hoje uma Constituição que fala em direitos humanos, direitos das minorias, direitos das mulheres, mas essa Constituição não está a ser aplicada. Esses direitos elementares estão a ser grosseira e massivamente violados. A justiça não funciona independentemente.

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No Mediterrâneo, e além dele, bem precisaríamos de um Egito forte, influente, credível. Mas isso não se consegue estrangulando a democracia. Pelo contrário, cada Mubarak fabrica o seu Morsi e eles reaparecerão mais tarde ou mais cedo. A escolha europeia é mais por mais. Tem um reverso: é menos por menos. Perderemos todos no Mediterrâneo e além dele se da grandeza dos faraós, do iluminismo islâmico da Al-Azhar, da esperança renascida na Praça Tahrir pouco restar no Egito hoje amordaçado pelo General Al-Sisi.

**Ελένη Θεοχάρους (PPE).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, φυσικά υπάρχει τεράστιο δημοκρατικό έλλειμμα στην Αίγυπτο, μια χώρα που διαδραματίζει πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο στη Μεσόγειο και στον αραβικό κόσμο και συνιστά εταίρο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Σήμερα η Αίγυπτος δίνει τη μάχη μαζί με τη Δύση ενάντια στην τρομοκρατία και μπορεί να αποτελέσει σταθεροποιητικό παράγοντα της περιοχής μαζί με την Κύπρο, το Ισραήλ και την Ελλάδα. Αποτελεί σημαντικό εταίρο σε ζητήματα ασφάλειας και ανάπτυξης. Ειδικά σε μία περίοδο όπου οι πολιτικές επενδύσεις της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης στην δικτατορική Τουρκία του Ερντογάν καταρρέουν.

Από κοινού οι χώρες της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου μπορούν να αποτελέσουν πηγή ενέργειας για την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Συνεπώς, η στενή συνεργασία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης με την Αίγυπτο χαλά τους σχεδιασμούς των φανατικών ισλαμιστών, ειδικά μέσα από την ενίσχυση των δημοκρατικών θεσμών και των θρησκευτικών ελευθεριών, όπως και η έκθεσή μας εισηγείται. Να μη ξεχνάμε ότι κανείς δεν είναι τέλειος και ακόμη και μέσα στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχουμε δημοκρατικά ελλείμματα. Αλλά η Αίγυπτος χρειάζεται τη στήριξη και την ενίσχυση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για να αναπτύξει τη δημοκρατία της και να την κάνει καλύτερη. Η σταθερότητα στη χώρα θα συμβάλει στη βελτίωση της δημοκρατίας, στην ενίσχυση των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων, στην καταπολέμηση της τρομοκρατίας, στη σταθερότητα της περιοχής.

**Neena Gill (S&D).** - Mr President, as we have already heard this evening, Egypt's High Court yesterday overturned the only remaining conviction against the former President Mubarak. Given that earlier charges for killing protestors have been scrapped as well, four years of hard sacrifices made by the Egyptian people seem to have been in vain, all the more so given that, under President Sisi, hundreds are sentenced to death in mass trials, activists are punished for peaceful protests and NGOs are facing stiff repression.

In August 2013, around 1000 peaceful protestors were killed in events that were on a par with what happened in Tiananmen, but unlike Tiananmen the world does not know the names of those squares. This crackdown is only pushing greater numbers into the arms of the terrorist organisation so, if we fail to act, this will ultimately hurt Egyptians as well as EU citizens. I would like to ask the High Representative what her strategy is on this. Given also that western technology and equipment are enabling the authorities to repress citizens, a useful first step would be to consider whether there ought to be a ban on exports of such items to Egypt and similar countries.

**Monica Macovei (PPE).** - Domnule Președinte, în ultimul an, în Egipt, peste 16 000 de oameni au fost arestați, inclusiv cei care au ieșit în stradă să protesteze. Mulți au fost condamnați la moarte. Asistăm la condamnați în masă tot mai frecvente, jurnaliștii sunt arestați, după cum știm cu toții, și mare parte a populației trăiește în foamete și nu are niciun fel de tratament medical în caz de nevoie. Este inacceptabil și trebuie să fim fermi față de Egipt! Ajutăm autoritățile din Egipt numai dacă respectă drepturile omului, dacă opresc execuțiile și condamnările la moarte, dacă eliberează prizonierii politici. Dacă Egiptul este un partener important pentru Uniunea Europeană, cum s-a tot spus astăzi în plen, atunci da, Egiptul înseamnă în primul rând oamenii, oamenii care suferă și care astăzi așteaptă ajutorul nostru.

**Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.** - Mr President, I thank everybody very much for the debate and also for your signs of appreciation of my being here in this plenary. I have to say at the ninth hour that I really think you need to review the working procedures of this plenary – not for me but for you.

For me it is not just a duty; I do not know what you are used to but for me it is normal to be in the room when there is a debate concerning my issues. It is also often very interesting and a pleasure to listen to the debate because I think this feeds into my work most usefully. Let me also say that I will be here tomorrow morning too so we will meet each other again, those of you who are here, and that means that when I said during my hearing that I will work with Parliament, I meant it, and I find it also normal.

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So no need to compliment me on that. That is just my duty and that is just normal. But, I really encourage the Presidency to work on a more rational way of holding parliamentary work, for the sake of the parliamentary work itself.

Having said that, I believe that the discussion on Egypt tonight – obviously this is the only one I have attended out of the three you have had over the last year – has been a good sign of the balance between two different things. On the one hand, there is the regional role that Egypt can play – and has played – when you talk about the Middle East crisis, and can play even more on many different issues that are also core issues for our regional and foreign policy. On the other hand, there is Egypt's internal transition, which is something that we need to support and encourage – and encourage to move in a certain direction, the direction that you mentioned of full respect for their own commitment and their own Constitution. And it is a transition.

I would not agree with those of you who said that the Arab Spring has turned into an Islamic winter. First of all, the Islamic winter would not exactly be the case in Egypt. We might discuss whether that were an Islamic autumn or a non-Islamic winter but when we apply these categories to Arab countries we are being a little bit ungenerous.

It took many decades, if not centuries, for Europeans to go through transitions, and our transitions were also painful, non-linear, contradictory, sometimes difficult, and history is like that. So it is difficult to imagine now what the outcome will be but I would not declare closed after just a few years a season that was encouraging and full of hope in the Arab world.

And among the Arab Spring experiences we have certainly some – and I would say many – success stories, whether the institutional transitions that were positive ones, as in the case of Tunisia and others, or the rising up of civil society movements that are really of value for the countries and societies concerned. So I think we need to develop a more complex reading of the situation there.

I shall not respond to all the questions that you have raised – partly because that would probably take another nine hours and that would definitely be too much – but I want to mention two things. The first concerns a specific case raised by a Member who has now left the room, but I still want to mention it because I discussed this case just the day before yesterday in Dublin with the Irish Foreign Minister, and that is the case of Ibrahim Halawa, an Irish citizen who is in detention in Egypt. We are following the case and I wanted to inform you that I am following it closely, not only with the services and the delegation there, but also with the Irish authorities, and we discussed it just the day before yesterday.

Secondly, to those of you who asked me if I have raised one or another issue with the Egyptian authorities, I want to inform you that I still have not had an official meeting with the Egyptian authorities in my first two months in post. I have had the opportunity to meet with the Egyptian President and the Foreign Minister in a different capacity on several occasions, but not yet in my current position.

Obviously there are a number of things that we are passing as messages, through our services, but I also want to give you the news that, yes, I will be planning and looking for an early date for official meetings with the Egyptian authorities because, following the suggestions made by a large majority of you, we need to find this balance of encouragement and engagement with Egypt at a direct level and I will be more than ready to do so in the near future.

**Presidente.** - La discussione è chiusa.

Vi comunico che le proposte di risoluzione presentate conformemente all'articolo 123, paragrafo 2, del regolamento saranno notificate successivamente.

La votazione si svolgerà domani, giovedì 15 gennaio, alle 12.30.

Before the next and last debate, I want to thank you for your work today, Vice-President Mogherini. This link with the Commission and the Council is crucial for the European Parliament. Thank you very much for your engagement.

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Credo che la dimostrazione che ha dato oggi faccia onore a Lei e all'istituzione che rappresenta. Avendo lavorato parecchi anni, anche su quei banchi, conosco quanto sia difficile, ma anche importante per il Parlamento, avere interlocutori attenti e responsabili.

*Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 162)*

**Jonathan Arnott (EFDD)**, *in writing*. – Egypt is a country rightly proud of its historical and cultural traditions. It is dependent upon tourism for the growth of its economy. But recent events, and the erosion of civil liberties and human rights, have led to a decline in the tourist industry. Who is harmed by this? It is not the government, or those in power in Egypt, but the people of that country who lose much of their source of income. Death sentences issued to 188 defendants appear to have been handed down in many cases for non-lethal offences and without what we might consider a fair trial. I hope that Egyptian authorities will reconsider the direction in which their administration is travelling.

**Edouard Ferrand (NI)**, *par écrit*. – Le 6 janvier dernier, le président égyptien Al Sissi a assisté à la messe Noël à la cathédrale Saint-Marc du Caire en présence du patriarche copte Tawadros II. Mers chers collègues, quel geste fort et inédit! Que de chemin parcouru! Car faut-il rappeler qu'en 2011, la nuit du Nouvel An avait été ensanglantée par un attentat contre une église d'Alexandrie qui avait fait des dizaines morts parmi les fidèles. S'en suivit une violente persécution des Coptes organisée, entre autres, par les Frères musulmans portés par un «Printemps arabe» qui avait toutes les faveurs du Parlement européen. Je concluais par ces mots du Président Al Sissi: «Il est important que le monde nous voie comme “des Égyptiens”; et vous noterez que je ne dis que “des Égyptiens”. Il n'est pas acceptable que quelqu'un demande: tu es un Égyptien de quelle religion?» Voilà un message de paix, de tolérance qui mérite notre soutien sans faille, à plus forte raison depuis les attentats islamistes terroristes qui ont frappé mon pays.

## 11. Sprawa dwóch włoskich żołnierzy piechoty morskiej (debata)

**Presidente**. - L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione del Vicepresidente della Commissione/Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per la politica estera e di sicurezza comune sul caso dei due marò italiani (2014/2512(RSP)).

**Federica Mogherini, VPC/HR**. - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, vorrei innanzitutto ringraziare i parlamentari per questa discussione, non solo opportuna, ma necessaria, e per i loro contributi al dibattito. L'Unione europea ha seguito il caso dei due fucilieri di marina italiani, Massimiliano Latorre e Salvatore Girone in costante contatto con il governo italiano e le autorità indiane fin dall'inizio della loro detenzione in India, nel febbraio 2012.

Prendiamo atto con soddisfazione oggi della decisione assunta dalla Corte suprema indiana di prorogare il permesso di malattia per Massimiliano Latorre, che tiene giustamente conto delle ragioni umanitarie e del grave stato di salute del militare che ha imposto serie e urgenti cure mediche in Italia. Contiamo sul fatto che questa decisione possa segnare l'inizio di un percorso per trovare finalmente una soluzione rapida, definitiva, equa e condivisa al caso di entrambi i militari italiani, di Massimiliano, ma anche di Salvatore.

Allo stesso tempo dobbiamo sottolineare purtroppo come finora, nonostante i numerosi tentativi, non vi è stato alcun tipo di progresso. Dunque, comprendiamo e condividiamo le preoccupazioni espresse da numerosi parlamentari europei per un contenzioso che riguarda due cittadini europei. Questo caso si trascina ormai da tre anni, un lasso di tempo inaccettabile nel corso del quale i due militari italiani sono stati e sono tutt'oggi ingiustamente sottoposti a misure restrittive della libertà personale, in assenza della formulazione di un capo d'accusa. Tale situazione di illegittima detenzione viola i diritti umani fondamentali riconosciuti e tutelati da numerose convenzioni internazionali.

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È utile ricordare come i due marò italiani si trovassero a bordo della petroliera *Enrica Lexie* che incrociava in acque internazionali per partecipare a una missione ufficiale in base alla legislazione internazionale in materia di lotta alla pirateria e protezione del naviglio nazionale. Per il loro impegno nella missione Latorre e Girone godevano dell'immunità funzionale propria di un organo di uno Stato nell'esercizio delle sue funzioni. Tale circostanza comporta, in base ai principi di diritto internazionale generale, che i militari impegnati in missione ufficiale siano funzionalmente immuni dall'esercizio della giurisdizione penale e internazionale di Stati esteri.

Non a caso, l'Unione europea ha sistematicamente invitato l'India a dare una rapida e positiva soluzione alla vertenza, in piena conformità al diritto internazionale e alla Convenzione delle Nazioni Unite sul diritto del mare, l'UNCLOS, secondo la giurisdizione su incidenti che avvengono in acque internazionali spetta alle autorità dello Stato di bandiera del naviglio, in questo caso quindi italiana. I Presidenti Van Rompuy, Barroso e Schultz come pure l'Alto rappresentante Vicepresidente Ashton hanno sollevato in passato a più riprese la questione con i loro interlocutori indiani, sottolineando le preoccupazioni dell'Unione europea. Personalmente seguo costantemente – come immaginerete – in questa mia nuova funzione e con particolare attenzione questo caso e intendo utilizzare ogni opportunità per continuare a sollevarlo finché trovi finalmente una soluzione accettabile e definitiva per tutte le parti.

È importante richiamare l'attenzione di tutti sul fatto che casi come questo rischiano di avere importanti ripercussioni sulla lotta globale contro la pirateria in cui l'Unione europea è da tempo seriamente impegnata ed è bene che continui ad esserlo. La marineria indiana è stata spesso obiettivo di azioni criminali al largo delle coste della Somalia e grazie all'operazione Atalanta sono stati liberati molti ostaggi. La cooperazione internazionale è risultata essenziale per limitare la minaccia della pirateria e reagire agli attacchi. Unione europea e India condividono dunque un comune interesse a proteggere la libertà della navigazione, ma è necessario che siano rispettati i principi di collaborazione e di fiducia reciproca.

Più in generale, con l'India condividiamo valori e interessi strategici e desideriamo collaborare sulla scena mondiale, ma è bene che tutti abbiano piena consapevolezza di quanto e come la vertenza irrisolta su due ufficiali di marina italiani possa avere un impatto sulle relazioni tra Unione europea e India, che mette a dura prova. L'Unione europea intende onorare il suo impegno per una tutela piena e concreta dei diritti fondamentali dei propri cittadini, di ciascun cittadino europeo in stato di detenzione in ogni parte del mondo, promuovendo la risoluzione pacifica delle controversie internazionali e il rispetto dei diritti umani e del diritto internazionale.

Da ultimo, lasciatemi sottolineare come in questa vicenda però non vi siano solo considerazioni di natura giuridica o politica; questa è anche – per alcuni è innanzitutto – una vicenda umanamente molto dolorosa, per le famiglie dei due pescatori indiani morti, cui siamo vicini, per i due marò e le loro famiglie che vivono da tre lunghi anni nella più completa incertezza. Una situazione sempre più insostenibile da ogni punto di vista ma soprattutto devo dire per le famiglie dei due marò alle quali va un mio pensiero affettuoso umanamente avendo avuto l'occasione di essere al loro fianco per molti mesi, non soltanto da un punto di vista istituzionale ma anche dal punto di vista umano. Dunque, come Unione europea continueremo non solo a seguire il caso da vicino, ma anche e soprattutto a premere in ogni sede, in stretto contatto con il governo italiano, per una soluzione rapida, positiva, condivisa e definitiva del caso.

**Lara Comi**, a nome del gruppo PPE. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Vicepresidente, sono passati ormai tre anni e il destino dei nostri marò è ancora incerto, come Lei ha ricordato. Oggi apprendiamo che Latorre, che si trova in Italia per cure, ha ricevuto un prolungamento di tre mesi di permesso – è un passo avanti – mentre Girone – ahimè – rimane ancora in India. Vede cara Vicepresidente, io ritengo che abbiamo questi tre mesi di tempo per riportare a casa i nostri marò definitivamente, prima che Latorre sia costretto a ritornare in India. Non deve tornare in India e Girone deve tornare in Italia.

L'Italia non è stata in grado in questi tre anni di riportare a casa i due marò, non ha mai chiesto ufficialmente aiuto all'Europa, sono intervenuti Barroso, la Ashton, Schultz, come Lei ha ricordato, ma non c'è mai stata una richiesta. Lo stesso premier Renzi, ha dichiarato ieri che l'Italia non viene in Europa per chiedere aiuto e invece, Vicepresidente, io chiedo, insieme ai miei colleghi, l'aiuto dell'Europa perché i nostri marò sono tanto italiani quanto europei.



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Prima viene la difesa dei diritti dell'uomo e poi gli affari e gli interessi economici in India. Facciamoli tornare a casa al più presto e ci sia un giusto e rapido processo che abbia luogo in Italia o con un arbitrato internazionale. Per questo, domani votiamo per la prima volta una risoluzione che consentirà a Lei di agevolare la soluzione di questa vicenda con l'avvallo, per la prima volta, del Parlamento europeo. Caro Latorre, caro Girone, non siete soli, l'Europa è con voi e lo dimostriamo a parole e anche con i fatti!

**Pier Antonio Panzeri**, *a nome del gruppo S&D*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io la ringrazio, signora Mogherini, per le cose che Lei ha detto, per lo stile e per il ruolo che Lei svolge. Penso sia utile sottolineare il senso di questa risoluzione che affronta il caso dei marò coinvolti in questo triste incidente che ha causato purtroppo due vittime.

Lo voglio dire, non è e non vuole essere una risoluzione ostile verso l'India e il popolo indiano verso il quale va il nostro sentimento di amicizia. È invece una risoluzione che chiede di trovare una soluzione equilibrata a questa vicenda, che si trascina da troppo tempo. Intanto saluto anch'io positivamente la decisione della Corte indiana che ha garantito al sergente Latorre una proroga del suo soggiorno in Italia per ragioni mediche.

Noi vogliamo lavorare dunque – questo è il nostro obiettivo – per risolvere il problema seguendo alcune linee guida che riteniamo ragionevoli per superare i ritardi accumulati e le modalità di gestione del caso fin qui seguite. C'è bisogno, nel rispetto dello Stato di diritto, di lavorare per aprire una procedura arbitrale internazionale che serva a decidere sul conflitto di giurisdizione e su quale autorità è legittimata a giudicare il caso, favorendo in attesa il rientro in Italia dei due marò; chiediamo nel quadro dei rapporti con l'India che il suo ufficio possa individuare le azioni necessarie per raggiungere questi obiettivi. Noi siamo convinti e ci auguriamo che la decisione del Parlamento europeo domani potrà essere utile a questo fine.

**Geoffrey Van Orden**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, the trouble is that the resolution that is on the table is neither going to help the marines nor improve our relations with India. I respect the Indian legal system and have the deepest sympathy for the families of the fishermen that were killed, but as a former military officer I have sympathy for the plight of the marines. Military personnel often have to make life-or-death judgments in very difficult circumstances and sometimes they get it wrong. These marines were part of an on-board armed protection team to counter piracy. It is such teams that have been the decisive factor in the major reduction in piracy in the high-risk areas of the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

Of course I cannot make any judgments about the circumstances and legalities of this particular tragic incidence; nor can anyone else in this Chamber. This is not a court of law and we do not know the answers to a whole range of legal questions and technicalities. It is certainly most distressing that this case has lingered on for three years now. This is unacceptable and every diplomatic effort should be made to bring the case to a rapid and fair conclusion. I urge the High Representative particularly to use her good offices with the Italian Government, and also with the Indian Government, to help bring this about, and I would request our Indian friends that we settle this matter quickly now with the best possible outcome for all concerned.

**Ivan Jakovčić**, *u ime kluba ALDE*. – Gospodine predsjedniče, 15. veljače 2012. bio je zaista nesretan dan. Nesretan dan za obitelji stradalih indijskih ribara, ali i nesretan dan za osumnjičene talijanske marinece.

Vežano za događaje koji su se zbili na otvorenom moru, danas je svima sasvim jasno da niti su jadni indijski ribari bili pirati niti su osumnjičeni mislili da se na tom malom brodu nalaze ribari. Talijanski marinci borili su se za interese Italije, za interese talijanskog gospodarstva, za Europu, i bili su uvjereni da čine nešto za zaštitu i sigurnost plovila, odnosno broda na kojem su bili, i imovine koju su prevozili. Proces koji traje toliko dugo, bolje rečeno proces kojeg nema, nešto je zbog čega mi zaista danas moramo reći da je nehaj koji se dogodio činjenica nepostojanja procesa i protokola.

Mi trebamo definitivno zatražiti povrat marinaca u Italiju, mogućnost da se sud u Italiji ili međunarodni sud pozabave tim slučajem. Snažno vjerujem da je to dobar put, a i ono što je učinila do sada talijanska vlada i ono što čini naša rezolucija u odnosu na Indiju i indijske građane, pristup je kojim pokazujemo našu veliku solidarnost s tom velikom državom.

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Na kraju, żelim vas upozoriti u ime kluba ALDE da imamo još slučaj četрнаest estonskih državljana i osam britanskih državljana koji se također pod čudnim okolnostima nalaze u Indiji. Molim da se i s njima pozabavite.

**Karima Delli**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, cela fait trois ans que deux marins italiens sont en attente d'une procédure judiciaire après qu'ils ont tué deux pêcheurs indiens. Trois ans! Trois ans sans la moindre annonce d'un procès. C'est contraire à la conception européenne des droits de l'homme.

Il est légitime que l'Union européenne défende le cas de ces deux citoyens européens. Sa mission est claire et notre résolution l'affirme clairement. Nos deux concitoyens italiens doivent être rapatriés sur le sol européen et être jugés en Italie par leurs juridictions nationales. Mais tout cela montre autre chose.

L'Union européenne, si elle veut être crédible, doit agir de manière cohérente avec tous ses partenaires. Oui, l'Inde est un acteur majeur et un partenaire commercial essentiel mais c'est justement là que l'Union européenne peut peser. Les accords de libre-échange conclus par l'Union sont subordonnés au respect de certaines de nos valeurs par nos partenaires commerciaux.

Je vous invite donc, Madame la Haute représentante, à le rappeler lors de vos prochains échanges avec le gouvernement indien. La vie de ces marins italiens ne doit pas être sacrifiée sur l'autel du libre-échange.

Enfin, Madame Mogherini, notre Assemblée vous demande d'intervenir sans attendre la consultation par le Conseil, comme c'est le cas habituellement. Et c'est cela la nouveauté de ce Parlement européen. C'est tout nouveau et nous, écologistes, saurons nous en souvenir et nous espérons que vous ne l'oublierez pas lorsque nous vous demanderons d'intervenir sur d'autres sujets internationaux.

**Ignazio Corrao**, *a nome del gruppo EFDD*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mi fa piacere che l'Alto rappresentante Mogherini abbia preso una posizione forte e decisa su questa storia dei marò, su questo caso che è difficile da giudicare, però sicuramente il dato di fatto è che questi sono dei cittadini europei e che è giusto che venga affrontata come diplomazia europea e non italiana, che si è dimostrata peraltro fallimentare sulla vicenda.

Qui stiamo parlando – come diceva bene Van Orden prima – non di fare il giudice o gli avvocati o i tifosi di una parte o dell'altra, non è la politica che deve giudicare se i marò sono colpevoli o no, si tratta di applicare delle convenzioni internazionali basilari come quella sui diritti civili e politici e non si può ammettere in nessun modo che dei cittadini europei vengano lasciati in India senza capi di imputazione, senza che sia stato iniziato un processo per tre anni, questo è qualcosa che non si può ammettere in nessuno Stato di diritto e credo che siamo tutti consapevoli di questo.

A me dispiace che stiamo tenendo questa discussione a quest'ora e che siano presenti poche persone in Aula però mi fa piacere sentire interventi come quello della collega Delli che si è mostrata verso questa questione con un aspetto europeo, perché questi cittadini se fossero stati francesi, tedeschi o inglesi, io non credo proprio che sarebbero rimasti lì per tre anni senza certezze. Io credo che l'Italia ha bisogno di sentire l'Europa vicina e unita su questo caso.

**Mario Borghezio (NI)**. - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa è una grande questione nazionale e pesa enormemente sulla responsabilità di chi rappresentava il nostro paese nel semestre italiano: non essere riusciti a imporre come priorità questa questione, la stiamo discutendo adesso e bisogna rendere omaggio a quei colleghi – specialmente a quei colleghi non italiani – agli italiani avrei chiesto magari di sottolineare anche all'Alto rappresentante che i due marò sono innocenti, qui è un altro specie di caso del Dreyfus. Perché non si sa perché per esempio non vengano desegretati i tracciati radar che dimostrerebbero che qui c'è stato un enorme inghippo. Chissà che cosa c'è dietro a questa questione?

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È una questione nazionale che dimostra quanto gravi, quante conseguenze gravi conseguano alla perdita delle sovranità della nazione e qui c'è anche l'offesa alla dignità della divisa, della storia di una grande marina nazionale come è la marina italiana. Bisogna che qualcuno abbia il coraggio di dire con chiarezza che ci sono queste responsabilità e queste riflessioni, che devono essere fatte perché la sovranità è una cosa importante. L'abbiamo regalata, l'abbiamo distribuita a un ente che fino adesso, con tutta la buona volontà e anche il tono materno del nostro Alto rappresentante, di cui devo riconoscere un impegno personale, non ha concluso niente. Questa è la realtà!

Poi ricordiamo che uno dei due coraggiosi marò è ostaggio, loro lo dicono chiaramente, le autorità indiane. Ma gli ostaggi li prendono i pirati o i terroristi, non gli Stati! E l'Europa cosa dice su questo punto? L'Europa ha una voce molto debole, molto imprecisa, molto generica, non serve a un tubo! Io l'ho firmata la risoluzione per spirito patriottico, per non stare fuori, ma non serve a niente, ci vuole ben altro! Alto rappresentante, la prenda con altro tono, perché si sta dimostrando la totale inefficacia del ruolo dell'Europa! Questo è l'8 settembre della politica ..

*(Il Presidente interrompe l'oratore)*

**Tunne Kelam (PPE).** - Mr President, I fully support, on behalf of the Estonian delegation, the initiative by my Italian colleagues to achieve a rapid and fair solution of two Italian 'maròs'.

I would also take the opportunity to present the urgent problem of 20 EU citizens – 14 Estonians and 6 British – detained by the Indian authorities for almost 16 months by now. These are also anti-piracy security guards of the Seaman Guard Ohio vessel arrested on charges of carrying weapons on board – legal weapons.

In July last year, the Madurai High Court cleared them of all charges. Despite that, they are prevented from leaving India and have their documents and belongings returned pending an appeal by the Indian police. The health of several men had seriously deteriorated. Their families are deprived of any income. Given the fact that these crew members have not been involved in any criminal offences, the indefinite detention in India amounts to gross violation of their human rights.

In fact, they have become victims of a huge and clumsy bureaucracy. Therefore, I appeal to you, as High Representative, to do your utmost to contribute to their quick and safe return home. The fundamental rights and security of EU citizens in third countries should be safeguarded also by the EU diplomatic representations.

**Neena Gill (S&D).** - Mr President, I rise to express my disappointment about the way in which this matter has been addressed by this House. I have strong reservations about the resolution proposed.

I agree that we need to speed up developments to ensure legal certainty for all sides involved, but my concern is that the failure to address Indian issues will do just the opposite. At the heart of this case is the fundamental question about how we treat our partners. While the EU has a duty to stand up for its citizens, it is hard to understand why the lives of two Indian fishermen should be valued lower than the liberty of two EU citizens. That is the message that could be construed from our actions, and I do not think that we can drown out Indian calls for accountability. It is important that we remember that at the basis of this there is a legal dispute about jurisdiction, which needs to be addressed if we are to make headway.

Yesterday's decision of the Indian Supreme Court to allow Mr Latorre to extend his stay in Italy is an indication of India's goodwill. I urge my fellow MEPs not to reject that open hand. I call on Ms Mogherini to avoid further escalation of this case, which is fundamentally a bilateral issue between Italy and India. That would only hurt all the parties involved, including the marines, and it could have far-reaching consequences for our foreign policy at a time when the EU is struggling to kick-start relations with Delhi.

**Tiziana Beghin (EFDD).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Mogherini, i due marò italiani come abbiamo ricordato sono due cittadini europei e sono trattenuti illegalmente da troppo tempo in un paese, accusati di un crimine orrendo senza prove, in attesa di un processo o un giudizio che nessuno sa, se e quando arriverà. Sono felice di vedere che siamo tutti d'accordo su questo argomento e abbiamo speso più o meno le stesse parole.

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Vorrei che non rimanessero parole e mi chiedo perché in questi tre anni non è stato fatto nulla e solo adesso l'Europa si sta muovendo. Perché vedete, l'India sta violando il diritto a un giusto processo che è sancito dalla Convenzione internazionale dei diritti civili che ha firmato e l'Unione europea ne esce semplicemente ridicolizzata. Perché, signori e colleghi, tutti i discorsi, tutti gli impegni e tutte le convenzioni di cui noi ci riempiamo la bocca in questo Parlamento, sono semplicemente carta straccia se noi per primi non facciamo in modo che vengano rispettati.

L'Europa è inoltre la prima potenza commerciale del mondo e in questo momento sta trattando un trattato di libero scambio proprio con l'India. Noi del Movimento 5 stelle di cui io, in questo momento sono il portavoce, sono pronta a chiedere il congelamento dei negoziati se ai nostri due marò non sarà garantito un giusto processo e il ritorno in Italia. I cittadini europei in difficoltà hanno diritto – chiunque essi siano e dovunque essi si trovino – ad avere un'Europa che li supporta e che faccia di tutto per farli ritornare a casa e noi li riporteremo a casa.

**Gianluca Buonanno (NI).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, parlando dei marò, facciamo un po' vedere, a chi è qui in Aula perché vista l'ora noi siamo già partiti male, Signora Mogherini. Questi sono i due marò: lei se li ricorda, li vede, no? Li conoscono i suoi parenti? Siamo qua a parlare dei marò, dopo tre anni alle 23.35. Ci sono quattro gatti in questa sala. È così che si parla dei marò? È una vergogna! L'Europa si deve vergognare di come tratta questa situazione.

Invece domani mattina parleremo dei problemi del Kirghizistan sulla legge contro la propaganda degli omosessuali che è molto importante a differenza dei marò. Ma cos'è l'Europa? È uno struzzo che mette la testa sotto la sabbia? È una vergogna! Signora Mogherini, ha fatto il ministro degli Esteri in Italia, che ha fatto per i marò? Adesso viene qua, ha fatto giustamente, come è pagata per quello, tutto il giorno qua dentro. Ma per i marò, concretamente cosa ha fatto? Glielo dico io: zero! Come la pagella! Se io fossi un professore oggi le darei zero perché ha combinato zero e perché un marò è ancora in India e l'altro è solo qua in Italia (non qua perché siamo a Strasburgo) perché ha un problema cardiaco. L'Italia ha fatto zero. Lei e Renzi siete bocciati.

**Presidente.** - Per informazione non spetta all'Alto rappresentante fissare l'ordine del giorno e dei lavori del Parlamento.

Onorevole Buonanno, l'abbiamo ascoltata, siccome c'è qualche cosa che riguarda l'attività dell'ordine del giorno, quindi attività del Parlamento, ripeto, non è competenza né della Commissione né del Consiglio fissare l'ordine del giorno e dei lavori.

**Alojz Peterle (PPE).** - V tej razpravi sodelujem, ker sem podprl ustno vprašanje Komisiji z željo, da se primer italijanskih marincev Massimiliana Latorreja in Salvatoreja Girone, spoštujoč legalne in humane standarde, čim prej razreši.

Včerajšnje odločitev vrhovnega sodišča Indije jemljem na znanje kot pozitiven znak v odnosu do bolnega marince, v sicer zapletenem in občutljivem primeru. Želim si, da bi v nadaljevanju prišlo na obeh straneh do dejanj in atmosfere, ki bi omogočila hitro razrešitev že več let nerešenega primera v bilateralnem okviru.

**Patrizia Toia (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Alto Commissario, come i miei colleghi, parlo da parlamentare europeo di due cittadini europei che vedono in un paese terzo calpestati i loro diritti umani fondamentali. I due marò sono trattenuti da lungo tempo nell'incertezza giuridica e umana – come lei ha detto – senza quelle garanzie di diritto basilari per ogni individuo nel mondo. Per questo dobbiamo imprimere una forza maggiore alla trattativa, che c'è anche a livello nazionale, c'è stata e continuerà ad esserci.

Quella forza che può venire da un'autorità europea che può esprimere con più forza e con più vigore, percorrendo le strade più efficaci con le misure più appropriate, che lasciamo alla sua valutazione. Molto confortati dalle sue parole e dal modo con cui le ha dette. Io non so se è materno, certamente è il modo di un politico molto consapevole e molto umano.

Ci rendiamo conto della complessità e della delicatezza del caso, per questo non chiediamo la Luna né chiediamo atti di contrasto con le istituzioni o parole di contrasto con le istituzioni o con il popolo di un paese che per l'incertezza dei suoi organi giudiziari trattiene questi due cittadini europei. Chiediamo solo, ed è poco ma è tutto: chiarezza, certezza, giustizia giusta e rispetto pieno dei diritti umani.

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**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gentile Alto rappresentante, chiunque sia arrestato o detenuto in base ad un'accusa di carattere penale deve essere tradotto al più presto dinanzi a un giudice e ha diritto ad essere giudicato entro un termine ragionevole o rilasciato. Questo è l'articolo 9 del Patto internazionale sui diritti civili e politici, firmato e ratificato anche dall'India. No colleghi, tre anni non sono un tempo ragionevole per cominciare un processo, specie se vi è il dubbio che i ritardi siano dovuti a motivazioni di natura ben diversa da quelle giuridiche. Specie se vi è il rischio di condizionamenti indebiti e pressioni.

Il rispetto per lo Stato di diritto non è negoziabile e pertanto riteniamo più giusto che siano giudicati in Italia, o quantomeno che venga rimessa la determinazione della giurisdizione a un arbitrato internazionale. Non esprimiamo pregiudizi ma chiediamo un giudizio sereno, regolare e trasparente, e siamo umanamente vicini anche alle famiglie dei pescatori indiani, altre vittime di questa triste storia.

L'Unione non può esimersi dall'affrontare questa situazione, perché Massimiliano Latorre e Salvatore Girone non sono solo due soldati dell'Italia, sono due cittadini europei e l'articolo 47 della Carta di Nizza non può rimanere lettera morta. Questa risoluzione era un atto dovuto. La solidarietà ai nostri due marò e alle sofferenze delle loro famiglie è un dovere morale. Far prevalere i diritti dei cittadini europei sugli interessi commerciali è un imperativo categorico. È per tutti gli Stati membri così per l'Europa, i diritti umani non si scambiano per due rupie. Non dimentichiamocene mai!

**Salvatore Cicu (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, credo che bisogna rimarcare almeno due aspetti: il primo, – e senza voler sollevare polemiche o provocazioni – in questi tre anni mai una volta in questo Parlamento nessun gruppo ha mai presentato nessuna risoluzione. È la prima volta che se una parla, io credo che bisogna – senza strumentalizzare nulla – dare merito a chi in questo momento ha voluto sollevare il problema.

Così come credo che abbiamo ora un'opportunità storica, un'opportunità centrale, fondamentale, nell'evoluzione di questa situazione drammatica, cioè che questo Parlamento possa sentirsi unito. Io credo che la centralità di questo aspetto debba prevalere su ogni altra questione, perché in tempi di terrore, in tempi di terrorismo, in termini di paura di mancata sicurezza, io credo che noi dobbiamo guardare a questi due uomini come uomini che operavano nella sicurezza, come uomini che hanno attivato un esercizio di ruolo in una situazione certamente delicata, che tendeva a sconfinare gli atti di pirateria, che guardava appunto a eliminare ulteriori situazioni criminali e criminose.

Quindi, non ci può essere una comparazione con delinquenti comuni o con delinquenti qualsiasi o con uomini a cui bisogna voltare le spalle o fare paragoni tra il dolore di famiglia o il dolore di altre famiglie. Io credo che questa centralità debba essere rimarcata, perché questo Parlamento può parlare di diritti umani, può parlare sicuramente di giurisdizione, può parlare sicuramente di centralità, di necessità di sanzioni rispetto alla forza che l'Unione europea può esprimere, ma ancora di più non si può voltare le spalle a uomini che rischiano la loro vita per la sicurezza, non solo del loro paese, ma per la sicurezza dell'intera Europa nel momento in cui compiono operazioni e ruoli di questo livello.

Per cui credo che sotto questo aspetto questa Europa debba muoversi nella direzione in cui i diversi gruppi oggi hanno voluto rappresentare la loro argomentazione e motivazione, ma credo anche, che per come conosco il Presidente Mogherini, ci sarà la possibilità di dare una svolta forte, rigorosa, effettiva e ottenere finalmente un risultato che non eguali, cioè quello di far ritornare i marò in Italia, perché in Italia possano essere giudicati.

**Marju Lauristin (S&D).** - Mr President, first I would like to thank the High Representative for this long day and for expressing the very strong feeling of solidarity and cooperation which we have witnessed throughout the whole of today.

The case we are discussing now, almost up to midnight, is in some sense symbolic because it is not about some abstract matter, but about the fate of human beings – individuals and co-citizens – and is why we, two Estonians, have joined this effort, because it is not a national issue. It is an issue of human rights and of trust in the EU among people – among citizens and every individual – and we really want to emphasise that the EU has to safeguard the security and fundamental rights of every EU citizen, no matter which Member State they belong to and in which third country this kind of thing may happen. It is also important that we have high respect for the Indian nation. We hope that in relations between India and the EU this spirit of solidarity and human rights will also be respected.

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Regarding the separate case involving 14 Estonian marine mercenaries – and also six British – this has also been pending for more than a year. Your predecessor was informed about it, including by letter, and we see that the EU is not very effective in helping citizens in this situation. So we hope very much that, under your management, the European External Action Service will be much more effective in helping to solve cases of this kind. It is with this hope that we are here, we raise this issue and we support our Italian colleagues, and hope that our Italian and all our other colleagues from all the other countries of the EU will support the Estonian marine mercenaries.

By the way it was again, in this case, because they were fighting piracy that they happened to be in that tragic situation, so that is another problem – how people who sacrifice their security for the security of other people are not protected in such circumstances. That is also an issue to be raised.

**Barbara Matera (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Alto rappresentante, sono tre anni che in Italia viviamo con angoscia la vicenda di questi due fucilieri, Massimiliano Latorre e Salvatore Girone, tra l'altro due conterranei, due pugliesi come me. Nessuna soluzione diplomatica o politica è riuscita a dare un esito a questa vicenda, in un'altalena politico-diplomatica infinita, e la nostra frustrazione e quella di tutti i cittadini italiani ed europei è cresciuta negli anni.

I continui rinvii della Corte suprema indiana hanno dato una prova dell'inefficienza della giustizia indiana, incapace di decidere. Situazione inaccettabile che rappresenta una grave e perpetrata violazione di diritti umani. Io mi rivolgo a questa assise, ancora una volta, come ho fatto già in anni passati, proprio in questo Parlamento, per ricordare che i due marò non sono due terroristi, non sono due criminali: sono due militari europei imbarcati per difendere la nostra libertà e il commercio e per questo motivo noi tutti dobbiamo reagire e far sentire la nostra voce.

Ecco mi associo all'Alto rappresentante Federica Mogherini, a lei vanno i miei complimenti per il lavoro svolto oggi, ma soprattutto per l'impegno che sono sicura che metterà in campo per questo problema, che ci addolora da italiani ma da cittadini europei tutti. Allora davvero di cuore il mio ringraziamento speciale all'Alto rappresentante, perché lei alcune settimane fa ha rimproverato New Delhi sui troppi rinvii per risolvere questo caso, affermando che tutto ciò potrebbe incidere sulle relazioni Unione europea e India. Quindi per la prima volta da questo 15 febbraio 2012 un esponente del governo UE ha fatto sentire la propria voce minacciando ritorsioni.

Allora, io mi chiedo: quanto ancora dovremo aspettare per vedere queste sanzioni commerciali implementate, quando potremo rivedere i nostri due fucilieri a casa, quando questa agonia avrà termine? E io volevo ringraziare ancora i colleghi stranieri, i colleghi estoni e tutti coloro che stanno partecipando a questo dibattito perché ci ricordano che questa non è una battaglia italiana, questa è una battaglia per riportare a casa in Europa, due cittadini, due militari europei.

**Salvatore Domenico Pogliese (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, credo ci sia poco da aggiungere a quanto brillantemente esternato da Lara Comi e dagli altri colleghi. La vicenda dei due marò è davvero paradossale! Sarebbe tragicomica, se non fossero in gioco le vite e la dignità di due militari italiani, arrestati tre anni fa, nell'esercizio delle loro funzioni in acque internazionali nel corso di un'operazione di antipirateria. Non erano certamente lì, impegnati in una guerra simulata di *softkey*. Erano impegnati in una operazione che permetteva alle navi mercantili italiane ed europee di non essere sottoposte all'assalto costante della pirateria.

L'India si sta comportando in maniera assolutamente irresponsabile, calpestando i più elementari principi del rispetto dei diritti umani e delle libertà fondamentali. L'Europa non lo può più consentire e deve riportare in Italia i due marò, sospendendo – come è stato da più parti esternato – le trattative per l'accordo di libero scambio commerciale con l'India, laddove espressamente previsto che l'Europa non possa firmare trattati o accordi con i paesi che non rispettano i diritti umani.

*Interventi su richiesta*

**Daniele Viotti (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la mia sarà una voce fuori dal coro: credo che attorno alla vicenda che ha coinvolto i due fucilieri della marina militare Latorre e Girone sia stata costruita una retorica patriottica che non solo non è nelle mie corde ma credo sia anche poco utile alla soluzione del caso. La questione naturalmente è molto complessa e si tratta di una triste vicenda processuale e non certo una questione di diritti umani.

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Ha ragione (mi sembra quasi incredibile dirlo) l'on. Borghezio: è un'enorme questione nazionale questa. Non riguarda certo l'Unione europea, non riguarda certo questo Parlamento e non riguarda certo il lavoro durissimo che sta facendo l'Alto rappresentante, che ringrazio anch'io per la giornata che ha speso insieme a noi, per le cose che sta facendo. Per tutte le crisi e i dossier che sta affrontando. Questa è una vicenda che deve rimanere e deve risolversi solo a livello giurisdizionale e processuale.

**Barbara Spinelli (GUE/NGL).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, sono molto preoccupata anch'io per il diritto violato a un giusto processo e per l'incertezza in cui vivono i marò da tre anni. Credo che l'Alto rappresentante signora Mogherini, veramente non abbia mai dimostrato di sottovalutare la drammaticità della questione. Detto questo, la mia voce anche sarà fuori dal coro.

Sono d'accordo con quanto detto dalla collega Gill: la vita dei due marinai indiani non vale meno della vita e dell'onore dei fucilieri italiani. Ancor meno credo, che possiamo giudicare, qui, noi parlamentari, se i marò hanno agito bene o male e quale fosse la loro funzione. Per questo, ho molti dubbi sulla risoluzione, perché nel testo non si collega chiaramente il rilascio dei fucilieri alla necessità di un processo, internazionale o nazionale che sia. Ci si limita a parlare di lungaggini della giustizia indiana e questo mi dispiace.

**Silvia Costa (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario, grazie per l'impegno che ha già assunto, credo sia molto importante politicamente un'alleanza, forte, per la prima volta direi, dell'unità del Parlamento e con la Commissione su questa dolorosa vicenda.

Certo, siamo sollevati per la recente decisione della Corte Suprema indiana per la concessione per motivi di salute di prorogare di tre mesi la permanenza di La Torre in Italia, ma è veramente inaccettabile la persistenza di una condizione di questo tipo in violazione del diritto internazionale, richiamato da molti colleghi, con continui rinvii di una soluzione. Abbiamo apprezzato, come cittadini italiani, l'iniziativa che con arbitrato internazionale che aveva già preso l'allora ministro degli Esteri Mogherini e che oggi nella sua qualità di Alto rappresentante per la politica estera – insieme alla Commissione e al Consiglio mi auguro – le dà la forza di assumere tutte le iniziative per tutelare i due fucilieri e garantire (lo dico alla collega Spinelli) certamente un arbitrato internazionale.

La tutela significa questo: tutelare i diritti che si hanno a un processo certo e anche – ritengo – minacciando di sospendere le trattative commerciali dell'Unione europea con l'India e ricordando appunto, come ci hanno richiamato alcuni colleghi estoni, si tratta anche di un'importante questione che riguarda la lotta alla pirateria che è un tema internazionale e che penso debba avere anche dei pronunciamenti molto forti negli accordi internazionali in atto.

*(Fine degli interventi su richiesta)*

**Federica Mogherini, VPC/HR.** - Signor Presidente, come lei ha giustamente ricordato, ma vorrei anch'io ricordarlo all'on. Bonanno, non è mia responsabilità personale organizzare l'ordine del giorno e l'agenda dell'Aula così come non è mia responsabilità né capacità, organizzare e garantire la presenza dei parlamentari in quest'Aula, compresi quelli del gruppo dell'on. Bonanno.

Vorrei però ringraziare il Parlamento europeo per questa discussione, per questo orientamento, e anche per aver mostrato che il tema non è una questione solo italiana, ma è una questione che riguarda diversi cittadini europei – sono stati citati alcuni cittadini estoni e britannici – ed è in generale un problema che riguarda la protezione dei diritti umani di cittadini europei, di qualsiasi nazionalità siano delle 28, il rispetto dei principi del diritto internazionale, la tutela dei militari impegnati in missione di antipirateria e quindi la credibilità stessa delle nostre azioni antipirateria.

È una questione quindi che riguarda l'Unione europea e in questo senso me ne faccio carico – anche se ovviamente le decisioni sulla gestione giuridica del caso restano pienamente, com'è giusto che sia, nelle mani del governo italiano, con il quale credo di dovermi continuare a raccordare in modo molto stretto. Così come prendo l'impegno questa sera, anche se non è il caso specifico della risoluzione che voterete, di raccordarmi strettamente con il governo estone e con il governo britannico sui casi simili e su qualsiasi altro caso simile che debba avvenire in altre circostanze. Prenderò quindi personalmente iniziative che spero possano essere utili non solo alla soluzione del caso, ma anche alla prevenzione di altri possibili casi simili in futuro.

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**Presidente.** - La discussione è chiusa.

Vi comunico che le proposte di risoluzione presentate conformemente all'articolo 123, paragrafo 2, del regolamento saranno notificate successivamente.

La votazione si svolgerà domani, giovedì 15 gennaio, alle 12.30.

**12. Składanie dokumentów: patrz protokół**

**13. Akty delegowane (art. 105 ust. 6 Regulaminu): Patrz protokół**

**14. Środki wykonawcze (art. 106 Regulaminu): Patrz protokół**

**15. Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia: patrz protokół**

**16. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(La seduta è tolta alle 23.55)*