

СРЯДА 12 ОКТОМВРИ 2011 Г.
MIÉRCOLES 12 DE OCTUBRE DE 2011
STŘEDA 12. ŘÍJNA 2011
ONSDAG DEN 12. OKTOBER 2011
MITTWOCH, 12. OKTOBER 2011
KOLMAPÄEV, 12. OKTOOBER 2011
TETARTH 12 OKTOBPIOY 2011
WEDNESDAY, 12 OCTOBER 2011
MERCREDI 12 OCTOBRE 2011
MERCOLEDI' 12 OTTOBRE 2011
TREŠDIENA, 2011. GADA 12. OKTOBRIS
2011 M. SPALIO 12 D., TREČIADIENIS
2011. OKTÓBER 12., SZERDA
L-ERBGĦA, 12 TA' OTTUBRU 2011
WOENSDAG 12 OKTOBER 2011
ŚRODA, 12 PAŹDZIERNIKA 2011
QUARTA-FEIRA, 12 DE OUTUBRO DE 2011
MIERCURI 12 OCTOMBRIE 2011
STREDA 12. OKTÓBRA 2011
SREDA, 12. OKTOBER 2011
KESKIVIKKO 12. LOKAKUUTA 2011
ONSDAGEN DEN 12 OKTOBER 2011

3-002-000

PRZEWODNICZY JERZY BUZEK

Przewodniczący

(Posiedzenie zostało otwarte o godz. 15.00)

1. Wznowienie sesji

3-004-000

Przewodniczący. – Ogłaszam wznowienie sesji Parlamentu Europejskiego przerwanej w czwartek 29 września 2011 r.

3-005-000

Struan Stevenson (ECR). - Mr President, in view of the news this morning that the American Government has uncovered a plot by the Iranians to assassinate the Ambassador

from Saudi Arabia in Washington DC, together with the news that another 300 prisoners have been transferred to death row expecting imminent execution – and these are people, mostly students, who were arrested during the uprisings in Teheran and other cities in Iran – I think it is a deeply retrograde step that this House, that the Conference of Presidents, has agreed to send a delegation to Teheran in two or three weeks time.

I think Iran is now beyond the pale; to give them that kind of publicity, to give them that kind of oxygen is completely wrong. We should think again about that Conference of Presidents' decision.

(Applause)

3-006-000

President. – Your remarks will certainly be taken into consideration.

3-007-000

Potito Salatto (PPE). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, alla luce delle cose che sono appena state dette, io e i miei colleghi italiani del PPE all'interno della delegazione intergovernativa con Tehran siamo assolutamente contrari a questo viaggio in Iran e preghiamo l'Ufficio di presidenza, che aveva deciso di dare l'ok, di ripensare quest'azione che è soltanto di pubblicità al governo di Tehran.

3-008-000

President. – We will certainly take your comments into consideration.

2. Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia: Patrz protokół

3. Powitanie

3-011-000

Przewodniczący. – Proszę Państwa! Chciałbym powitać delegację parlamentu libańskiego, w skład której wchodzi panowie Kabbani, Bazzi i Pakradounian.

(oklaski)

Parlament Europejski przywiązuje dużą wagę do stosunków z Libanem. Część państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej bierze udział w misji UNIFIL. Liban jest również jednym z nielicznych państw arabskich, które zgodziły się na przyjęcie unijnej misji obserwacji wyborów. To dla nas bardzo ważne. Parlament aktywnie uczestniczy w tego rodzaju misjach.

Delegacja Parlamentu Europejskiego do spraw stosunków z państwami Maszreku zapewnia ramy instytucjonalne dla dialogu politycznego między naszymi parlamentami. Gorąco Państwa zachęcam do podtrzymywania tego dialogu w drodze regularnych kontaktów. Mam nadzieję, że wczorajsze i dzisiejsze spotkania były owocne i że wizyta naszych gości z parlamentu libańskiego w Brukseli aktywnie przyczyni się do zbliżenia między naszymi instytucjami. Jeszcze raz dziękuję za przyjazd do Europy, za przyjazd do Parlamentu Europejskiego.

4. Oświadczenia Przewodniczącego

3-013-000

Przewodniczący. – Dwie następne informacje. Informacja z Południa. Rozwój wydarzeń w krajach naszego południowego sąsiedztwa rodzi jednocześnie nadzieje i obawy. Będziemy dziś o tym rozmawiać. Doceniamy stopniową stabilizację sytuacji w Libii. Obawy budzi jednak sytuacja humanitarna uchodźców i wysiedleńców. Tunezja zmierza dziś pewnie ku pierwszemu, prawdziwie wolnym wyborom. Planuję odwiedzić oba te kraje – Libię i Tunezję – za kilka tygodni, aby reprezentować tam stanowisko Parlamentu Europejskiego w sprawie postępów demokracji, tworzenia wolnego rynku i przyszłej współpracy sąsiedzkiej pomiędzy Unią Europejską oraz Libią i Tunezją.

Przemoc w Egipcie musi być powstrzymana, a władze wojskowe – zamiast eskalować napięcia – mają obowiązek pomóc zachować powściągliwość oraz zapewnić bezpieczeństwo członków mniejszości religijnych w tym kraju. Apelujemy o to bardzo mocno!

W Syrii i Jemenie reżimy wciąż reagują przemocą na żądania obywateli. Musimy stale apelować do państw Unii Europejskiej i społeczności międzynarodowej, by przeciwstawiły się brutalnym represjom i wspierały dążącą do demokratycznych zmian opozycję w obu tych krajach.

Wiadomość ze Wschodu. Z głębokim żalem przyjęliśmy wiadomość o wyroku sądu skazującym byłą premier Ukrainy Julię Tymoszenko na siedem lat więzienia. Mamy obawy, że wyrok ten jest umotywowany politycznie i dowodzi selektywnego stosowania prawa w tym kraju. Nasz niepokój budzą także niezawisłość i przejrzystość procesu sądowego. Wzmocnienie praworządności i rzeczywistej niezależności sądownictwa to warunki niezbędne dla ostatecznego podpisania pod koniec roku umowy stowarzyszeniowej. Wzywam władze Ukrainy do stosowania w praktyce zasad i wartości definiujących nasze wzajemne relacje w duchu prawdziwego Partnerstwa Wschodniego.

5. Pytania ustne i oświadczenia pisemne (składanie dokumentów): Patrz protokół

6. Działania podjęte w związku ze stanowiskami i rezolucjami Parlamentu: patrz protokół

7. Teksty porozumień przekazane przez Radę: patrz protokół

8. Środki wykonawcze (art. 88 Regulaminu): Patrz protokół

9. Oświadczenia pisemne, które straciły ważność: Patrz protokół

10. Skład Parlamentu: Patrz protokół

11. Sytuacja w Palestynie (pisemne oświadczenie)

3-021-000

Przewodniczący. – Pragnę również poinformować, że oświadczenie pisemne nr 27/2011 dotyczące uznania przez Unię Europejską państwa palestyńskiego stało się bezprzedmiotowe z uwagi na przyjęcie przez Parlament Europejski w dniu 29 września

2011 r. rezolucji w sprawie sytuacji w Palestynie i w związku z tą rezolucją oświadczenie to zostało wycofane przez jego autorów.

12. Składanie dokumentów: patrz protokół

13. Porządek obrad

3-024-000

Przewodniczący. – Rozdany został końcowy projekt porządku dziennego sporządzony zgodnie z art. 137 Regulaminu przez Konferencję Przewodniczących na posiedzeniu w czwartek 29 września 2011 r. Po konsultacjach z grupami politycznymi przyjęto następujące zmiany:

Środa/Bruksela sesja miesięczna

Punkt 1. W odniesieniu do debaty dotyczącej przygotowań do posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej 23 października zostaną złożone wnioski dotyczące rezolucji. Terminy: wnioski dotyczące rezolucji: godz. 12.00 we wtorek 11 października.

Poprawki i wspólne wnioski dotyczące rezolucji: godz. 10.00, środa 12 października.

Poprawki do wspólnych wniosków dotyczących rezolucji: godz. 11.00 w środę 12 października.

Głosowanie podzielone: godz. 19.00 w środę 12 października.

Punkt 2. Debata dotycząca przystąpienia Bułgarii i Rumunii do strefy Schengen będzie również obejmowała pytania ustne, zgłoszone przez grupy ALDE, GUE i Wolność i Demokracja.

Punkt 3. Zakres debaty dotyczącej sytuacji w Jemenie i Bahrajnie zostanie rozszerzony o omówienie sytuacji w Syrii i Egipcie.

Punkt 4. Oświadczenie wiceprzewodniczącej Komisji/wysokiej przedstawiciel do spraw polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa będzie zawarte po punkcie dotyczącym debaty na temat sytuacji w Jemenie, Bahrajnie, Syrii i Egipcie. Rezolucja w tej sprawie zostanie poddana pod głosowanie w czasie drugiej październikowej sesji miesięcznej.

Punkt 5. Wystąpienia jednogminutowe będą bezpośrednio po debacie na temat ostatnich wydarzeń na Ukrainie.

Punkt 6. Posiedzenie zostanie przedłużone do godz. 22.00.

Czwartek/Bruksela sesja miesięczna

Sprawozdanie Sharon Bowles dotyczące powołania członka zarządu Europejskiego Banku Centralnego zostanie włączone do głosowania. Nie ma terminu na składanie poprawek.

3-025-000

Bruno Gollnisch (NI). - Monsieur le Président, j'ai une remarque à faire sur l'ordre du jour d'aujourd'hui. En effet, il prévoit un débat sur la situation au Yémen et au Bahreïn, qui a été étendu à la Syrie et à l'Égypte. Ces questions sont très importantes mais elles visent des États sur lesquels nous n'avons pas prise directement. Or, en notre nom, Monsieur le Président, à l'heure actuelle, les forces armées des États européens encadrées par l'OTAN

continuent de tuer en Libye les derniers partisans de l'ancien régime, très loin du mandat qui a été donné par l'Organisation des Nations unies. Je ne sais pas combien de victimes à l'heure actuelle les bombes européennes font à Syrte ou dans les environs, et il me semble que nous devrions nous saisir de la question. Nous ne sommes pas seulement les valets d'armes de l'OTAN ni des États-Unis d'Amérique.

3-026-000

Mario Mauro (PPE). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, come giustamente lei ha stigmatizzato, il peggiorare della situazione in Egitto ha investito la folta minoranza cristiano-copta in quel paese e pone un problema che riguarda anche la legittimità e l'auspicio che abbiamo nel processo di democratizzazione legato alla Primavera araba, vale a dire il processo di nuova costituzionalizzazione di questi paesi.

Proprio per questo, avevamo auspicato già per domani la possibilità di un voto attraverso la risoluzione. Comprendiamo però sia le difficoltà tecniche che le esigenze degli altri gruppi di mettere a fuoco un testo. Chiediamo che questo testo abbia come oggetto eminente e chiaro la situazione dei cristiani copti in Egitto nel momento del voto della risoluzione a Strasburgo.

3-027-000

Hannes Swoboda (S&D). - Herr Präsident! Es kommt darauf, was es für ein Antrag ist. Ich würde aber folgenden Vorschlag machen: nämlich dass wir sehr wohl in Straßburg abstimmen, so wie das auch vorgesehen ist. Sie könnten aber vielleicht morgen vor der Abstimmung eine kurze Erklärung abgeben, die unsere Sorge darüber zum Ausdruck bringt, was mit den Kopten geschehen ist, so dass wir das mit einer klaren Stellungnahme von Ihnen und mit einer EntschlieÙung in der nächsten StraÙburg-Tagung kombinieren können.

3-028-000

Przewodniczący. – Jak Państwo pamiętacie, poruszyłem tę sprawę w dzisiejszych uwagach początkowych, ale rozumiem, że chodzi o bardziej zdecydowane i dalej idące przedstawienie tej sprawy. I przyjmuję tę uwagę. Chciałem podkreślić, że wniosek Europejskiej Partii Ludowej dotyczy wyznaczenia terminu na składanie projektów rezolucji. To jest to clue, zasada tego wniosku. Czy ktoś się chciał wypowiedzieć przeciwko temu wnioskowi?

3-029-000

(Parlament przyjął wniosek.)

(Ustalony został porządek prac) ⁽¹⁾

14. Przygotowania do szczytu Rady Europejskiej (23 października 2011 r.) (debata)

3-031-000

Przewodniczący. – Pierwszym punktem porządku dziennego są oświadczenia Rady i Komisji dotyczące przygotowań do posiedzenia Rady Europejskiej 23 października 2011 r. Jak Państwo widziecie termin Rady został zmieniony. Rada została przesunięta o sześć dni.

⁽¹⁾ Inne zmiany wprowadzone do porządku prac: Patrz Protokół.

3-032-000

Mikołaj Dowgielewicz, *President-in-Office of the Council* . – Mr President, I come to Parliament almost straight from the discussion in Luxembourg yesterday at the General Affairs Council, where we also discussed with President Van Rompuy how we should prepare this important European Council. It will be a very important European Council that should take major audacious decisions that will protect Europe, the euro, the citizens and our economy from the shocks that are around.

I want to say at the outset that the decision of the President of the European Council to delay the meeting by six days is, I think, a good decision that has been welcomed by the Member States because it will give us more time to prepare a package of decisions that the citizens and the markets are waiting for.

I also want to say that, despite some signals you may have heard about the process of ratification of the EFSF by the Member States, the Polish Presidency wants to express full confidence that we will have ratification completed on time by all the Member States concerned.

The next meeting of the European Council will once again be mainly dedicated to economic issues. As you all know, the economic situation is worsening with a slowing down in growth, and a continued impact of the sovereign debt risks in certain countries. In this difficult context it is essential to intensify efforts to secure sustainable and job-creating growth, to ensure the sustainability of public finances and restore confidence.

Let me go through some of the main issues on the European Council agenda.

First of all, economic policy. The European Council will discuss a number of key priorities which should be fast-tracked because of their significant impact on jobs and growth in the short to medium term. It will also call for stronger focus to be given to the growth-enhancing aspects of the European Union's external policies in order to maximise their contribution to growth in Europe and to shape the conditions to attract more foreign investment.

The second issue that we will discuss is the G20. The European Council will set out the Union's position for the upcoming summit in Cannes, giving top priority to maintaining financial stability and restoring growth.

The third item will be climate change and I am pleased to say that the Environment Council agreed conclusions on Monday that will put the European Union once again in the lead ahead of the climate conference in Durban in December.

Regarding economic policy, in the light of the Commission's report on the growth-enhancing areas and the political conference that the presidency and the Commission co-organised on 6 October, the European Council will identify a number of key priorities for internal economic policy that will have a significant impact on jobs and growth in the short to medium term. Economic policy in the European Union cannot be just about fiscal consolidation, discipline and austerity, much as we all need those words. We also need growth to boost the confidence of citizens too in the European project. This is why the Polish Presidency is giving such a high priority to the growth-enhancing measures.

The European Council will set specific timelines for the implementation of some of those key priorities, namely the 12 priority proposals foreseen in the Single Market Act on which agreement should be reached by the end of 2012.

Among those priorities, utmost priority will be given to those which can bring the most benefits for growth and jobs, notably, finalisation of the unitary patent protection system in Europe, modernisation of the Professional Qualifications Directive, promotion of SME access to finance, modernisation and simplification of the legislative framework for EU public procurement, promotion of green development in particular through energy efficiency, and the rapid adoption of the standardisation regulation.

Secondly, full implementation of the Services Directive will also deliver significant economic gains. Member States will be called to complete the implementation by the end of this year and show that the points of single contact are operational.

Thirdly, measures to promote a fully integrated digital single market through the facilitation of e-commerce and the crossborder use of online services, including the instrument on European contract law, the so-called 'Blue Button'.

Fourthly, reduction of administrative and regulatory burden. As regards the administrative burden, momentum should be maintained in implementing the 2007 action plan in order to meet the objective of a 25 % reduction by 2012. The rapid adoption of the simplification proposals pending before the Council and Parliament is essential to being able to meet this objective.

As regards the regulatory burden, further efforts are needed to reduce the overall regulatory burden, in particular for SMEs, including by proposing concrete working methods within the context of the smart regulation agenda. The European Council looks forward to the Commission's forthcoming report in order to return to those issues at its December 2011 meeting.

As regards budgetary and structural reforms, Member States will be called to continue to ensure that the country-specific recommendations are fully reflected in national decisions, particularly as regards those which are of crucial importance for creating jobs and growth.

Regarding economic governance, the EU now has powerful tools to ensure that the measures required are taken to pull Europe out of the crisis: the Europe 2020 Strategy, the European Semester, the Euro Plus Pact, and the package of the six legislative proposals recently agreed on economic governance. And here I want to stress that the so-called six-pack must be rigorously and timely implemented in a most serious fashion by all Member States.

Furthermore, the European Council will discuss the external aspects of the Union's economic policy in conjunction with the preparations for the summits which will be taking place in the autumn as part of the follow-up to its September 2010 conclusions on strategic partnership. The intention is to adopt a thematic approach to this exercise with a focus on efforts to promote Europe's competitiveness in the world. This covers potential issues such as trade, access to raw materials, investment treaties, public procurement and intellectual property rights.

Briefly on the G20: the European Union considers that the G20 should send a strong message of confidence at the Cannes Summit through an ambitious action plan with concrete commitments and measures from all G20 countries to respond to the challenges emanating from the current slowdown and to ensure strong, sustainable and balanced growth, while implementing credible fiscal consolidation. In this context I just want to recall that the main orientations for the EU position were discussed by the Finance, Agriculture, Employment, Development, and General Affairs Councils and they form the basis for the discussion in the European Council.

Briefly the EU position is based on the following EU priorities: restoring growth and tackling global macroeconomic imbalances, making tangible progress on implementing the financial market reform agenda, making the international monetary system more resilient, boosting trade as the most effective way to support global growth, enhancing the social dimension of globalisation, ensuring food security and promoting the G20 development agenda and innovative financing, the need for the G20 to further tackle the global climate and energy challenges and continue the fight against corruption.

Finally on climate change, I just want to say that the European Union will work towards an ambitious and balanced outcome at the Durban conference, building up on what was agreed last year in Cancún. It is urgent to address the issue of the second commitment period on the Kyoto Protocol and agree on a process towards a legally binding framework by a clear timeline, ensuring global participation including from major economies.

Finally I just want to say that the Polish Presidency, together with the President of the European Council and the Commission, stands ready to make sure that this summit will be a success. We are also considering two additional meetings of the Council formations, notably Ecofin and the General Affairs Council, just before the European Council, before 23 October.

3-033-000

President. – I would like to inform you, dear colleagues, that the Danish Minister for European Affairs, Nicolai Wammen, representing the next Presidency of the European Union, is present with us in the gallery. Welcome to the European Parliament.

(Applause)

3-034-000

José Manuel Barroso, *President of the Commission*. – Mr President, the European Council of 23 October will be held against a backdrop of urgency over the threat of systemic crisis now unfolding. There are many issues on the European agenda: the Minister of the Polish Presidency mentioned most of them. I will not speak in detail about many of the important challenges, from the Conference in Durban to very important external items. I will focus today on the most urgent response to the financial and economic crisis.

To break the vicious cycle of uncertainty over sovereign debt sustainability and over growth prospects, we need comprehensive solutions now. In my State of the Union address to this Parliament two weeks ago I promised responses. Today we are delivering: I can announce that the Commission has just adopted a road map for stability and growth. And we have set out concrete terms and timelines for its implementation.

You are the first to whom I have communicated the main elements of this road map. I am sending the President of Parliament the document that we have just adopted.

Over the last three years, the European Union has come out with specific responses to different aspects of the crisis. Now it is time to bring them all together, to once and for all meet the depth of the crisis with a full, comprehensive, credible response.

The elements in this road map are interdependent. They must be implemented simultaneously. They must be implemented immediately. This is the only way that the European Union can, convincingly: first, give a decisive clear response to the problems of Greece; second, enhance the euro area's backstops against the crisis; third, make a

coordinated effort to strengthen the banking system, including through recapitalisation; fourth, frontload stability and growth-enhancing policies; and finally, build a more robust and integrated economic governance.

These are the five points of our road map, the road map I put before this House today and that I will take to the European Council on 23 October as a coherent and comprehensive plan for Europe that embodies a Community approach.

This is how.

First, on Greece, we need a decisive solution. Doubts and uncertainties over Greece's future jeopardise stability in the entire euro area and beyond. The time has come to definitively remove these doubts. This means three immediate and sustained actions. First, paying the sixth tranche of the loans to Greece. The result of the Troika mission has sent a positive signal in this respect. Second, deciding a sustainable solution for Greece within the euro area. This should be through an effective second adjustment programme, based on adequate financing through public and private sector involvement, backed up with robust implementation and monitoring mechanisms. Third, we also understand that Greece must fully carry out its programme in a timely manner, with continued support from the Commission's Task Force and maximised disbursement of Structural Funds focused on growth.

But there is a more general problem in the euro area. Despite the assurance given by Heads of State or Government on 21 July to support countries under programmes, and despite their assurances that private sector involvement would be strictly limited to Greece, contagion risks have not been contained. To decisively put a stop to this threat that is hampering all our efforts, we must strengthen the euro's firewalls. We must have credible, stronger instruments.

At the European Council, I will strongly urge the Heads of State or Government of the euro area to complete and complement the measures they agreed on 21 July. This is crucial, to give a much-needed injection of confidence to market participants.

It means making operational the agreements taken to increase the flexibility and effectiveness of the EFSF and the future ESM, to allow for precautionary programmes based on conditionality, on which the Commission and the ECB should be consulted in advance. Stronger monitoring and surveillance could be included as part of the Stability and Growth Pact. But the EFSF must be more than just a firewall. It should have real firepower. We should maximise its capacity.

To further consolidate the expression of unity and responsibility inherent in these crisis resolution mechanisms, we must accelerate the adoption and entry into force of the permanent ESM – preferably to mid-2012. We must trust that the European Central Bank will continue to provide the background of financial stability needed for all this to be done.

The strengthened and more flexible EFSF is in the interest of all euro countries, including, I am sure, the Slovak people. Our common currency plays a crucial role in investment decisions, in growth, in jobs all over Europe. I commend those in Slovakia who have risen above partisan attitudes and voted in favour of what is important for all Slovak citizens, for the euro area and for the European Union as a whole. And I call upon all parties in the Slovak Parliament to rise above the positioning of short-term politics and to seize the next opportunity to ensure a swift adoption of the new agreement.

(Applause)

The third element of the road map is the need for a coordinated approach to strengthen the banking system. Let us be clear – over the last three years huge efforts have been deployed to this end; billions of euros in aid and guarantees; an overhaul of banking supervision, boosting capital requirements and protecting citizens' deposits.

However, all this has not yet been sufficient to lift the weight of uncertainty hanging over the banking system, or to halt the volatility and pressure on European banks. While these doubts persist and spread, sufficient confidence cannot be restored to allow liquidity to flow again and to oil the growth that our economies so badly need. For confidence to return, we need to fix the sovereign debt problem, which can only be done through a coherent package.

We must therefore urgently strengthen the banks because, in fact, those two issues – the sovereign contagion and the banks – are now, whether we like it or not, linked. This must be coordinated through the Member States, the European Banking Authority, the ECB and the Commission. The strategy should comprise five key steps. It should include all potentially systemic banks identified by the European Banking Authority across all Member States. It should take account of all sovereign debt exposure in full transparency; it should involve a temporarily higher capital ratio after accounting for exposure. Banks that do not have the required capital should present and then implement plans to have it in place as swiftly as possible and, until they have done so, they should be prevented from paying out dividends and bonuses by the national supervisors.

(Applause)

Banks should use private sources of capital first. If necessary the national governments should provide support as a next step, as a last resort, drawing on a loan granted from the EFSF. Any public support should be compatible with the state aid rules. The Commission intends to extend the existing state aid framework for bank support beyond the end of 2011.

Naturally, details on capital ratios and evaluation methods should be proposed by the EBA with national supervisors, who are best placed to judge on this. At the same time, the ongoing work on a new financial regulation system should be completed as swiftly as possible. To that end, the Commission will present its remaining proposals to implement the full G20 commitments by the end of this year. We also urge rapid adoption of the financial transaction tax I presented to you two weeks ago.

(Applause)

The fourth element is to frontload policies that consolidate stability and boost growth. We all know that most Member States do not have much room for fiscal stimulus. Those who do should use it. However, all Member States have at their disposal the means to implement structural reforms, to focus spending on priority areas and to remove obstacles to growth.

As I said to you in my State of the Union address, growth is within our reach if we can break down the barriers that stop money, services and people from flowing through our Union as they should.

This means firstly: getting more out of what has already been agreed at EU level.

I am talking about implementing, for instance, the Services Directive. I am talking about delivering on the digital agenda. I am talking about maximising our trade agreements. These are measures that we can take today, that do not require significant additional investment or budgetary effort but which can have an immediate and significant benefit for our companies, for our citizens and for our economy.

This means secondly: accelerating adoption of what is on the table. There are many proposals on the table that we can fast-track for adoption. I am talking about unitary patent protection. I am talking about the Energy Savings Directive. I am talking about concluding ongoing trade agreements.

This means thirdly: fast-tracking the most urgent growth-boosting proposals. I am talking about the Single Market Act. I am talking about forthcoming proposals to facilitate access to venture capital because, today, there is a lack of venture capital in Europe and this is especially felt by SMEs. I am talking about the Young Opportunities initiative to increase youth employment.

Where agreement on fast-tracking proves difficult, we should be able to use enhanced cooperation so that those who want to move forward are not held back. Frankly, dear Members of this Parliament, it is time to say that the speed of the European Union should not always be the speed of its slowest member. We need sometimes to use reinforced cooperation.

(Loud applause)

All this should be done in conjunction with targeted investment at European Union level, such as through the Europe 2020 Agenda, where we propose also our project bond initiative. The Commission will propose it next week, and will maximise the resources of the European Investment Bank so that it can lend to the real economy.

So, reforms, implementation of everything that we have agreed as well as trying to fund some of this effort through new sources of investment, using the appropriate instruments we have and some we can create, such as the project bonds.

The fifth and final element of the Commission's proposed road map is the pursuit of sound economic policies by Member States, especially those in the euro area, reinforced by stronger Community governance.

We now have the six-pack – and once again I thank you for your support in getting these ambitious proposals approved. We have the European Semester and all that it entails in strengthening governance. But we must go further to match the ambitions of our monetary policy with those of our economic policies. As we have said, we must complete the monetary union with a real economic union. The future of the single currency depends upon it.

In its road map, the Commission is proposing a much stronger euro-area dimension in planning, implementing and assessing national policies. This dimension will be backed up by strict constraints enforceable at euro-area level and is based on an enhancement of the Community approach, which will reinforce also Parliament's role in economic governance. We will further reinforce the role of the Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs in full respect of the Treaty.

There are other actions we can take very quickly without changing the Treaty.

We must improve working methods and crisis management between the Commission, the European Council and the Euro Group. Proposals to this end will be made soon, in line with the agreements of 21 July, by the President of the European Council, the Commission President and the President of the Euro Group, and the aim is to have a more streamlined process between the euro area summit, the Euro Group and the euro area working group.

Secondly, we should streamline and reinforce the instruments we have, not only by rapidly implementing the six-pack, but also by strengthening the European Semester by intensifying surveillance and integrating the Euro Plus Pact into the Semester – hence reinforcing the Community method.

We must also go further than the measures set out in the six-pack, by setting out provisions for strengthening the economic and budgetary surveillance of euro area Member States requesting or receiving financial assistance from the EFSF, the ESM or other institutions. The Commission will make a proposal to the Council and to the Parliament under Article 136.

We must monitor the national budgetary policies of Member States in excessive deficit procedure or countries under programmes through a Commission-Council procedure which would enable the European Union to intervene.

For example, in serious cases a second reading of draft budgets could be requested to suggest amendments in the course of the year and to monitor budgetary execution. The Commission will make a proposal to the Council and Parliament under Article 136 setting out the graduated steps and conditions that should apply in such cases. You see that we are really speaking seriously when we mention the need for more discipline, more integration. It means more euro, more Europe. That I think should be goal of all of us.

(Applause)

All this is in addition to the proposals on a more unified external representation for the euro area and options for ‘stability bonds’ that the Commission will bring forward by the end of this year.

One final point on governance: in the State of the Union address I said that the Commission would present a single, coherent framework for better economic governance based on the Community method. We are developing that right now.

The proposal will ensure compatibility between the euro area and the Union as a whole. It will be done in a way that aims to integrate the Euro Plus Pact, because coordination and integration must be carried out at a single, Community level. How can we talk about coordination and integration in a disintegrated manner? It is obvious that we need a Community approach to do that. Yes, we need stronger governance. Yes, we need the euro area heads of government to meet more frequently. But no, we do not need to create yet more institutions or yet more titles, when we already have the structures in place to do the job.

It is essential that we do not create a division between the 17 members of the euro area and the 27 Members of the European Union, most of whom wish to join the euro.

(Applause)

Such a division could deeply harm the European Union as a whole. It could call into question the single market or be an invitation to renationalisation of Community policies. That is

why we need to have stronger governance for the countries that are in the euro area, but to have it in full compatibility with the rules and the *acquis* for the European Union as a whole. This is why it is essential to keep the Community institutions – Parliament, the Commission – at the very core of the process of coordination and integration.

The role of these institutions is also to guarantee this link, to guarantee that no Member State is jeopardised, to guarantee that Europe remains strong and united.

The solutions to Europe's crisis are, I believe, known to most of us but it requires courage and political will to grasp them. To do so is to fully acknowledge our interdependence and to take a bold leap towards further integration. The problem of Europe is not too much integration; it is in fact the lack of a European approach.

(Applause)

Such changes to the nature of our Union may need to be enshrined in changes to the Treaty; changes that must keep the Community method at their core.

But one thing is for sure – as the crisis narrows in on us, I see no other option than to act now. So the fact that we are considering more ambitious changes for the future should not be an excuse not to take the decisions now and this is why we need to act together in a unified and coherent way.

The crisis is not partial. The response cannot be partial. Our responses cannot be piecemeal. That is why this road map is a single, comprehensive approach and all its elements must be implemented in parallel.

This is the message I intend to take to the European Council on 23 October and for which I would like to have your support, the support for a united and stronger Union.

3-035-000

President. – Thank you very much, Mr President, for the next concrete proposals after our State of the Union debate in the European Parliament two weeks ago. Thank you very much for your support for our proposal for fast-track legislation. It certainly needs the cooperation of three institutions: the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament. We are ready for deep discussions on this topic.

3-036-000

Joseph Daul, *au nom du groupe PPE.* – Monsieur le Président, Messieurs les Présidents, chers collègues. Une nouvelle fois, notre Parlement est appelé à débattre des décisions attendues d'un Conseil européen et, une nouvelle fois, le groupe PPE appelle à une réponse européenne, à une réponse communautaire à la crise. Encore une fois, une résolution va être votée, demain, par une écrasante majorité des députés européens, pour appeler les chefs d'État et de gouvernement à faire preuve d'esprit de responsabilité lorsqu'ils se réuniront le 23 octobre.

J'ai parfois, comme la plupart de mes collègues présents, l'impression de me répéter et d'assister à un dialogue de sourds entre les institutions et nos États membres. Certes, nous sommes d'accord sur l'importance de la crise, sur l'urgence à trouver des solutions, sur l'indispensable "mix" entre mesures de réduction de déficit et mesures d'incitation à la croissance et à l'emploi. Mais nous différons sur les mesures à prendre et sur le fait de savoir

si ces mesures doivent être prises au compte-gouttes ou avec l'efficacité d'une opération chirurgicale.

Mesdames et Messieurs, l'Europe doit cesser de débattre sur la façon dont elle pourrait prendre ses décisions, sur la question de savoir si elle doit ou non entamer une énième réforme des traités. L'Europe doit cesser d'analyser, de soupeser, et surtout d'hésiter. L'Europe doit agir, l'Europe doit mettre un terme au débat sur la solidarité avec la Grèce. Solidaire, elle doit l'être naturellement et la décision prise par la troïka hier est aussi responsable qu'est irresponsable le petit jeu politicien mené au Parlement slovaque.

L'Europe doit cesser de s'interroger sur le fait de savoir s'il faut ou non réduire nos déficits publics. Bien sûr qu'il faut s'attaquer aux déficits publics nationaux et régionaux! La seule question est de savoir comment le faire et de veiller à le faire en respectant la plus grande justice fiscale et sociale.

Monsieur le Président Barroso, je ne vais pas lire le texte que j'avais préparé pour la Commission. Je vais simplement vous féliciter et vous dire: je souscris à ce que vous avez dit aujourd'hui et je signe. La seule chose que j'ajouterais, c'est que je vous souhaite bonne chance pour le faire passer au niveau du Conseil, avec le soutien de notre groupe politique. Allez-y, n'ayez pas peur, il faut prendre des mesures avant Noël. Donc, merci beaucoup pour cette présentation que vous nous avez faite aujourd'hui.

Quand je parle de l'Europe, je ne parle pas seulement de Bruxelles et de Strasbourg. Je parle aussi de Bratislava, de Londres, de toutes les capitales européennes qui doivent comprendre que la vraie souveraineté, ce ne sont pas seulement les ors des palais républicains ou royaux. La vraie souveraineté, Mesdames et Messieurs, c'est la capacité de donner à nos concitoyens la vie qu'ils méritent, le niveau de vie pour lequel ils travaillent, la liberté. Et ce n'est pas en nous repliant dans nos frontières, ce n'est pas en refermant les frontières de Schengen ou en renouant avec le protectionnisme que nous arriverons à ce résultat.

La croissance et les emplois – mais je sais que les anti-européens ne sont pas d'accord et j'adore qu'ils rouspètent; ça veut dire que nous sommes sur la bonne voie (*Applaudissements*). M. Farage, vous avez donné le bon exemple à la dernière Conférence des présidents, j'espère que ce sera pareil aujourd'hui – la croissance et les emplois, Monsieur le Président du Conseil, ne seront de nouveau au rendez-vous en Europe que si nos États membres jouent pleinement, totalement et rapidement le jeu, dès le 23 octobre, le jeu européen, le jeu de la solidarité, le jeu du "un pour tous et tous pour un".

Pour la troisième fois dans mes interventions, j'affirme qu'il faut faire converger les taux de fiscalité, l'âge de la retraite, la durée hebdomadaire du travail, pour ne prendre que ces exemples. Mon groupe ne m'a pas donné assez de temps pour faire devant vous la liste de tout ce qui est impossible en Europe. Mais vous savez qu'impossible n'est pas français. Donc tout est possible, et c'est aussi notre slogan au niveau de mon parti. L'Europe doit agir, et je suis persuadé que ce sera un succès.

Monsieur Barroso, nous avons besoin d'une réponse à donner à nos concitoyens. Quelles sont les demandes auxquelles nous devons actuellement répondre dans nos campagnes? Quand j'entends les gens qui ont travaillé dur toute leur vie, qui ont un livret d'épargne, je constate que la question qu'ils posent, c'est: ce que nous avons sur notre livret d'épargne, ce que nous avons acquis durement pendant notre vie, est-ce que cela est protégé par l'Europe et par l'euro? Si, c'est protégé! Si! Et donc, c'est cette réponse que nous devons leur donner, c'est cette assurance que nous devons leur confirmer.

Nous avons ce devoir, au niveau des chefs d'État et de gouvernement, des institutions européennes, de leur donner cette première réponse. Pour le reste, vous avez raison, nous avons les outils, nous avons les moyens politiques. Si nous les mettons en œuvre, nous allons sortir de la crise. Et je tiens à vous dire ceci, mes chers amis: ceux qui se présentent aujourd'hui dans nos bureaux, ce ne sont pas uniquement les pays européens. Ce sont ceux qui s'inquiètent déjà de savoir si nous allons réussir et si l'euro, peut-être à 1,10 euros, va relancer l'économie de l'Europe, par rapport à d'autres continents qui commencent à se poser des questions. Alors, comme vous l'avez dit, agissons ensemble, Mesdames et Messieurs, ne jouons pas au chat et à la souris, ayons du courage, et je suis persuadé que nous allons maintenant tracer la voie pour sortir de la crise, pour sortir l'Europe de cette crise, et lui rendre sa place dans le jeu du monde où nous voulons exister.

L'orateur accepte de répondre à une question "carton bleu" (article 149, paragraphe 8 du règlement)

3-037-000

Liisa Jaakonsaari (S&D). - Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa herra Daul, Teidän puheitanne on aina mielenkiintoista kuunnella. Ne ovat eurooppalaisia, kunnian miehen puheenvuoroja.

Te sanoitte, että kaikki on mahdollista Euroopassa. Minä haluan kysyä Teiltä, onko mahdollista, että Te voisitte vakuuttaa kreikkalaisen veljespuolueenne tämän kriisin syvyydestä niin, että Teidän veljespuolueenne Kreikassa ei olisi pahentamassa näitä ongelmia, vaan olisi tukemassa niitä uudistuksia, jotka ovat tällä hetkellä välttämättömiä. Mitä Te olette tehnyt sen eteen?

3-038-000

Joseph Daul (PPE). - Madame, la réponse est très simple. Voici ce que nous avons fait: quatre de mes collègues étaient en Grèce le week-end dernier pour discuter avec notre parti frère, afin de faire avancer les choses, comme vous l'évoquez dans votre question. Donc, nous y travaillons tous les jours, et à la fin de la semaine, trois personnes se sont de nouveau déplacées. Nous sommes en étroite collaboration tant avec le parti qu'avec la délégation grecque, et nous en discutons aussi au sein de notre groupe.

3-039-000

Martin Schulz, im Namen der S&D-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident! Es ist durch die Rede des Herrn Kommissionspräsidenten ziemlich deutlich geworden, dass sich in der Europäischen Union ein klares Bild abzeichnet: Es gibt die Gemeinschaftsinstitutionen, deren Überzeugungen sich weitgehend decken. Ich kann nur feststellen, dass das, was Herr Kommissionspräsident Barroso vorgeschlagen und vorgetragen hat – zum wiederholten Male – das widerspiegelt, was Wille der überwältigenden Mehrheit dieses Hauses ist. Das heißt, die Gemeinschaftsinstitutionen rücken zusammen. Das kann man von der anderen Seite – der Seite der Regierungsinstitutionen, d. h. Rat und Europäischer Rat – wahrlich nicht behaupten. Denn die Situation ist nicht so, Kollege Daul, dass wir bis Weihnachten Lösungen brauchen, sondern wir brauchen die Lösungen jetzt! Weil die Situation in der Europäischen Union so dramatisch ist, dass wir zwei Dinge parallel tun müssen: Wir müssen die Stabilisierung der wirtschaftlichen Situation in den gefährdeten und in den noch stabilen Ländern der Europäischen Union im Auge behalten, und wir müssen zugleich begreifen, dass der Lissabon-Vertrag nicht das Ende der europäischen Integration sein kann, sondern dass er ein Zwischenschritt ist, und dass wir weitere Vergemeinschaftungen von

Politikfeldern brauchen, weil wir ansonsten ein weiteres schwerwiegendes Demokratiedefizit schaffen.

Es ist doch völlig klar: Wenn wir die Entscheidungen über unsere Währung, über unsere Wirtschafts- und Finanzpolitik, die Haushaltspolitik, die Fiskalpolitik insgesamt, ausschließlich diesem permanenten Wiener Kongress überlassen, der sich hier Europäischer Rat nennt, wo die Mächtigen Europas nach Brüssel reisen und hinter verschlossenen Türen tagen, um anschließend den erstaunten Menschen mitzuteilen, was sie mal wieder nicht auf die Reihe gekriegt haben – das kann nicht das Europa der Effektivität sein, des Vertrauens der Märkte und des Vertrauens der Bürger! Dieses zergliederte Europa, wo jeder Regierungschef an den taktischen Winkelzügen seiner nationalen Parlamentarier festhält, dieses Europa wird den Euro nicht stärken! Deshalb brauchen wir Vergemeinschaftungen. Wenn Sie Artikel 136 mit Kommission und Rat hier zitieren, Herr Präsident, da wollen wir als Parlament zukünftig immer dabei sein. Egal, was es in Europa an exekutivem Handeln gibt, das Parlament will mit dabei sein. Alleine schon deshalb brauchen wir Vertragsänderungen!

(Beifall)

„Die Menschen werden irre an ihren Regierungen“. Das ist die Schlagzeile des Handelsblatts von heute. Die Regierungen machen die Menschen irre. Es ist Ihr Parteifreund Jean-Claude Juncker, der das sagt. Und er hat Recht! Jeden Tag eine andere Idee, aber keine Lösungen. Jetzt müssen wir die Banken rekapitalisieren. Vor drei Jahren haben wir auch die Banken rekapitalisieren müssen. Dann haben wir gesagt: „Aber unter Kontrolle und mit Entflechtung“ – wie jetzt bei der Dexia – Investmentbanking und traditionelles Banking müssen entflochten werden. Seit drei Jahren ist nichts geschehen! Wir haben die Frage der Kapitalrückstellungen in den Bilanzen für Risikokapital diskutiert – nichts ist geschehen!

Wir sind in einer Situation, dass wir drei Jahre nach der schwersten Bankenkrise wieder die Banken rekapitalisieren müssen, ohne dass in der Zwischenzeit die notwendigen Regelungen geschaffen worden wären. Und das ist eine Situation, an der die Menschen wirklich irre werden. Weil, Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissionspräsident, Herr Ratspräsident, meine Damen und Herren, eines völlig klar ist: Banken sind zu groß, um sie scheitern zu lassen, und einzelne Staaten sind nicht wichtig genug, um sie zu retten! Das ist die Realität der Europäischen Union! Einfache Bürgerinnen und Bürger und ihr Staat sind unwichtig, Kapitalgesellschaften sind alles!

Ich zitiere Ihnen jetzt einen Fachmann: „Deswegen werden die Menschen irre an ihren Regierungen: Dem Steuerzahler das Geld nehmen, es den Banken geben, und die Aktionäre verdienen dabei. Wenn der Steuerzahler zahlt, dann ist er bitte auch Aktionär! Die Banken haben Teile ihrer Gewinne an den Staatshaushalt abzuführen. Das ist meine altmodische Sicht der Dinge.“ – sagt Jean-Claude Juncker, Ministerpräsident von Luxemburg! Und der Kommissionspräsident sagt: „Wir brauchen die Finanztransaktionssteuer“. Angela Merkel und Nicolas Sarkozy kriegen sie nicht auf die Reihe. Deshalb haben wir keine Zeit bis Weihnachten, deshalb müssen wir jetzt handeln!

Deshalb will ich Ihnen ganz deutlich sagen: Wir hoffen, dass Sie den Mut, den Sie jetzt hier vor diesem Haus zwei Mal aufgebracht haben, auch am 23. Oktober im Rat aufbringen. Und dann wünschte ich mir, dass Sie zu uns kämen und Bericht erstatteten. Aber ich habe gehört, Sie sind in China, auf dem EU-China-Gipfel, und können nicht kommen. Und Herr van Rompuy ist gleich noch mit Ihnen, der fliegt auch mit und kann auch nicht kommen. Ich nehme an, Herr Tusk kann auch nicht kommen. Ich weiß nicht, was Sie alle drei den

Chinesen erzählen, vielleicht immer das Gleiche – schon alles gesagt, nur noch nicht von jedem. Vielleicht können Sie Herrn van Rompuy sagen, er kann kommen, denn wenn Herr Tusk und Herr Barroso dort sind, reicht das.

Deshalb wäre es wichtig, dass der Ratspräsident nach einem so wichtigen Gipfel vor dem Europäischen Parlament seine Erklärung abgibt, damit wir endlich wissen, ob die Staats- und Regierungschefs ihre Aufgabe erfüllen. Wir erfüllen unsere, Sie Ihre, der Rat muss jetzt seine erfüllen!

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 149 Absatz 8 Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

3-040-000

William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD). - Mr Schulz, in your speech you advocated Treaty changes and new treaties to achieve further integration. Is it your position that further treaties and/or Treaty changes should be endorsed by referendums, or not?

3-041-000

Martin Schulz (S&D). - Ich wende mich gerne an den Kollegen Nummer 314. Die Referenden sind, soweit ich weiß, in bestimmten Ländern verbindlich. Ich glaube, das Land, das Sie hier vertreten, muss ein Referendum durchführen. Deshalb will ich Ihnen die Lektüre der gestrigen Zeitungen Ihres Heimatlandes empfehlen. Ministerpräsident Cameron hat gestern die Europäische Union aufgefordert, bitte schnell und einheitlich zu handeln, damit die Wirtschaft des Vereinigten Königreiches nicht in Gefahr kommt. Ich habe übrigens gelernt, dass 40 % der Exporte des Vereinigten Königreiches in die Eurozone gehen und Herr Cameron deshalb eine dringende Stabilisierung der Eurozone wünscht.

(Beifall)

Wir sagen also: Herr Cameron, wir stabilisieren die Eurozone und Du kämpfst beim Referendum für ein Ja für die Vertragsänderungen.

3-042-000

Guy Verhofstadt, *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . – Mr President, European politics have certainly changed if we are using Mr Cameron to defend our cause! Yet why not? It is the presence of a coalition partner that explains such a huge change. They are asking for an economic and fiscal union, Mr Swoboda: that is the big change.

If, as has been said, the British Government is asking to have a more integrated Europe – and that seems to be what they are asking for – then it is in their interests too. Let us recognise that.

Mr Barroso, we now have certainty that you will put a global plan before the Council. I presume you will do that by tabling a document at the European Council on 23 October. It would be good if Members of Parliament could also receive a copy of that document in advance so that we can see what aspects of the Commission proposals the European leaders are accepting and what they are still not accepting.

Mr Barroso, I will ask for your attention on three points, where I think you have to reinforce your proposals, and you still have quite some time before 23 October to do that.

The first is that you have to change the rules of the European Financial Stability Facility – because it does not work. A unanimity rule in a rescue system cannot work, as we have learned today in Slovakia and a number of other countries. You need to make it clear not only that a majority voting system is needed but also that the funds for the system must be increased. We have to help Member States in difficulties; we have to recapitalise the banks; we have to help countries that have insufficient liquidity. So you must tell the truth, and the truth is that we have to triple – at least triple – the funds in the EFSF, otherwise it will not be convincing to the financial markets. That is the first point that needs to be made on 23 October: you should tell the Council that you want to change the EFSF, that there should be majority voting and that the funds must be at least tripled. Then you will have real firepower, and not merely a ‘firewall’ against the financial markets.

The second point concerns eurobonds. We know what the solution will be in the end because what the EFSF will do is to create eurobonds covered by the European Central Bank – and who do you think is covering the capital of the European Central Bank? The Member States of the eurozone! It is exactly the same system, so come forward with the Green Paper as quickly as possible. A few weeks ago, you said that you would come forward with the Green Paper in a few weeks. A few minutes ago, you said it would be by the end of the year. I know that still means a few weeks, but I am asking you to move as quickly as possible because, in the end, that is the only way to convince the markets that we have created real solidarity and real discipline in the eurozone.

My third and last point is recapitalisation of the banks. Mr Barroso, you have indicated a number of aspects of that operation. Our Parliament is asking for a European plan for recapitalisation. Do not make the mistake of 2008 when, at the Elysée Palace on 4 October, some Member States – and Mrs Merkel was involved here – refused a European plan for recapitalisation of the banks. Mrs Merkel thought that no German bank would have to be rescued. A few minutes later, in the car, she received information that there was also a German bank that had difficulties.

We need a European plan and not, as you said earlier, action by the national governments in the first instance. No: it is at European level that we have to decide which banks to help and with what money. The national governments can then come in with money if the EFSF does not have the possibility of doing so, but it has to be a European plan, not a coordination of national plans. So do not repeat the errors that were made in October 2008.

3-043-000

Rebecca Harms, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion* . – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Ratspräsidentschaft, Herr Präsident Barroso! Angesichts der Situation, dass wir heute, nachdem wir seit drei Jahren über Wege und Politiken aus der Krise diskutieren, zugeben müssen, dass wir tiefer in der Krise stecken, als wir das noch im Sommer dieses Jahres zugegeben haben, müssen wir schon noch einmal analysieren, was eigentlich unsere gemeinsamen europäischen Fehler gewesen sind, und wie es soweit kommen konnte. Eine Fehleranalyse ist meiner Meinung nach die beste Voraussetzung, um in Zukunft etwas besser zu machen.

Ich möchte an eine Situation erinnern, die für mich typisch gewesen ist, für das Krisenmanagement der Europäischen Union, insbesondere des Europäischen Rates. Ich werde nicht vergessen, dass Josef Ackermann, der Chef der Deutschen Bank, und Herr Baudouin Prot, der Chef von BNP Paribas, in einem sehr entscheidenden Moment im Juli dieses Jahres direkt in die Beratungen des Rates einbezogen worden sind. Ich bin der

Auffassung, dass – bevor wir zur nächsten Bankenrettung übergehen – wir uns darüber einigen müssen, und zwar insgesamt im Europäischen Parlament, dass wir das nicht mehr auf der Grundlage einer falschen Beratung tun dürfen. Diese Gespenster des Kapitals dürfen nicht die Entscheider darüber sein, wie wir den Bankensektor neu regulieren. Das ist mein entscheidendes Plädoyer heute.

Wir sprechen so vornehm in Neueuropäisch von der Rekapitalisierung des Bankensektors. Meiner Meinung nach haben wir bisher immer nur die Banken am Leben gehalten, und noch keine wirklich gerettet. insbesondere haben wir in der Krise in den letzten Jahren noch kein einziges Land in der Europäischen Union gerettet. Bevor wir also zur zweiten Bankenrettung schreiten, ist die Frage zu stellen, zu welchen Kosten wir das eigentlich tun wollen? Ich bin fest davon überzeugt, dass diese Kosten gering sein sollten, weil sie von den Steuerzahlern getragen werden. Ich glaube, dass wir die Rekapitalisierung mit einer weitestgehende Kontrolle dieser Banken verbinden müssen. In Deutschland wird von der intelligenten Verstaatlichung gesprochen. So etwas sollte europäisch geregelt werden. Eines muss klar sein, wenn wir wieder das Geld geben, dann muss die Party für diejenigen, die im Bankenbereich das Geld verdienen, vorbei sein.

Ich vermisse bisher die Ansage für eine echte europäische Regulierung der Rekapitalisierung dieser Banken. Dexia ist für mich ein Name, der bisher für das Scheitern der europäischen Politik auf dem Bankensektor steht. Dexia hat ohne Probleme den Stresstest bestanden. Wenn ich das richtig einschätze, würde Dexia auch alle Regeln, die Sie neu vorgeschlagen haben, ohne Probleme einhalten. Jede Hürde aufgrund der Regeln, die wir für das Jahr 2013 jetzt vorhaben, würde von Dexia genommen werden. An dieser Stelle, Herr Barroso, müssen wir korrigieren. Das gilt auch für das Europäische Parlament. Eine harte Schuldenbremse für die Banken, das muss sein, und zwar nicht erst ab 2019. Verbindliche Liquiditätsregeln, auch das muss sein, auch wenn das dann dazu führt, dass wir im Europäischen Parlament plötzlich nicht mehr so einig sind wie bei einer Abstimmung über die Gemeinschaftsmethode.

Wie soll der Bankensektor in Europa in Zukunft aussehen? Unserer Meinung nach muss er schrumpfen. Wie viele kranke Großbanken können wir uns auf Dauer leisten? Wir glauben, längst nicht so viele wie wir sie heute haben. Wir müssen erreichen, dass die Banken wieder zu Dienstleistern der Realwirtschaft werden und dass die Banken nicht diejenigen sind, die in erster Linie durch Spekulation Gewinne erzielen. Auch das ist etwas, was von uns zu entscheiden ist. Martin Schulz nickt. Ich sehe und weiß, dass wir uns auf der einen Seite dieses Hauses darüber mehr einig sind als insgesamt in diesem Hause. Unsere heutige Entschließung ist gut und schön, aber über das Kleingedruckte werden wir noch manche Debatte führen müssen.

(Beifall)

3-044-000

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. GIANNI PITTELLA

Vicepresidente

3-045-000

Jan Zahradil, *za skupinu ECR*. – Pane předsedo, já jsem přemýšlel, jakou si mám vzít dnes kravatu, jestli si už mám vzít černou kravatu jako na pohřeb, vzal jsem si nakonec šedivou. Možná na tu černou dojde někdy příště.

Ale musím říci, že situace je vážná, a že Vy v podstatě nenabízíte nic jiného, než co nabízí národní státy, které tady tolik kritizujete. Nabízíte, aby Evropská unie vykoupila společně ty, kteří se předlužili, kteří se chovali nezodpovědně, ať už to jsou banky anebo dokonce celé státy, a já Vám říkám, že na to evropská ekonomika prostě nemá. Žádný euroval není dost vysoký na to, aby tohleto zvládl. Když s tímhle začnete, tak nikdy neskončíte.

A za druhé nabízíte evropskou ekonomickou vládu. Nabízíte tedy de facto likvidaci národního státu a já myslím, že to může navrhnout jenom politik, který vůbec nic netuší o náladách, které panují v členských zemích. Podívejte se do Finska, podívejte se na Slovensko, podívejte se do Nizozemska. Já myslím, že lidé už toho mají plné zuby, pane předsedo. Tohle všechno je jenom přitápění pod kotlem a ten kotel jednou vybuchne.

Jediné správné řešení, jediné férové řešení je ekonomické řešení, tzn. postupovat po jednotlivých případech, umožnit řízené bankroty, umožnit devalvaci, zredukovat eurozónu a na to je potřeba mít odvalu. Na to je potřeba mít odvalu, pane předsedo, protože k tomu ostatnímu tolik odvahy nepotřebujete. Pokud tu odvalu nesebereme, pokud se evropské instituce nevzpamatují, potom, dámy a pánové, bude tento Evropský parlament dobrý k jedné jediné věci, aby se tady zpívala píseň od Beethovena, skladba, o které se tvrdí, že je to evropská hymna. K ničemu jinému pak dobří nebudeme.

3-046-000

Lothar Bisky, *im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion* . – Herr Präsident! Seit den letzten Debatten zur Lage der Europäischen Union hier im Parlament hat sich die Situation zugespitzt. Ich will mal sagen, keiner der Vorschläge ist aufgegriffen und verwirklicht worden. Dass das etwas zugespitzt ist, gebe ich zu. Das ist vielleicht unser Problem. Wir sind weit entfernt von einer umfassenden Lösung. Es scheint ja den Akteuren der Finanzmärkte so zu gehen, dass sie sagen, das müssen wir ja alles nicht ernst nehmen, wir spielen weiter wie gehabt. Und sie spielen weiter wie gehabt.

Es wird weiter munter mit den Zinsen für griechische, spanische, italienische Anleihen gewettet, und die in die Interessenkonflikte verstrickten Ratingagenturen befeuern das Spiel mit der Herabsetzung der Bonität von Spanien und Italien. Ins Visier geraten auch verstärkt europäische Banken, deren Unterkapitalisierung ein wachsendes Risiko darstellt, wie etwa die Dexia-Bank zeigt. Die Bevölkerung in Griechenland, Portugal, Spanien organisiert Massenproteste gegen die Rosskuren zur Reduzierung der staatlichen Ausgaben. Die Arbeitslosigkeit, die Situation der Jugend, die Austeritätsmaßnahmen belasten vor allem die Bürger und fast nie die Verursacher der Krise, nämlich die Akteure der unregulierten Finanzmärkte.

Es gibt in unseren Mitgliedsländern zunehmend kein Vertrauen mehr in die Institutionen von Europa. In dieser Woche weilen Teilnehmer eines Marsches aus Spanien, die Indignados, hier in Brüssel. Sie wollen ihrem Protest gegen die Folgen der Politik der Privatisierung und Liberalisierung, die zu den Auswüchsen der Märkte geführt haben, Ausdruck verleihen. Diese Bewegung der Unzufriedenen erfasst all jene Länder, die die Lasten der Krise auf die Schultern der einfachen Leute abwälzen. Das offensichtliche Scheitern der neoliberalen Politik betrifft nicht nur die Finanzmärkte, es wird darin offenbar, dass das Zocken um steigende und fallende Kurse längst andere Bereiche, etwa den weltweiten Agrarmarkt oder die Rohstoffmärkte, erreicht hat. Das Funktionieren der Realwirtschaft selbst ist in Gefahr, denn nur wenige große internationale Firmen können die extremen Schwankungen ökonomisch vernünftig abfangen.

Wir sind, obwohl wir häufig darüber reden, in der Situation von Hase und Igel angekommen, bei der die Marktteilnehmer in Gestalt des Igels stolz verkünden „Ick bün all hier“. Ich glaube, wenn wir uns selbst ernst nehmen wollen, muss darauf geachtet werden, auch über die Folgen der Debatten zu diskutieren. Ich stelle fest, aus meiner Sicht hat sich nichts Wesentliches verändert. Wenn die vernünftigen Vorschläge, die hier geäußert wurden, auch von Herrn Barroso, nicht verwirklicht werden können, dann ist es wirklich dramatisch. Das ist für mich die entscheidende Kritik, die ich vorbringen möchte.

3-047-000

Nigel Farage, *on behalf of the EFD Group*. – Mr President, I am always prepared to accept that I might be wrong and I thought the democratic revolution against this euro lunacy was confined to Northern Europe, but now we see that Slovakia has joined it and I must say what a wonderful result that was last night in Slovakia. I am sure many of you here will agree.

It has produced, I think, the quote of the crisis. Richard Sulik who led the rebels said: 'I would rather be a pariah in Brussels than have to feel ashamed before my children who would be deeper in debt'. Well I know how he feels because I have been somewhat of a pariah here perhaps for the last 10 years, but he has got it right because he summed up the detachment between Brussels and the real people of the European Union.

Listening to this debate today it is almost as if this debate has been going on inside a padded cell that is the European Parliament, as people compete for who can be the most stupid; who can waste the maximum amount of taxpayers' money. I really do think as a political class you are all wrong, and you are all wrong democratically because nobody has ever given consent for this behaviour.

When people vote 'no'; when the French vote 'no', you ignore them. When the Dutch vote 'no', you ignore them. When the Irish vote 'no', you say vote again and get it right. When Slovakia votes 'no', we are told today it will all be OK because they can vote again this week until they get the right answer.

We have 17 countries trapped inside this economic prison of the eurozone and all you can do, Mr Barroso, is stand up and say: we need more power. People like you – who have been the architect of this failure, the architect of the misery that is being inflicted upon millions – want more power. It is like Barroso in the bunker, unaware of what is happening in the outside world, but planning world domination.

In economic terms it is getting madder and madder. I hear that the new idea is that the bail-out fund will be multiplied, geared up times five, by the European Central Bank so that you have got your two trillion, Mr Verhofstadt. Two trillion – good God! Greece is going bankrupt. If you lot continue, the whole banking system in Europe is going to go bankrupt. The former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Norman Lamont, this morning described the attempts to save the euro as the most gigantic Ponzi scheme. I am tempted to think he is right.

3-048-000

Bruno Gollnisch (NI). - Monsieur le Président, ce qui est extraordinaire dans nos débats et en particulier aujourd'hui, c'est qu'il n'y a jamais littéralement aucune analyse des causes. Comment en est-on arrivé là? Si l'on se posait la question des causes, on pourrait peut-être réfléchir aux conséquences et se pencher sérieusement sur les moyens d'en sortir.

En réalité, vous méprisez profondément les peuples européens et leur avis. Hier, les Portugais changeaient de gouvernement en sachant que, de toute façon, les politiques d'austérité que les nouveaux élus allaient mettre en place seraient dictées ailleurs. Le gouvernement grec ne peut même pas choisir à quel prix il va brader ses actifs publics: la chose est décidée à Bruxelles, à Strasbourg, au FMI, à Washington. Aujourd'hui, les dirigeants européens, la Commission en tête, méprisent le vote slovaque et attendent que le parlement slovaque revote dans ce qui est pour eux, le bon sens, c'est-à-dire le sens du "toujours plus d'Europe". "Toujours plus d'Europe", Monsieur Verhofstadt, demande le triplement du Fonds européen de stabilité. Jusqu'où voulez-vous aller, Monsieur Verhofstadt? 900 milliards? 1 200 milliards? Mais où allez-vous prendre l'argent? Le sommet européen qui s'annonce sera une veillée funèbre autour du gisant qu'est devenue la démocratie européenne.

3-049-000

Martin Schulz (S&D). - Herr Präsident! Ich bitte um Entschuldigung. Ich bin vom Rat darauf aufmerksam gemacht worden, dass ich Herrn van Rompuy Unrecht zugefügt habe. Das möchte ich korrigieren. Ich habe eben Herrn van Rompuy kritisiert, weil er in der kommenden Woche nicht kommt, weil er zum China-Gipfel fährt. Fakt ist aber, der Gipfel des Europäischen Rates sollte eigentlich vergangenen Sonntag stattfinden und ist auf den 23. Oktober verschoben worden. Das heißt, Herr van Rompuy ist gar nicht schuld daran. Er kann logischerweise den China-Gipfel nicht absagen und ins Parlament kommen, wenn der eigentliche Termin, über den er das Parlament informieren sollte, um 14 Tage verschoben worden ist. Da ich immer Herrn van Rompuy kritisiere – und ich fahre auch fort, ihn zu kritisieren, nicht persönlich, sondern weil ich das Amt des Ratspräsidenten für falsch halte, es müsste mit dem des Kommissionspräsidenten zusammengelegt sein –, weil ich das immer tue, ich aber fair sein will, wenn ich ihn kritisiere, und er hat es nicht verdient, möchte ich das hier öffentlich korrigieren.

3-050-000

Presidente. – Onorevole Schulz, non era esattamente una domanda "blue card" quella che lei ha invocato. Lei ha utilizzato uno strumento per dire un'altra cosa. Comunque va bene, è una precisazione doverosa da parte sua.

3-051-000

Markus Ferber (PPE). - Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissionspräsident, Herr Ratspräsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir sollten uns wieder auf das konzentrieren, was unsere Aufgabe hier ist. Ich habe jetzt acht Redner und acht Rezepte gehört. Das zeigt doch das Problem, das wir auch hier im Hause haben. Da bin ich ja froh, dass es im Rat doch geschlossener zugeht und man die Dinge schneller zusammenführen kann, als die vielen Rezepturen, die wir jetzt von den verschiedensten politischen Richtungen gehört haben.

Wenn wir uns über eines im Klaren sein müssen, dann müssen wir doch gerade gemeinsam mühsam das aufräumen, was die Mitgliedstaaten bisher verhindert hatten. Die Amerikaner haben sich leichtgetan, eine europäische Regulierung zu machen, weil sie Institutionen auf der Ebene der Vereinigten Staaten vorgefunden haben. Wir mussten sie erst einmal miteinander schaffen, und wir haben sie als Parlament miteinander geschaffen, auch gegen den Widerstand z. B. des Vereinigten Königreichs. Wir haben bei der Verschärfung des Stabilitäts- und Wachstumspakts mit dem *Governance Package* gezeigt, dass wir in der Lage sind, hier handlungsfähig zu sein und Europa so zu stärken, dass es funktioniert.

Aber, Herr Kommissionspräsident, ich sage auch sehr kritisch: Wir müssen jetzt nicht über beschleunigte Verfahren diskutieren, wenn zu einer Vielzahl von Regelungsnotwendigkeiten noch gar keine Vorschläge der Kommission vorliegen. Wir warten auf die Finanzmarktregulierung, wir warten auf die *market abuse directive*, um nur zwei zu benennen, die wohl nächste Woche erst vorgeschlagen werden. Wir können nichts verabschieden, was nicht einmal auf dem Tisch liegt! Deswegen wirklich auch die Bitte an die Kommission, die Dinge voranzubringen. Es war alles für das erste Halbjahr dieses Jahres vorgesehen! Und jetzt ist es Oktober! Sie können nicht dem Parlament vorwerfen, dass es seine Aufgaben nicht erfüllt. Wir tun wirklich unser Möglichstes, um zu entsprechenden Lösungen zu kommen. Deswegen: Bitte legen Sie vor, dann verabschieden wir auch.

3-052-000

Hannes Swoboda (S&D). - Herr Präsident! In der Tat, wie das ein Journalist geschrieben hat, ist es ja so, dass wir nicht nur eine Krise der Europäischen Union haben, sondern auch eine Krise der Krisenbewältigung, oder man müsste fast sagen der Krisennichtbewältigung. Das ist ein entscheidendes Problem. Jedes Mal wenn es ein Gipfeltreffen gibt, oder zumindest ein Gipfeltreffen zwischen Sarkozy und Merkel, heißt es, jetzt werden die Märkte beruhigt werden. Als wir hier das *sixpack* beschlossen haben, hat es geheißen, aber jetzt werden die Märkte beruhigt sein. Nichts ist passiert. Ohne Wirtschaftswachstum wird das nicht gehen, dass wir aus der Krise herauskommen.

Herr Kommissionspräsident, Sie haben heute Vorschläge gemacht. Gut so! Wir werden das genau überprüfen. Ich hoffe, es geht mehr als das, was einige konservative und liberale Premierminister vor kurzem vorgeschlagen haben. Wir sind sehr für die Vollendung des Binnenmarks, aber das allein wird das notwendige Wachstum in der Europäischen Union nicht zusammenbringen. Wir brauchen ein passendes Konzept.

Lassen Sie mich noch etwas ernsthaft sagen. Der Kollege Daul spricht jetzt mit seiner Kollegin, das ist sein gutes Recht. Der Kollege Daul hat von Bratislava gesprochen. Ja was ist denn das für eine Situation, die wir in Europa haben? Da wird eine Regierung gebildet, bewusst mit Koalitionspartnern, die antieuropäisch denken und handeln, und wenn dann eine Krise kommt, müssen die Sozialdemokraten kommen und die Regierung aus der Krise herausführen. Genauso ist es, Kollege Ferber. In den Niederlanden ist genau dieselbe Situation. Jetzt kommt eine neue Regierung in Lettland zustande, wo genau das selbe passiert, weil dort die Konservativen sagen, lieber gehen wir mit den Extremisten vom rechten Rand zusammen, die antieuropäisch denken, als dass wir vielleicht sogar mit jenen russischstämmigen Wählern zusammengehen, die ja genau von dieser neuen Partei oder von der neuen Koalitionspartei nicht als echte Letten anerkannt werden.

Es geht also nicht nur um ein gemeinsames Europa, Kollege Verhofstadt und Kollege Daul, es geht auch darum, dass wir endlich Regierungen auf nationaler Ebene bekommen, die europäisch denken, und nicht Regierungen, die gerade an die Macht kommen wollen und versagen, wenn es nur darum geht, europäisch zu handeln, und dann müssen die Sozialdemokraten gehen. Das ist kein wirkliches Konzept für Europa. Wir brauchen beides. Wir brauchen eine Europäische Union, die stark ist. Aber wir brauchen nationale Regierungen, die auch europäisch denken. Auch das ist wichtig!

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 149 Absatz 8 Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

3-053-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Viackrát už vo vystúpeniach bola spomenutá Slovenská republika a hlasovanie Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky a ja by som sa najprv chcela poďakovať kolegovi Swobodovi, že možno ako jeden z mála si dal tú námahu, aby skutočne zisťoval príčiny toho, čo sa na Slovensku včera v noci stalo v Parlamente a na rozdiel napríklad od kolegu Faragea, ktorý tu už nie je, aspoň tuší, ako funguje slovenský parlamentarizmus.

Chcela by som sa vás, pán kolega Swoboda spýtať, ako skúseného európskeho politika, ako politika, ktorý častokrát adresoval aj kritické postoje Slovenskej republiky v čase, keď to bolo nevyhnutné, ako vy vnímate potrebu konsenzu v takýchto zásadných európskych otázkach na úrovni národných parlamentov?

3-054-000

Hannes Swoboda (S&D). - Herr Präsident! Ich unterstütze natürlich die polnische Regierung, die sich nicht mit den Extremisten verbündet, sondern eine klare pro-europäische Haltung hat. Zu der Frage der Kollegin Flašíková Beňová: Meine Information ist die, dass es eine ganz klare Aussage gerade auch von der SMER gibt, dass sie das Paket und den Rettungsschirm unterstützen wird, und dass Gott sei Dank – und damit möchte ich das auch durchaus unterstreichen – jetzt eine Partei, die von Herrn Dzurinda, klargemacht hat, dass sie gemeinsam vorgehen wollen. Das ist das, was wir uns in Europa vorstellen, nicht jene Partei des Parlamentspräsidenten, die anscheinend ja noch immer bei den Liberalen Unterschlupf findet. Da muss man endlich klare Worte sprechen, nicht nur hier in diesem Parlament, sondern auch den Parteifreunden gegenüber: Wir sind für dieses gemeinsame Europa und für diese gemeinsame europäische Politik.

3-055-000

Sylvie Goulard (ALDE). - Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Président de la Commission, je vous remercie de venir ici pour la deuxième fois en assez peu de temps pour nous expliquer que vous nous présentez une feuille de route, c'est-à-dire un plan complet. Nous avons insisté sur cet aspect. Nous sommes donc plutôt heureux que les choses aillent dans cette direction.

Mais je voudrais quand même faire deux remarques: la première porte sur le calendrier. Vous avez annoncé des mesures concernant les banques qui vont, à mon avis, dans le bon sens, puisqu'elles comporteraient des éléments de non-distribution de dividendes en contrepartie de mesures, etc. Sachez quand même que déjà de grandes banques européennes ont commencé à s'engager sur cette voie, comme la Erste Bank avant-hier. Il serait donc bien que nous n'arrivions pas après la bataille. Et que l'autorité bancaire européenne que nous avons contribué à créer ensemble puisse donner des indications qui permettent de considérer les banques pour ce qu'elles sont, c'est-à-dire des entités européennes, et qu'on n'ait pas dans chaque pays où elles sont actives des règles qui sont différentes.

Deuxièmement, sur le fond, le fait de ne pas agir au niveau européen pose un problème d'efficacité, mais aussi un problème démocratique: comment une poignée de députés – aujourd'hui, c'était en Slovaquie, demain cela pourrait être ailleurs – représentant une toute petite minorité du peuple auquel on s'adresse peut-elle décider toute seule et, en plus, dans le cadre national, c'est-à-dire sans donner aucune chance aux autres de faire pression sur ceux qui doivent décider? C'est pour cela que nous, nous défendons des approches européennes, pas parce que nous avons besoin de plus d'Europe sur le plan

idéologique. Non, c'est de manière très pragmatique que nous voulons plus d'Europe, parce que nos pays, nos gouvernements ont prouvé que cela ne marchait pas. C'est inefficace et c'est dangereux sur le plan démocratique. C'est donc pour lui dire cela que nous vous demandons de vous présenter au Conseil européen.

Dernière chose, rapidement. Vous avez l'art d'accommoder les restes, Monsieur Barroso. Il faut peut-être donner de l'appétit aux investisseurs et aux citoyens autrement qu'en recyclant des idées qui sont déjà dans le frigo depuis quelque temps. Les *project bonds* datent du discours sur l'état de l'Union 2010. On n'en a pas encore vu la couleur. Quant au *Single Market Act*, je me souviens que, devant nous, en 2009, avant votre investiture, on avait envisagé les mesures et il n'y a toujours rien. Tout cela va dans le bon sens, mais très sincèrement, accélérons, sinon nous perdons toute crédibilité.

3-056-000

Philippe Lamberts (Verts/ALE). - Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Président de la Commission, je voudrais revenir sur la question de la recapitalisation des banques. Vous avez très justement attiré l'attention sur la conditionnalité qui doit être liée à cette recapitalisation. Vous avez dit, en tout cas, que le secteur privé doit contribuer en premier lieu. Vous avez dit: plus de bonus, plus de dividendes, aussi longtemps que cet exercice est en cours, et vous avez réinsisté sur la question de la taxe sur les transactions financières. Là-dessus, je vous soutiens.

Je vous demande d'être cohérent. Je vous demande d'insister pour que ces mêmes conditionnalités soient applicables à toutes les banques qui sont encore sous aide publique aujourd'hui – et elles sont nombreuses –, mais je vous invite également à faire en sorte que ces mêmes conditionnalités soient d'application pour toutes les banques qui ne satisferont pas les nouvelles exigences de Bâle III.

Nous avons une période de transition très longue, beaucoup trop longue. Eh bien, aussi longtemps que cette période de transition est en vigueur, je pense que les conditions que vous avez énoncées doivent être d'application. Finalement, je pense qu'il est important de s'attaquer à la racine du problème. Certains l'ont dit aujourd'hui.

Je pense que nous attendons votre Commission sur la question de ce fameux casino, et il est vrai qu'elle nous a jusqu'à présent déçus. Aujourd'hui, les marchés de produits dérivés représentent 30 fois la taille de l'économie réelle. Vous devez d'abord isoler ce casino, c'est-à-dire séparer les métiers bancaires, avant de le fermer réellement. Cela doit se traduire par des mesures beaucoup plus ambitieuses sur les marchés de produits dérivés. On a jusqu'à présent le règlement *EMIR*, on a la question des CDS, et sur ce point je trouve que votre Commission n'a pas fait preuve de l'ambition dont vous vous voulez porteur aujourd'hui.

3-057-000

Timothy Kirkhope (ECR). - Mr President, the euro is facing a clear and present danger and the EU is facing one of its greatest tests. It must act responsibly but it should act within its own clear, current competences and the way forward for the eurozone must be found by the eurozone members.

Meanwhile the Commission is occupying too much of its time with distractions such as the financial transaction tax or with financial services reforms that could dry up liquidity

when it is most needed rather than pursuing the vital competitiveness or deregulation which President Barroso has historically proposed.

While action is so desperately needed, we wait. As Europe's banks become ever more threatened, the Council postponed its summit in order to further analyse the situation of Greece. Following the vote in Slovakia on Tuesday we are still awaiting the ratification of the new powers of the European Financial Stability Facility.

Action is needed; it must be decisive. We need a plan to recapitalise Europe's banks. In the medium term Member States need to adopt credible plans to ensure that they can live within their means and generate economic growth. The people of Europe are expecting answers to these problems. Time is short.

3-058-000

João Ferreira (GUE/NGL). - Senhor Presidente, Senhor Presidente da Comissão, aproxima-se o que há muito dizemos ser inevitável: a reestruturação com um corte substancial da dívida grega. O país enfrenta a devastação económica e social, fruto da intervenção do FMI, do BCE e da Comissão Europeia. É evidente que o povo grego não pode mais sustentar o processo de distorção a que vem sendo sujeito. Seria bom, enquanto é tempo, que tirem daqui as devidas lições e que travem desde já processos idênticos em curso noutros países, como é o caso de Portugal. Com as mesmas receitas, os resultados serão inevitavelmente os mesmos.

Mais uma vez, o directório franco-alemão decide. Governos e burocracias nacionais e europeias acatam as decisões. Assim se vê quem manda e a quem serve esta União. A recapitalização da banca, que agora preparam, será mais uma gigantesca operação de transferência da dívida detida pela banca para o sector público, isto é, para as costas dos trabalhadores e dos povos da Europa. A resposta aí está: a luta social organizada que se alarga e intensifica, como sucede em Portugal, com inúmeros protestos, greves e manifestações, juntando cada vez mais sectores da sociedade. Aqui reside a possibilidade de um futuro melhor.

3-059-000

Jaroslav Paška (EFD) - Parlament mojej krajiny včera neschválil zmeny dočasného Eurovalu, čím vyjadril zúfalý protest svojich občanov proti absurdnostiam prichádzajúcim z Bruselu. Naši občania nemajú problém byť solidárni a pomôcť priateľom v núdzi. Nerozumejú však, prečo by sa zo svojej mzdy, ktorá je najnižšia v eurozóne, mali skladať napríklad na záchranu šesťmilionového platu predsedu predstavenstva Société Générale. Veď oni ten malý plat dostanú len vtedy, ak svojou prácou zamestnávateľovi vyprodukujú potrebný zisk. A za spôsobené škody ručia zamestnávateľovi z vlastného vrecka.

Preto sa, vážený pán komisár, obraciam na vás s otázkou: prečo vaši kamaráti z problémových bánk najskôr z vlastného vrecka nezaplatia škody spôsobené inštitúciám a potom, ak by to nestačilo, prečo zvyšok nezaplatia poisťovne, ktoré kryli pochybné investície? Naši občania týmto vašim návrhom nerozumejú aj preto, lebo niekto určil príspevok pre Slovensko tak, že slovenský občan musí na krytie záruk odpracovať asi 300 hodín, zatiaľ čo nemeckému, belgickému stačí odpracovať ani nie polovicu. My však potrebujeme zachraňovať francúzske, belgické či nemecké banky, tak prečo na to majú viac pracovať občania mojej krajiny?

3-060-000

Barry Madlener (NI). - Voorzitter, ik had eigenlijk het woord willen richten tot de heren Barroso en Verhofstadt, maar zij lopen beiden deze zaal uit. Dus zij vragen om miljarden van de Nederlandse burgers en lopen de zaal uit voor een debat. Dat is toch te gek voor woorden!

De Europese Unie staat op instorten, de eurozone gaat failliet en de hardwerkende belastingbetalende Nederlanders, Duitsers, Engelsen en Slowaken moeten bloeden. En de burgers mogen betalen voor uw wanbeleid en bedrog. En dan richt ik mij tot de partijen die hiervoor verantwoordelijk zijn: de heer Barroso, de partij van de heer Verhofstadt en de partij van de heer Schulz hebben ons in deze problemen gebracht en die wagen het nu zelfs om de Slowaken, het moedige Slowaakse parlement, te bekritisieren voor hun beslissing. Ik vind het een diepe schande en de heer Verhofstadt doet er nog een schepje bovenop en zegt dat die parlementen maar helemaal afgeschaft moeten worden en zich niet mogen bemoeien met deze besluitvorming. Het is minachting voor de burger. Want u bent degene die de problemen heeft veroorzaakt!

Voorzitter, deze Europese Unie is een project van een regenteske elite en niet van de Europese burgers. De heer Barroso is in dienst van de regenten die weglopen voor hun fouten. Zij hebben Europa in diepe problemen gebracht en willen nu nóg meer Europa. Deze Europese Unie, dames en heren, is ouderwets en overbodig, ingehaald door de realiteit, het internet, de internationale handel en mobiliteit van de goed geïnformeerde burgers. Wij hebben helemaal geen Europese Unie meer nodig! De zelfstandigheid en eigenheid van de Europese landen is juist de kracht van Europa, en daar kan geen bureaucratie iets aan veranderen!

3-061-000

Mario Mauro (PPE). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, condivido l'impostazione della riflessione della Presidenza polacca, cioè che l'Europa avrà un futuro se noi riusciremo a ripristinare la fiducia. Per fare questo abbiamo bisogno – l'han detto in molti – di stabilità e di crescita. Questo passa attraverso la volontà politica dei nostri leader. Tuttavia, se le riforme tanto desiderate non verranno realizzate nel giro di pochi mesi, paradossalmente diventeranno il pretesto per delle critiche euroscettiche, dove le stesse parole che noi utilizziamo con un'accezione costruttiva e positiva verranno usate contro il progetto dell'Europa unita. Attenzione, se non facciamo presto, "nazione", "popolo", "identità" e "occupazione" saranno le parole che verranno scagliate come un proiettile contro la realizzabilità del progetto Europa unita.

Allora mi permetta, signor Commissario, di tornare sul tema, già posto dal collega Ferber, dei tempi e dei modi nei quali la Commissione intende rendere accessibili al Parlamento le proprie proposte. Noi condividiamo nel modo più assoluto e forte gli annunci che voi avete fatto già nell'intervento precedente del Presidente Barroso ed anche in questo. Ma quando, come e dove preciserete la natura delle proposte che fate al Parlamento? Perché perdere questo treno ci metterebbe nella condizione di farvi perdere anche il nostro sostegno.

3-062-000

Stephen Hughes (S&D). - Mr President, I have been pleased by much that President Barroso has said today but I think we will have to check against delivery. The problem with the eurozone is a problem of political credibility more than economic fundamentals. The

financial markets are nervous because they doubt the ability of Europe's leaders to take action. There are two problems with Europe's response to the crisis: first it has always been too little, too late. Europe's problems need a European solution, and piecemeal national approaches will not do the trick.

The second has been a lack of strategy for growth. The markets understand that there is no route out of deficit and debt without a credible growth strategy, and the failure of Europe's leaders has been to act as though fiscal austerity alone is a solution. But without demand, there is no growth; without growth there is no return to sound finances. That is why the resolution – which I believe Parliament will adopt overwhelmingly tomorrow – insists on a meaningful plan for investment, growth and jobs. Council must also produce a clear response to two other urgent issues: the Greek situation and the recapitalisation of the banks.

On Greece: the Papandreou Government has displayed enormous courage and commitment in driving through huge painful changes. Greece now has a right to expect solidarity from the EU without further delay. The Council must now give final improvement to the long awaited package of support.

On bank recapitalisation: our message is 'yes' we need decisive and coordinated European action to ensure the security of Europe's banks, but we say 'no' to an unconditional bail-out. As others have said: if public money rescues the banks, the growth and employment imperatives must be fully reflected in the conditions set. One condition must be a clear commitment from the banks to boost lending to the real, productive economy. Public funds must not finance excessive remuneration and speculation.

A final point: if the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) had been established under Community rules we could now be agreeing expanding EFSF lending capacity instead of still trying to implement a decision made three months ago. We need a European answer to this crisis.

3-063-000

Alexander Graf Lambsdorff (ALDE). - Herr Präsident! Ich muss sagen, so schnell ging das noch nie, dass die Wünsche der Liberalen Fraktion von der Kommission erfüllt wurden. Eben hat unser Fraktionsvorsitzender um die schriftlichen Unterlagen dazu gebeten, was hier im Einzelnen vorgeschlagen werden soll, und hier sind sie. Wir haben deswegen darum gebeten, weil ich mich an einer Stelle, und das ist mir besonders wichtig, noch einmal vergewissern wollte, dass ich es auch richtig verstanden habe. Hier in den, wie ich finde, im Großen und Ganzen wirklich exzellenten entschlossenen und weitreichenden Vorschlägen der Kommission steht:

Deciding a sustainable solution for Greece within the euro area, through an effective second adjustment programme.

Wir brauchen eine nachhaltige Lösung für Griechenland innerhalb der Eurozone, indem wir die Schulden Griechenlands tragfähig machen. Mit anderen Worten, das ist der berühmte *Haircut*, das ist die Insolvenz, wenn sie so wollen, die Resolvenz. Das ist genau unsere Position gewesen. Dafür haben wir uns vor wenigen Wochen noch als Populisten beschimpfen lassen müssen, als wir gesagt haben, es wird eines Schuldenschnittes bedürfen, damit Griechenland aus der Krise herauskommt.

Die Kommission verbindet das richtigerweise mit robusten Implementierungs- und Überwachungsmechanismen. Und auch das ist richtig. Wir wollen Solidarität, wir wollen Griechenland in der Eurozone halten, aber wir wollen auch Solidität und wir wollen diese Solidität überwachen, denn Solidarität kann keine Einbahnstraße sein. Das ist uns absolut wichtig. Ich freue mich, dass die europäische Diskussion jetzt in diese Richtung geht. Ich freue mich auch, dass unsere Position, die ja alle Experten längst bestätigt haben, jetzt auch im politischen Raum bestätigt wird.

Mir wird immer ganz warm ums Herz, wenn ich die Kollegen von den Tories, lieber Timothy Kirkhope, nach starken europäischen Lösungen zur Rekapitalisierung der Banken rufen höre. Da fallen mir dann immer so Sachen ein, wie nationale Souveränität und das Vereinigte Königreich und seine Sonderrolle. Aber ich freue mich ja, dass es Gelegenheiten gibt, bei denen dann auch London der Meinung ist, dass Europa nützlich ist. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn das noch öfter der Fall wäre.

Letzter Punkt: Über die Nachrichtenagenturen läuft bereits die Meldung, dass die Opposition und die Regierungsparteien der Slowakei sich geeinigt haben, dem EFSF und seiner Erweiterung zuzustimmen. Auch hierüber freue ich mich. Das Spektakel der letzten Tage zeigt ganz eindeutig: Einstimmigkeit ist ein Blockadeinstrument. Wir brauchen Mehrheitsentscheidungen auch bei der Stabilisierung des Euro.

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gemäß Artikel 149 Absatz 8 Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

3-066-000

Χαράλαμπος Αγγουράκης (GUE/NGL). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, θα ήθελα να ρωτήσω τον κύριο Lambsdorff όταν μιλάει για την αλληλεγγύη, εννοεί να βοηθήσουν οι εργαζόμενοι, να βοηθήσουν τα κράτη, ώστε να "ξελασπώσουν" οι τράπεζες και μετά να ξαναγουρίσουν οι τράπεζες με μεγαλύτερη δύναμη να τους "γονατίσουν" και να υλοποιήσουν αυτές τις πολιτικές που εφαρμόζονται σήμερα στην Ελλάδα και οι οποίες έχουν οδηγήσει σε εξαθλίωση τους εργαζόμενους και όλο το λαό της χώρας μου;

3-067-000

Alexander Graf Lambsdorff (ALDE). - Herr Präsident! Zumindest in der Verdolmetschung war das nicht als Frage formuliert. Ich bin aber trotzdem gerne bereit, sie zu beantworten. Nein, die Solidarität zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union und des Euro-Währungsgebiets fordert uns einiges ab, auch unseren Wählerinnen und Wählern. Wir sind aber bereit dazu, weil wir eine Stabilitätsunion für Europa wollen, und in dieser Stabilitätsunion ist Solidarität eine Zweibahnstraße. Das bedeutet eben, dass wir bereit sind, diese Bürgschaften zu übernehmen.

Was die Frage der Banken angeht, bin auch ich unglücklich mit der Entwicklung auf dem Bankensektor wie jeder, der sich das genau anschaut. In der Tat wird ja dort einiges von dem weitergemacht, was vor der Krise schon der Fall war. Dennoch ist eines ganz klar: Ohne einen funktionierenden Bankensektor können wir in Europa keine Wachstumsstrategie entwickeln. Insofern ist das, was wir jetzt gemacht haben – die nächste Tranche an Griechenland auszuzahlen, einen *Haircut* zu organisieren, der den Bankensektor nicht komplett kaputtmacht –, nötig, auch damit wir durch Wirtschaftswachstum aus der Krise herauswachsen können.

3-068-000

Νικόλαος Χουντής (GUE/NGL). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, έχω την εντύπωση πως αυτή η συζήτηση, αυτή η δήθεν ενημέρωση του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου από το Συμβούλιο και την Επιτροπή, δεν έχει καμία αξία. Το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο αναβλήθηκε για τις 23 Οκτωβρίου, με πιθανότητα να αναβληθεί και πάλι. Οι αποφάσεις του προηγούμενου Συμβουλίου του Ιουλίου, το οποίο επίσης έγινε μετά από μερικές αναβολές, ενώ εμφανίστηκαν ως η σωτηρία, ως η λύση, την επόμενη ημέρα θεωρήθηκαν ξεπερασμένες και δεν έχουν εφαρμοστεί.

Όλοι γνωρίζουμε ότι η θεσμική λειτουργία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης έχει υποκατασταθεί από τις άτυπες συναντήσεις της κυρίας Μέρκελ και του κυρίου Σαρκοζύ που αυτή την περίοδο, για μια ακόμη φορά, συζητούν το μέλλον της Ευρώπης κοιτώντας τους ισολογισμούς των τραπεζών τους, θυσιάζοντας οποιαδήποτε έννοια κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, ενώ ταυτόχρονα οι λαοί υποφέρουν - και στην Ελλάδα και αλλού - από τα προγράμματα λιτότητας.

Έχετε διαλέξει ως πολιτική ηγεσία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης τον δρόμο της ενίσχυσης του τραπεζικού κεφαλαίου και προδιαγράφετε ένα ζοφερό μέλλον για τους ευρωπαϊκούς λαούς.

3-069-000

Νίκη Τζαβέλα (EFD). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, σήμερα ακούσαμε μετά από 18 μήνες κρίσης, την πιο συγκεκριμένη, πρακτική και συνεκτική πρόταση από την Επιτροπή. Ο δρόμος, ο οποίος είχε και χρονοδιάγραμμα και δράσεις, ήταν πράγματι ξεκάθαρος.

Επικεντρώνομαι στην επισημάνση του κυρίου Verhofstadt. Για το θέμα της επανακεφαλαιοποίησης των τραπεζών, θα πρέπει να υπάρχει ένα ευρωπαϊκό σχέδιο για την εν λόγω διαδικασία, γιατί φοβάμαι πολύ ότι τα τρία σημεία τα οποία παρουσιάσατε μπορεί να δημιουργήσουν τεράστια προβλήματα στις ιρλανδικές, ελληνικές και πορτογαλικές τράπεζες.

Η ερώτησή μου, κύριε Επίτροπε, είναι η εξής: Θα γίνει αναθεώρηση της συμφωνίας της 21ης Ιουλίου; Θα υπάρξουν σημεία που θα αναθεωρηθούν; Θα υπάρξει μία αύξηση του «κουρέματος» για την Ελλάδα, όπως υπαινίχθηκε ο κύριος Χουντής;

3-070-000

Diane Dodds (NI). - Mr President, these are very difficult times, both for countries within the eurozone and for those outside it. For those of us who concentrate on the difficulties in the eurozone, I want to draw the attention of this House to my part of the United Kingdom and to the plight of construction workers and companies there who are suffering dreadfully because of the lack of liquidity in the market in the Republic of Ireland, and because they cannot service the debt that originates in the construction sector there.

I have spoken to Commissioner Rehn on this issue previously and yet I do not see much action that will actually help these people with their plight. I have not heard anything today that is really new or that will move this situation on significantly.

I want to end with two pieces of advice. Firstly, I do not believe that the Commission can actually resolve the eurozone debt crisis by a raid on the sovereignty of Member States and a financial transaction tax that would significantly affect the City of London. Secondly, with regard to Mr Cameron, I would point out that any Treaty change must be followed by a referendum in the United Kingdom.

3-071-000

Jean-Paul Gauzès (PPE). - Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, ce qu'il faut, c'est redonner confiance: redonner confiance aux citoyens, redonner confiance aux acteurs économiques, redonner confiance aux marchés. Nous ne convainçons pas les marchés en proposant sans arrêt d'augmenter les fonds mobilisés pour les interventions de secours. Au contraire, nous fragiliserons notre position. Nous ne convainçons pas les marchés en annonçant chaque jour des mesures qui ne sont pas mises en vigueur. Nous ne convainçons pas les marchés en démontrant qu'il faut recapitaliser les banques, sans indiquer comment ni pourquoi. Nous ne convainçons pas les marchés en édictant des règles qui, une fois promulguées, ne sont pas appliquées.

C'est le cas des agences de notation, Monsieur le Commissaire. Les trois principales agences de notation ne sont toujours pas agréées, ne sont toujours pas supervisées et continuent à peser d'un poids excessif sur les marchés financiers. Il est temps dès lors de faire quelque chose pour convaincre les marchés, Monsieur le Commissaire. Il faut que les institutions européennes remédient à la vraie crise, celle de la décision politique. Il appartient au Président de la Commission et à vous-même de tenir vigoureusement la ligne que vous avez définie et pour laquelle vous avez le soutien du Parlement. (*Applaudissements*)

3-072-000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). - Señor Presidente, Europa está en muy mal estado y este Parlamento expresa su mal humor. Debate tras debate insiste en que en esta crisis hay muchas crisis.

La primera es la que expresa el divorcio entre la moneda única y la falta de instrumentos para defenderla desde el punto de vista fiscal y presupuestario. La segunda expresa el divorcio entre la economía productiva —la economía real— y la economía financiada global, porque la economía financiera se ha convertido en la enemiga del crecimiento y del empleo.

Pero la tercera es la que denuncia nuestro clamoroso problema con los tiempos de respuesta. *Too little, too late*: demasiado tarde, siempre arrastrando los pies. Y es mucha la gente en Europa que quiere que en el próximo Consejo alguien diga con claridad que no se trata de préstamos por goteo o de plazos imposibles o plazos infinitamente indefinidos, sino de que se haga ahora lo que hay que hacer: una nueva estrategia para acondicionar crecimiento, empleo, inversiones productivas para sacar a Europa de este bache que tiene a la ciudadanía europea en una situación de desesperación como no habíamos conocido desde que se puso en marcha el proyecto hace más de cincuenta años.

3-073-000

Γεώργιος Τούσσας (GUE/NGL). - Η προσεχής σύνοδος του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου πραγματοποιείται σε συνθήκες εξέλιξης σε βάθος της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης καθώς και όξυνσης του μονοπωλιακού ανταγωνισμού. Σε ένα μόνο πράγμα είναι ενωμένη η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και οι αστικές κυβερνήσεις: στη στρατηγική επιλογής σας να επιβάλετε παντού, σε όλα τα κράτη μέλη, καταγίδα νέων αντεργατικών μέτρων, κατάργηση των συλλογικών συμβάσεων εργασίας, κατακόρυφη μείωση των μισθών και των συντάξεων, λεηλασία του λαϊκού εισοδήματος, "τσάκισμα" κάθε εργατικής κατάκτησης και δικαιώματος για τη διασφάλιση και αύξηση των κερδών των μονοπωλίων.

Οι διεργασίες για την αναθεώρηση της συμφωνίας της 21ης Ιουλίου, οι προσπάθειες για έναν νέο και πάλι εύθραυστο και ασταθή συμβιβασμό, σηματοδοτούν και νέα, ακόμη πιο τραγικά, δεινά για τους λαούς. Η ελεγχόμενη χρεοκοπία της Ελλάδας που επεξεργάζονται η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο από κοινού με την κυβέρνηση του ΠΑΣΟΚ και τις άλλες αστικές κυβερνήσεις των κρατών μελών, με όποιο όνομα και αν τις βαφτίσετε, «κούρεμα», αναδιάρθρωση του χρέους, επιλεκτική χρεοκοπία, είναι προδιαγεγραμμένη εδώ και δύο χρόνια. Έτσι καταλήγει η καπιταλιστική κρίση.

Αυτό που έχει μεγάλη σημασία είναι ότι βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη και βαθαίνει η ανεξέλεγκτη χρεοκοπία του ελληνικού λαού.

Στον προθάλαμο της χρεοκοπίας βρίσκονται οι λαοί της Πορτογαλίας, της Ιρλανδίας και ακολουθούν οι λαοί από τα άλλα κράτη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωση.

Η πανεργατική γενική απεργία που οργανώνει το Ταξικό Εργατικό Κίνημα στις 19 Οκτωβρίου στον ιδιωτικό και δημόσιο τομέα στην Ελλάδα παίρνει γενικό πολιτικό χαρακτήρα ενάντια στο σύνολο της αντεργατικής πολιτικής της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Είναι αρχή μιας νέας ταξικής και εργατικής απεργίας, κλιμάκωσης της πάλης για αλλαγή του συσχετισμού δυνάμεων, αποτροπής των αντεργατικών μέτρων και ανατροπής της συνολικής αντιλαϊκής πολιτικής της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Απαιτείται λαϊκή συμμαχία για άλλο δρόμο ανάπτυξης υπέρ του λαού, διαγραφή του χρέους και αποδέσμευση από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση με λαϊκή εξουσία και οικονομία.

3-074-000

İldikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE). - Sokak számára úgy tűnik, hogy a tanácsülés elhalasztása halogatást és döntésképtelenséget is jelenthet. Csak remélni tudom, hogy a piacon másként értékelik ezt. Ugyanis valóban fontos kérdések várnak az ülésen végleges, megnyugtató, európai közösségi válaszra. Ilyen a bankok feltőkésítése is, ami azonban csak addig van rendben, amíg ez az európai belső piac fellendítéséhez szükséges. Biztos Úr! Az eddigi banki tőkeinjekciókkal nem érték el ezt a célt. Persze az sem mellékes, hogy az újbóli feltőkésítések mennyiben minősülnek bújtatott támogatásnak. Az EU belső piacának kihasználása potenciális lehetőség lehet, azonban az egyensúly rendkívül kényes kérdés. Ha egyeseket rejtett kormányzati támogatás miatt elmarasztalnak, míg másoknak különböző jogcímenek valójában rejtett támogatásokat adnak, akkor ez nemcsak versenytorzító, hanem zavart is kelt a rendszerben.

Az EKB még ebben az évben 40 milliárd euró keretösszegű fedezett kötvényszerzési programot indít el. Ez jó hír! Nagyon veszélyes viszont, hogy ezt az elsődleges mellett a másodlagos piacon is felhasználhatják. Beláthatatlan veszélyeket rejt magában az is, hogy több mint egyéves időtávra korlátlan likviditást adnak a bankoknak. Ha ez valóban így lesz, akkor a most körvonalazódni látszó és a szolidaritás jegyében megszülető EFSF-rendszer téves alapokon nyugszik. Őszintén remélem, hogy megéri a várakozást, az időpont módosítást, és az október 23-i tanácsülésen valóban átfogó stratégiát tudnak elfogadni.

3-075-000

Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D). - Az Európai Unió a szakadék felé sodródik, és meg kellene végre állítani ezt a sodródást. Megengedhetetlen, hogy nincs megfelelő összhang az európai politikai vezetők között. Össze-vissza beszélnek, s ezáltal aláássák az Európai Unió hitelességét. Hiányzik a cselekvés gyorsasága, a reagálóképesség, és az Európai Unió egyre kevésbé ura a helyzetnek. Túl nagy az elvárás a jelenlegi Európai Tanács ülése iránt, hiszen meg kellene végre nyugtatnunk a polgárokat, meg kellene nyugtatni a tisztességes piaci

szereplőket, és végre fel kellene lépni a spekulatív tőke ellen, amely folyamatosan támadja az eurózónát. Tartós megoldásokat kellene találnunk az eurózóna adósságválságára.

Először is, az Euró Plusz Paktum intézkedéseit a közösségi jogrend részévé kell tenni. Másodszor, meg kell növelni az európai pénzügyi stabilitási eszköz forrásait. Harmadszor, mihamarabb be kell vezetni az eurókötvényeket. És negyedszer, végezetül, a költségvetési fegyelem visszaállítása szükséges, de nem elégséges. Munkahelyet teremtő befektetésekre van szükség Európában!

3-076-000

Paulo Rangel (PPE). - Cumprimento a Presidência polaca e o Senhor Comissário Olli Rehn apenas para dizer que considero que hoje, na sequência e no desenvolvimento do que foi feito no discurso sobre o estado da União, se deu um passo muito muito grande para poder resolver os problemas da crise da zona euro. Porque a Comissão assumiu aqui o seu compromisso de usar o seu poder de iniciativa e de o usar junto do Conselho para resolver esta crise.

Creio que isso é um passo extremamente importante e é a única forma que nós temos, neste momento, para resolver a crise da zona euro. Não há possibilidade de a resolver no curto prazo apenas com uma aproximação intergovernamental e, para isso, é necessário que os Estados, os Governos dos Estados, dêem, à Comissão, os instrumentos e o mandato para ela liderar este processo de resolução, para ela pôr em prática, executar e desenvolver este *roadmap* que aqui apresentou. Mas não queria deixar de dizer que isso não é incompatível com que façamos, ao mesmo tempo, com que desenvolvamos, ao mesmo tempo a nossa capacidade de alterar os Tratados. Também estou convencido de que, no médio prazo, é preciso alterar os Tratados, mas também aí teremos de o fazer no sentido de reforçar, de dar mais força e maior posição à Comissão. É pelo reforço do método comunitário agora no curto prazo e depois com uma mudança dos Tratados no longo prazo, que nós conseguiremos mais integração e uma solução para os 17 países da zona euro e para os 27 países da União Europeia.

3-077-000

Άννυ Ποδηματά (S&D). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, σε λίγες μέρες έχουμε ένα ακόμη Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο που χαρακτηρίζεται ιστορικό, όπως ιστορικής σημασίας έχουν χαρακτηριστεί πολλά από τα προηγούμενα Ευρωπαϊκά Συμβούλια και, οπωσδήποτε, το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο της 21ης Ιουλίου. Και θέλω να θυμίσω ότι είχαμε πει ότι οι αποφάσεις που είχαν ληφθεί τότε αποτελούσαν μία ολοκληρωμένη, συνεκτική και ρεαλιστική απάντηση τόσο στο ελληνικό πρόβλημα, όσο και στη συνολική διαχείριση της κρίσης χρέους.

Τρεις μήνες μετά, και ενώ η κρίση έχει διευρυνθεί και έχει αποκτήσει, όπως είπε και ο Πρόεδρος της Επιτροπής, συστημικά χαρακτηριστικά, οι αποφάσεις αυτές εξακολουθούν να εκκρεμούν, ή ακόμη και να αμφισβητούνται ανοικτά από ορισμένους. Είναι λοιπόν προφανές ότι κάτι κάνουμε λάθος, ή στο περιεχόμενο των αποφάσεων που λαμβάνουμε ή στη μεθοδολογία που χρησιμοποιούμε.

Ο Πρόεδρος της Επιτροπής είπε σήμερα ότι χρειαζόμαστε επείγοντως μία λύση ολοκληρωμένη και αξιόπιστη και περιέγραψε τους άξονες του χάρτη πορείας που θα παρουσιάσει η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή στο Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο της 23ης Οκτωβρίου.

Το ερώτημα όμως είναι, κύριε Επίτροπε, μπορούμε σήμερα να εγγυηθούμε ότι αυτές οι αποφάσεις δεν θα έχουν την τύχη των προηγούμενων και θα εφαρμοστούν έγκαιρα και συνεκτικά; Και,

κυρίως, μπορούμε να αποτρέψουμε τη δημιουργία των εντυπώσεων ότι προκρίνουμε, δίνουμε προτεραιότητα, στη σωτηρία των τραπεζών, του χρηματοπιστωτικού συστήματος, και όχι στη σωτηρία κρατών και πολιτών;

3-078-000

Μαριέττα Γιαννάκου (PPE). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, ο Πρόεδρος της Επιτροπής σημείωσε όλα τα προβλήματα που έχουν δημιουργηθεί και ανέφερε μέσω ποιών μεθόδων θα πρέπει να τα λύσουμε. Τόνισε την κοινοτική μέθοδο εργασίας καθώς και την αλληλεξάρτηση, αλλά αλληλεξάρτηση σημαίνει και συν-ευθύνη και είναι φανερό ότι, για την κατάσταση σε σχέση με την οικονομική κρίση, βεβαίως ευθύνονται τα κράτη μέλη και οι πολιτικές τους, αλλά υπάρχουν και σοβαρές ευθύνες της Επιτροπής.

Η κρίση που αντιμετωπίζουμε είναι "long acting" κρίση. Δεν είναι κάτι που θα τελειώσει αμέσως. Οι αναγκαίες αποφάσεις, όμως, πρέπει να ληφθούν τώρα αμέσως, και μάλιστα, θα πρέπει η οικονομία και η οικονομική κατάσταση να σταθεροποιηθεί στο βαθμό που η Ευρώπη χρειάζεται.

Είδα τα δέκα σημεία τα οποία σημείωσε ο Jean-Claude Juncker. Έχει δίκιο, φυσικά, επισημαίνοντας όλα τα προβλήματα, από την άλλη πλευρά, όμως, πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι, θέματα όπως οι οικισμοί αξιολόγησης και ο ανεξέλεγκτος τρόπος με τον οποίο λειτουργούν, το γεγονός ότι οι αγορές έχουν έλθει πάνω από την πολιτική και την εκπροσώπηση των λαών, είναι κάτι με το οποίο πριν πολλά χρόνια είχε ασχοληθεί η Επιτροπή και το άφησε στη μέση χωρίς να το συνεχίσει.

Είναι λοιπόν ανάγκη, αν θέλουμε να σοβαρευτούμε, πρώτον, η Επιτροπή να παίξει το ρόλο της, δεύτερον, το Κοινοβούλιο να λαμβάνει απόλυτη γνώση για το τι συμβαίνει ώστε να μπορεί να στηρίξει την Επιτροπή και τρίτον, τα κράτη μέλη να αισθανθούν αυτή την αλληλεξάρτηση και τη συν-ευθύνη.

3-079-000

Pervenche Berès (S&D). - Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, vous allez faire de nouvelles propositions en matière de gouvernance économique en concurrence, en compétition ou en émulation avec le Président du Conseil européen. Alors qu'au moins, cette contribution ait une valeur ajoutée. Il n'y aura pas d'amélioration de la gouvernance économique sans contrôle démocratique, sans légitimité démocratique. N'oubliez pas qu'au niveau européen, ce qui s'opère au sein du Conseil doit être contrôlé par cette maison et qu'il convient peut-être de réfléchir à la codécision, dans le cadre du semestre européen.

Et puis permettez-moi d'interpeller par votre voie votre Président, le Président de la Commission, M. Barroso. Il est venu nous faire ici un discours sur l'état de l'Union, qu'il a salué comme étant sans doute un de ses plus grands discours. Et trois jours après, après avoir dénoncé le rôle du G20, il a accepté des instructions venant d'une capitale pour introduire la conditionnalité macro-économique sur les Fonds structurels. En clair: faire payer aux régions, aux pauvres, aux travailleurs, ce que les capitales n'ont pas su mettre en œuvre. Vous pensez qu'il s'agit là d'une bonne gestion européenne?

Le 21 juillet, lorsque vous avez adopté le deuxième plan d'aide à la Grèce, avec les chefs d'État et de gouvernement, vous avez dit qu'il fallait un pilier pour soutenir l'activité, et vous avez utilisé les Fonds structurels à cette fin. Alors pourquoi ce qui, le 21 juillet, était juste, est-il devenu un contresens dans votre proposition sur les Fonds structurels? Ce n'est pas là de la bonne gouvernance. (Applaudissements)

3-080-000

Othmar Karas (PPE). - Herr Präsident! Ich bin froh, dass der Gipfel abgesagt wurde, weil wir keine Gipfel der Gipfel wegen benötigen. Wir brauchen Gipfel, wenn sie gut vorbereitet sind, die Entscheidungen reif sind und Konsequenzen gezogen werden können. Wir brauchen bei jedem Gipfelergebnis auch einen Zeitplan, bis wann die Ergebnisse zu implementieren und umzusetzen sind, sonst schaffen sie Verunsicherung statt Stabilität.

Zum Zweiten: Ich bin sehr dankbar für die Rede des Kommissionspräsidenten, weil sie die Rede zur Lage Europas fortsetzt und operationalisiert – das ist eine Einheit. Wir benötigen alle politischen Instrumente, die zu einer Währungsunion und zum Binnenmarkt gehören auf Gemeinschaftsniveau. Dafür brauchen wir eine *Roadmap*, bis wann und durch welche Maßnahmen wir zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialunion werden können.

Der Europäische Stabilitätspakt und die EFSF müssen jene Größe haben, die der Währungsunion entspricht. Die Einstimmigkeit renationalisiert, blockiert, ist ineffizient und undemokratisch. Keine europäische Maßnahme ohne Beteiligung des Europäischen Parlaments und Mehrstimmigkeit! Ja, ich sage auch, der *Haircut*, der notwendig ist, ist als Einzelmaßnahme keine Lösung. Wir brauchen ein Gesamtpaket, bestehend aus *Haircut*, Rekapitalisierung, Aufstockung der EFSF, Verwaltungsreform, Investitionen, Wachstum und Beschäftigung und Kontrolle.

Die Europäische Union muss in allen Mitgliedstaaten selbst kontrollieren, ob die Regeln der EU eingehalten werden. In Griechenland und allen anderen Ländern muss jede Forderung von uns begleitet werden und das Management als Unterstützung übernommen werden, wie z. B. durch eine Privatisierungs-Agentur. Die Wirtschaftsregierung ist die Kommission, dann ist die demokratische Kontrolle durch das Parlament gesichert.

3-081-000

PRZEWODNICZY JERZY BUZEK

Przewodniczący

3-082-000

Roberto Gualtieri (S&D). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il Presidente Barroso oggi ha detto cose importanti, ma ci sono diversi punti da chiarire. Ne vorrei sottolineare tre.

In primo luogo, l'unione fiscale dell'Eurozona. Finalmente qualcuno si è accorto dell'esistenza dell'articolo 136; tuttavia, il Presidente della Commissione ha parlato di una procedura Commissione-Consiglio. In realtà, l'articolo 136 contempla anche la possibilità di regolamenti. È cioè possibile che, con l'articolo 136, il Consiglio voti a diciassette e il Parlamento a ventisette. Noi vorremmo sapere se la Commissione intende proporre per le condizionalità del meccanismo di stabilità, come il Parlamento ha richiesto, dei regolamenti con procedura legislativa ordinaria a norma dell'articolo 136.

In secondo luogo, i meccanismi di stabilità. Va bene il 21 luglio, va bene l'EFSM, ma la verità è che il metodo pro quota non funziona. Lei ci deve dire se pensa che l'EFSM, che ancora esiste, possa continuare a operare, soprattutto dopo la sentenza della Corte tedesca, e se quindi sia possibile pensare a una comunitarizzazione del meccanismo di stabilità.

In terzo luogo, il segretario della CDU tedesca oggi ha detto che vuole passare dall'unione monetaria all'unione della stabilità. Senza crescita, sviluppo e occupazione non c'è stabilità. Lei ci dovrebbe dire se la Commissione è d'accordo con questo.

3-083-000

Marianne Thyssen (PPE). - Voorzitter, collega's, we hebben vandaag een debat over een uitgestelde top, en ik hoop dat dat uitstel een teken van ambitie is, want ambitie hebben we nodig. De Commissie heeft dat begrepen. In de week van de stemming over het *sixpack*, die volgens goede Poolse traditie een ware copernicaanse omwenteling is geworden, heeft Commissievoorzitter Barroso als gedreven Europeaan een ambitieuze *state of the union* uitgesproken en vandaag heeft hij ons zijn wegenkaart gepresenteerd.

Ook het Parlement heeft het begrepen, en zal morgen in een korte resolutie duidelijk maken dat de voorzichtige, stapsgewijze aanpak die in gewone tijden goed kan zijn, in deze bijzondere crisistijd geen soelaas biedt. Alleen een alomvattend crisisplan, met zowel acute als structurele en institutionele maatregelen, zal de cyclus van wantrouwen kunnen doorbreken. Van onszelf, collega's Parlementsleden, verwacht ik dat wij samen een scherpe resolutietekst kunnen aannemen.

Van de Commissievoorzitter verwacht ik dat hij even moedig en overtuigd zal spreken op de Europese Top als hier bij ons, en van de staatshoofden en regeringsleiders vraag ik dat ze niet enkel meer proclameren dat wij allemaal van elkaar afhankelijk zijn, maar dat ze daar ook consequent naar handelen. Daar consequent naar handelen, wil zeggen snel handelen door een Europees globaal plan overeen te komen om ons echt uit deze crisis te tillen en om een einde te maken aan een Unie die hoe langer hoe meer gedirigeerd wordt door markten en ongecontroleerde ratingbureaus.

Voorzitter, alleen als die uitgestelde top de Top van de herwonnen ambitie wordt, kan wanhoop omslaan in hoop, wantrouwen in vertrouwen en kunnen we ons Europese project van vrede en welvaart een geloofwaardige basis geven.

3-084-000

Gunnar Hökmark (PPE). - Mr President, it is important that we can recapitalise European banks. It is important that we can create a financial firewall in order to secure the financial stability of the European economy. Let us not forget, however, that it is also important to establish the most vital firewall for Europe's economies, namely growth. If we cannot achieve the credibility of future economic growth, none of the other things we are talking about will help in the long run, and that must not be forgotten when we are talking about 'more Europe'.

We need a more open Europe, a more competitive Europe and a more dynamic Europe, but sometimes I feel that we discuss 'more Europe' in the sense of more institutions, more forums for decision-making and more and different structures. The risk of that is that we will end up not with more Europe but with more 'Europes': more divided and unable to benefit from the fact that the European economy is the world's biggest.

However, we also need the world's biggest markets and that is why the Commission needs to enter an era of reform at the same time as we enter the era of austerity – which is necessary but is not enough. We need more growth as the firewall for the European economy, and more Europe – not more 'Europes'.

3-085-000

Sharon Bowles (ALDE). - Mr President, I welcome this road map outline and I hope that additional detail is coherent, substantial and sustainable. I have run out of expressions to convey urgency to ministers and leaders, but to reuse what I put to Commissioner Rehn during a debate at the IMF: 'think big, and get it done'. All of it: that includes banks, backstops, Greece, firepower, flexibility, sustainability and growth. They are all needed as the bridge to confidence.

Everyday we see the schism that has developed between what governments will have to do and public sentiment. This is a time for leadership, for putting cause before self. The consequences of not doing so will be far more destructive to politicians if they fail to protect the fabric of our society.

It is vital that while reinforcing economic governance within the euro area we do not jeopardise cohesiveness of the wider Union and the single market. So I endorse a strong role for the Commission, obliged to represent all sides and the whole – a theme that must be developed within Community method in parallel with euro area integration.

3-086-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Stretnutie Európskej rady bude určite dominovať aktuálna kríza v eurozóne. Hoci pred Úniou stojí veľa výziev a problémov, kríza je bezpochyby tá najväčšia práve pre jej hrozivú sociálnu dimenziu. O konkrétnych krokoch, ktoré treba na jej vyriešenie spraviť, sme už v tomto pléne veľa diskutovali. Aj preto si dovoľm vyhlásiť, že európske inštitúcie musia jednoznačne zaujať oveľa razantnejšie stanovisko a pozície. Postupné, uvážlivé a jednomyselné rozhodovanie musí nájsť práve v čase krízy nový rozmer, inak hrozí kolaps. Potrebujeme nové funkčné, ambiciózne a reálne riešenia – spoločné európske riešenia. Toto je najväčšia, myslím aj najprincipiálnejšia úloha hláv štátov Európskej únie pre nadchádzajúci samit. Pretože októbrový samit dá možno Európe poslednú šancu na riešenie krízy.

3-087-000

Elisa Ferreira (S&D). - Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, eu cumprimento a Comissão por ter surgido com uma dinâmica aparentemente positiva mas, como todos sabem, depende de concretizar e não dizer, e depende de saber os detalhes daquilo que vão fazer. E refiro-me em particular a uma questão que foi levantada também pela minha colega Pervenche Berès. Quando negociámos o Pacto, a revisão do Pacto, tomámos consciência de que a proposta da Comissão era mais exigente do que aquilo que tínhamos antes. Assentámos, parte do Parlamento foi contra como sabe, mas assentámos que havia um conjunto de multas. Entretanto essas multas foram multas que, no caso do Partido do Grupo Socialista, foram consideradas excessivas, mas houve um acordo com a Comissão.

Como é possível que, imediatamente após a aprovação por parte do Parlamento com o Conselho, com a Comissão, deste equilíbrio para o *six pack* nós tenhamos visto a Comissão apresentar uma proposta de corte de todos os fundos estruturais, a acrescer às penalizações que estão previstas do *six pack* como sanção para os países que precisam de convergir para poderem cumprir pelo facto de terem violado, provavelmente sem sua vontade mas por inevitabilidade, as condicionantes do pacto revisto. Muito obrigada, mas por favor responda-me a esta questão.

3-088-000

Marisa Matias (GUE/NGL). - O Dr. Durão Barroso veio aqui hoje anunciar, como uma das medidas, que os bancos que não dispõem de requisitos de capital devem apresentar planos para obtê-los e, caso não consigam apresentá-los, devem então suspender os dividendos e os bónus. Eu não poderia deixar de estar de acordo com esta apresentação que foi feita pelo Sr. Presidente.

Ainda esta semana vimos o que se passou com o banco Dexia e, há poucos meses, um administrador deste banco recebeu um prémio de 600 mil euros pela sua tão maravilhosa administração, como sabemos. Mas para ser sério, o Sr. Presidente da Comissão tem de apelar aos governos para apresentarem o pacote completo e o pacote completo é o que tem o essencial. O essencial é que o dinheiro dos contribuintes tenha como contrapartida uma política de crédito para o crescimento. O essencial é que os bancos comecem a pagar impostos sobre os seus lucros, o que não acontece em muitos países, nomeadamente no meu país, em Portugal. Em dois anos - melhor dizendo, em três anos - é a segunda vez que nos pedem para salvar os bancos com o dinheiro dos contribuintes, dos desempregados. Os bancos que salvem também a economia, ajudando à criação de emprego.

3-089-000

Franz Obermayr (NI). - Herr Präsident! Ich bin neugierig, wie das Thema Banken auf dem nächsten Gipfel besprochen werden wird. Nur, die Banken zu stärken, wie es offensichtlich die Heilmethode Barrosos ist, wird wohl nicht ausreichen. Jetzt, wo der Börsenwert der französisch-belgischen Dexia-Bank binnen weniger Tage halbiert wurde, muss es endlich klar werden: Unsere Lösungsansätze zur Bankenkrise funktionieren so nicht.

Dexia wurde noch im Juli dieses Jahres bei den EU-Bankenstresstests eine ausgezeichnete Stabilität bescheinigt. Es wird uns also klar, dass Rettungspakete in Milliardenhöhe ohne ernstzunehmende Auflagen tatsächlich keine Lösung sind. Wir brauchen zusätzlich eine effiziente Bankenkursordnung und aussagekräftige Bankenstresstests, insbesondere mit Transparenz der Länderverbindlichkeiten.

3-090-000

Corina Crețu (S&D). - Mulțumesc și eu celor care au arătat aici că Europa se află într-un moment extrem de greu. Din păcate, amânarea cu o săptămână a celor două summituri și votul negativ de ieri din Parlamentul slovac au trădat încă o dată lipsa de consens cu privire la căile de depășire a impasului în care se află Uniunea Europeană. Această lipsă de promptitudine și de solidaritate are un impact negativ asupra încrederii, atât la nivelul cetățenilor, cât și la cel al piețelor.

Sper că acest interval de timp va contribui la definitivarea unei strategii coerente, care să aibă în vedere riscul major de contagiune din cauza interdependențelor din sistemul financiar european. Dar mai ales sper că vor fi avute în vedere consecințele asupra nivelului de trai al cetățenilor, pentru că ei sunt rațiunea de a fi a politicilor publice, și nu neapărat nervozitatea piețelor.

3-091-000

Andrew Henry William Brons (NI). - Mr President, economic policy should be in the hands of Member States but, even from an EU perspective, EU economic policy is seriously flawed. The doomed euro experiment must be abandoned and national currencies must

be allowed to find levels appropriate to the demand for their exports and imports. Interest rates must once again be set by the 17 eurozone states according to the needs of their distinctive economies.

The EU and its Member States must treat globalisation as the threat to the developed world that it really is. Manufacturing industry must be rebuilt and protected from unfair competition from emerging economies like China with its undervalued currency, suppressed wage rates and appalling working conditions. We should end the policy of subsidising banks in the vain hope that they might lend some of their ill-gotten gains. Reflation must be brought about by government spending into circulation and not by banks creating credit and lending it into circulation.

3-092-000

Ana Gomes (S&D). - Se os bancos vão ser salvos porque são demasiado grandes para falir, então não serão também igualmente grandes os nossos Estados, o nosso euro, a nossa União e os nossos povos para que os nossos chefes de governo e a Comissão façam o que é preciso para os salvar? Como compreender, então, as recentes e indecentes propostas da Comissão destinadas a impor condicionalidade macroeconómica sobre os fundos estruturais, penalizando os povos dos Estados-Membros em piores condições económicas e financeiras, logo os mais necessitados, de solidariedade europeia?

Se os bancos vão ser recapitalizados à conta dos contribuintes, é preciso uma forte condicionalidade, que inclua uma separação clara entre banca comercial e de investimento e que inclua que os bancos não continuem a ser instrumentais na teia de corrupção, de evasão fiscal, de fraude fiscal, de lavagem de dinheiro, de criminalidade organizada a nível europeu e global que tem vindo a debilitar os nossos Estados, a nossa União e a roubar os nossos cidadãos.

Sem controlo dos paraísos fiscais, sem harmonização fiscal a governação económica será uma paródia.

3-093-000

Olli Rehn, Vice-President of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, let me thank you for a very substantive and serious debate which certainly reflects the depth of the current crisis in Europe and how it is affecting our citizens. The financial market turbulence which stems from the sovereign debt crisis is having very negative ramifications on the banking sector and its lending capacity and, even more significantly, is taking a very heavy toll on economic growth and job creation in Europe. That is why it is essential that we build up and implement a comprehensive strategy in order to overcome this crisis.

Some of you have said you want to see our proposals more precisely on paper. I understand that very well but I can tell you today that we have adopted a road map for stability and growth, which presents a comprehensive but focused strategy for overcoming the economic and financial crisis, and includes several concrete policy objectives. Of course many of these need to be further worked out in consultation with the other institutions – not least with Parliament but also, for instance, with the European Banking Authority and the European Central Bank – as well as the euro area Member States and other Member States.

Many of you may remember, I hope, how the Commission called, back in January in our annual growth survey, for a comprehensive response to the crisis. That has not quite materialised. We were actually criticised for daring to make proposals which, according

to some people, were not within our competence. Now our proposed strategy is based on those same broad outlines but is, of course, supplemented with new, strong elements that go beyond what we proposed in January.

Honourable Members, we have three immediate challenges which are very clearly outlined in this road map for stability and growth. First, as many of you said, we need to respond decisively to the problems in relation to Greece. The continuing doubts over Greece have contributed very significantly to undermining confidence in the financial stability of the euro area as a whole. They must be immediately and definitively removed, and that will require a decision on a sustainable solution for Greece within the euro area, with an effective second assessment programme based on adequate financing through private-sector involvement alongside the public sector, and with robust implementation and monitoring mechanisms.

Mr Lambsdorff commented favourably on our proposal and said he had already been in favour of such a line at an earlier stage. I think it can only be a good thing if we have a convergence of views. As I see it, we now have to finalise this kind of sustainable solution.

Ms Jaakonsaari called for a broader political consensus in Greece, and I fully agree with her. A broader political consensus is essential to support the efforts of assessment and economic reform for the benefit of Greek citizens.

Secondly, we need to enhance the euro area's backstops against the crisis. The euro area must be fully equipped with financial firewalls sufficient to contain the current crisis. Recent decisions to create the EFSF and the permanent ESM have gone a long way to building these instruments but they still need to be completed and complemented.

It is now essential to make operational the decisions taken in July without delay, and to increase the flexibility and effectiveness of the EFSF in order to build a really strong financial backstop. This applies particularly with regard to the possibility of precautionary programmes which are pre-emptive in nature, and to improving the capacity of the EFSF to intervene, by purchasing government debt, in primary markets and to intervene under appropriate conditionality in secondary markets where exceptional market circumstances and risks to financial stability exist.

Moreover, the power of these backstop mechanisms need to be enhanced by maximising the utilisation of EFSF capacity without increasing the guarantees that underpin it, and within the rules of the Treaty of Lisbon. Early introduction of the European Stability Mechanism would also reinforce confidence in the crisis-resolution mechanism and would bring the advantages of a more robust permanent instrument. Efforts should therefore be made to accelerate the technical preparation and ratification procedures in order to have the ESM operational by, let us say, mid-2012.

Thirdly, we need to restore confidence in the EU banking sector through a coordinated, targeted effort of recapitalisation in conjunction with the other elements of our overall strategy. This calls for the combined efforts of the Member States, the European Banking Authority and the European Central Bank, alongside the Commission and Parliament. Such a bank recapitalisation strategy must necessarily mean that banks which do not currently retain the necessary capital should present recapitalisation plans and implement them as swiftly as possible.

Here, banks should turn first to private sources of capital, including through restructuring and conversion of debt to equity instruments. If necessary, the national governments should

provide support, and if such support is not available then recapitalisation should be funded via a loan from the EFSF. Any recapitalisation from public sources should be compatible with the EU rules on state aid. We are ready to extend the applicability of the existing state aid framework for bank support beyond 2011.

Finally, on the basis of the newly adopted six-pack – for which I wish to thank you warmly – and with regard to fiscal and economic surveillance, we need to strengthen the stability orientation in our economic policymaking. I count on your support for the firm implementation of the new instruments and the toolbox from day one, which should be in mid-December or, at the latest, on 1 January 2012. However, we should also be ready to look further ahead and to develop a vision and a road map for more effective economic governance. A long-term vision must combine discipline with integration and, in that context, we are also working on the report on options for the Stability Bonds, to be ready before the end of the year.

So it is encouraging to find that we – that is not only Parliament and the Commission but also the Polish Presidency – see eye to eye on what needs to be done to overcome the crisis. This is a major joint effort for you, for us, and for governments and oppositions in all the Member States. I count on your support and also on your efforts in terms of communication. We have only a few days to win the necessary public and political support for this kind of comprehensive strategy for a truly European way forward. Let us do it together and let us do it now!

3-094-000

IN THE CHAIR: GILES CHICHESTER

Vice-President

3-095-000

Mikołaj Dowgielewicz, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, I want, first of all, to thank the House for this debate, which had many elements in common with the thinking in the Member States and in the Council on what needs to be done. It was also essential that we heard today from the Commission a number of proposals which will form the substantive input to preparation for the coming European Council.

I want to stress once again that the Polish Presidency has every confidence that, on each of the four or five issues we will be looking at, we can reach a compromise that will reassure citizens and the markets. We heard this afternoon a reassuring signal from Slovakia concerning the ratification: that it will be concluded in the coming days. I am sure that we all feel the weight of responsibility on our shoulders, and I will stress again that, ahead of this European Council, the Polish Presidency will put in every effort to make sure we emerge on Sunday 23 October with a good result which will strengthen the euro, strengthen the European Union and ensure that we also strengthen the Community method.

I also want to thank the House for giving me a very warm welcome and for the good words that have been said here about the need for a growth strategy. I believe this is essential and it is, as you know, a priority for the Polish Presidency.

3-096-000

President. – I have received three motions for resolutions ⁽²⁾ tabled in accordance with Rule 110(2) of the Rules of Procedure.

The debate is closed.

The vote will take place tomorrow, Thursday 13 September.

Written statements (Rule 149)

3-097-000

Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL), *por escrito*. – Mais um debate onde ficou por dizer aquilo que era essencial: mudar as políticas e os fundamentos da união económica e monetária para dar prioridade ao emprego com direitos, à erradicação da pobreza e à exclusão social, às desigualdades e injustiças sociais. O que pressupõe um Pacto de Emprego e Progresso Social é a abolição definitiva do actual PEC para acabar com o agravamento da situação na Grécia, em Portugal, na Irlanda e noutros países onde os problemas tendem a intensificar-se.

Exige-se o fim dos autênticos pactos de agressão e extorsão aos povos que são vítimas da intervenção do FMI, do BCE e da Comissão Europeia. Já se viu o resultado na Grécia. É bom que se arrepie caminho antes que Portugal e a Irlanda cheguem à mesma situação. É tempo de acabar com as imposições do directório que, em nome dos interesses dos grupos económicos e financeiros europeus, continua a impor políticas desastrosas para os povos das economias mais frágeis e profunda injustiça social, como é exemplo a proposta que preparam sobre a recapitalização da banca, que será mais uma gigantesca operação de transferência da dívida detida pela banca para o sector público, isto é, para as costas dos trabalhadores e dos povos da Europa.

3-097-500

Lidia Joanna Geringer de Oedenberg (S&D), *na piśmie*. – Szanowni Państwo! Dnia 23 października będziemy świadkami kolejnego, być może historycznego, szczytu Unii Europejskiej, który ma być poprzedzony posiedzeniami ministrów finansów z 27 krajów UE. O ich zorganizowanie poproszono m.in. polską prezydencję, która traktuje tę sprawę priorytetowo. W sytuacji rozwijającego się kryzysu finansowego i gospodarczego musimy dołożyć wszelkich starań i zaangażować się w poszukiwanie spójnych rozwiązań, które są jedynym wyjściem z tej ciężkiej sytuacji. Szukając odpowiedzi na „grecki kryzys”, wyjściem jest dokapitalizowanie banków oraz zwiększenie skuteczności Europejskiego Funduszu Stabilności Finansowej. Musimy dopilnować, aby to kolejne spotkanie sprostało pokładanym w nim nadziejom, w przeciwieństwie do ostatnich „kryzysowych” szczytów, których decyzje nie zostały jeszcze ostatecznie wdrożone (po ostatnim nie ma ratyfikacji decyzji o wzmocnieniu EFSF we wszystkich 17 krajach strefy euro), a już wymagają zmian i uzupełnień. Uważam, że naszą wspólną ambicją powinno być podjęcie zdecydowanych kroków, by powstrzymać rozlanie się kryzysu zadłużenia z Grecji na przykład na Hiszpanię. Przykładów na to, że sytuacja jest poważna nie musimy szukać daleko. O pogorszeniu sytuacji sektora bankowego, który wymaga dokapitalizowania, świadczy chociażby niedawna likwidacja francusko-belgijskiego banku DEXIA, który miał w czerwcu greckie obligacje o wartości 4,3 mld euro. W tym ciężkim czasie pragnę zaapelować do krajów

(2) See Minutes.

członkowskich o aktywne włączenie się we wspólne działania. To moment, gdzie „jeden za wszystkich, wszyscy za jednego” powinno być naszym mottem.

3-098-000

Zita Gurmai (S&D), *in writing*. – As I said before, we are facing our most serious crisis so far. It is clear that we need serious reflection and analysis of the situation from an economic point of view.

As a politician, I would like to add my thoughts to the debate: we need four things – four ‘mores’. We need more democracy, because all our actions should be based on democratic legitimacy. This is the starting point. We need more Europe, because in times of crisis we should stick together and fight for a common solution. It will not help if we are self-absorbed. We need more equality, because that helps cooperation and our society needs it badly. And last but not least, we need more women in decision-making positions, because their expertise and problem-solving skills cannot be neglected. We cannot afford to exclude 50% of the population from the decision-making process.

3-098-500

Danuta Jazłowiecka (PPE), *na piśmie*. – Nikt nie ma wątpliwości co do tego, że sytuacja gospodarcza w Europie wymaga zdecydowanej i szybkiej reakcji ze strony państw członkowskich. Nowy pakiet rozporządzeń reformujących pakt stabilności i wzrostu czy konsolidacja finansów publicznych to zdecydowane odpowiedzi na kryzys zadłużenia krajów Unii Europejskiej. Przywracając równowagę budżetową w państwach członkowskich, nie możemy jednak zapomnieć o tym, że europejska gospodarka potrzebuje także zachęt inwestycyjnych i jasnych politycznych sygnałów, które pomogą się jej rozwijać i przywrócić wzrost gospodarczy w długim okresie. Podstawą powodzenia europejskiej gospodarki i głównym źródłem wzrostu gospodarczego jest dobrze funkcjonujący jednolity rynek. Priorytetem na najbliższe miesiące powinna być zatem dalsza integracja rynku wewnętrznego oraz wdrażanie i egzekwowanie już istniejącego prawa. Podejmując decyzje o tym, jak wyprowadzić europejską gospodarkę z kryzysu, musimy pamiętać także o tym, że problemy strefy euro są problemami całej Wspólnoty. Działania antykryzysowe powinny więc angażować wszystkie zainteresowane kraje członkowskie, także te będące obecnie poza strefą euro. Miejmy nadzieję, że efektem nadchodzącego szczytu europejskiego będzie ambitny i szczegółowy plan pozwalający europejskiej gospodarce na ostateczne wyjście z kryzysu i wprowadzenie państw członkowskich na długotrwałą ścieżkę wzrostu.

3-099-000

Tunne Kelam (PPE), *in writing*. – The crisis is getting worse. The banking sector is under extreme stress. The six-pack constitutes a sound basis, but it is not sufficient. We need strong European coordination, economic governance based entirely on Community method. And we need a clear timeframe of measures to restore confidence. This is an all-European crisis, not only a problem of the eurozone. Reform is needed throughout Europe, not only in the eurozone. The central issue of further expansion of solidarity and the EFSF will be conditionality. Conducting real structural reforms should be the principal condition for receiving further financial support. This has to apply for all circumstances, including support to recapitalise banks. Public capital injections require public control of bank management, including strict control of dividend policies, bonuses and salaries. Next to austerity measures we also need growth and jobs. The EC has a key role here to finally make full use of the potential of the single market. There is absolutely no moral or political

justification to further delay the completion of the single market. More than two thirds of the EU economy is vested in the service sector, of which the major part is still not integrated. This is another precondition and lever to regain confidence for the EU.

3-100-000

Vladimír Maňka (S&D), *písomne* – Vládna koalícia na Slovensku nebola schopná schváliť Európsky finančný a stabilizačný mechanizmus napriek tomu, že premiérka a minister financií opakovane v Bruseli i na medzinárodných fórach deklarovali, že Slovensko euroval schváli. Vládna koalícia neprijala pozvanie strany SMER- sociálna demokracia na rokovanie o podpore s odôvodnením, že to musí zvládnuť sama. Naopak, premiérka hlasovanie o eurovale spojila s hlasovaním o dôvere vlády. Tým úplne vylúčila podporu opozície.

SMER-SD je proeurópska strana, ktorá euroval jednoznačne podporuje. Tento týždeň slovenský parlament schváli predčasné voľby a následne aj euroval, ktorý SMER-SD pokladá za nevyhnutnú podmienku stability spoločnej meny a podmienku ďalšej existencie Európskeho spoločenstva.

3-101-000

Alajos Mészáros (PPE), *írásban* . – Sajnálattal vettem tudomásul, hogy minap a szlovák parlament nem szavazta meg az európai segélycsomagot. Nem ez az első eset, amikor tanúi vagyunk kicsinyes hazai pártérdekek európai értékek fölé helyezésének. A szocialista és liberális politikai csoportok visszaélve a helyzettel inkább megbuktatták a kormányt, minthogy kiálljanak a közös európai értékek mellett. Szeretnék arra emlékeztetni, hogy amikor a szocialisták voltak kormányon a Lisszaboni Szerződés ratifikálásakor Szlovákiában, annak jóváhagyását csak az ellenzéki - általam is képviselt - Magyar Koalíció Pártja segítségével tudták elérni. Most nemcsak az európai érdekek védelmét, hanem Szlovákia politikai presztízsét és nemzetközi hitelességét is kockára tették.

3-102-000

Andreas Mölzer (NI), *schriftlich* . – Mittlerweile ist eingetreten, was lange wie ein Damoklesschwert über Europa hing: Private Gläubigerbanken der staatlichen Großschuldner der Eurozone stehen kurz vor dem Bankrott. Die Kommissionspläne einer Rekapitalisierung mit EFSF-Krediten sind absolut ungeeignet. Zum einen ist der kontinuierlich aufgestockte EFSF längst an seine finanziellen Grenzen gelangt, welche im Falle einer (zweiten) Bankenrettung fahrlässig überschritten würden. Zum anderen wird nach wie vor darauf verzichtet, die Ursachen der Schuldenkrise zu bekämpfen. Stattdessen wird der bisherige Irrweg, die EU in eine Transferunion mit einer zentralistischen Brüsseler Wirtschaftsregierung zu verwandeln, ohne Rücksicht auf Verluste weiter verfolgt. Allen Expertenmeinungen zum Trotz werden sinnlos Abermilliarden in die Rettung von maroden EU-Staaten wie Griechenland gepumpt, um das vorhersehbare Versagen dieses zum Scheitern bestimmten Lösungsansatzes dann auch noch zum Anlass zu nehmen, über die Hintertüre die Souveränität der EU-Mitgliedstaaten endgültig zu beseitigen. Um diesen Pyrrhussieg zu erlangen, wurde sogar der Europäische Rat nach hinten verschoben, damit die slowakische oppositionelle Haltung gegen eine neue Belastungswelle noch rechtzeitig vor der Ratssitzung einknicken kann.

Aus der Krise können weitere Zentralisierungspläne nicht helfen, sie werden die Notlage nur weiter verschlimmern. Wir müssen zurück zu einem Staatenverbund gleichberechtigter

Staaten mit eigenständiger Wirtschaftspolitik und einer kleineren Hartwährungszone wirtschaftlich starker Staaten.

3-102-500

Franck Proust (PPE), *par écrit*. – A l’instar d’une large majorité de mes collègues, je souhaite de tout cœur que le Conseil européen du 23 octobre prochain débouche sur un accord global. Je souhaite qu’il nous éclaire sur le chemin à suivre pour sortir de cette tempête. Plus que de l’ambition, nous avons les moyens de notre redressement. Mais il faut que nous agissions de concert. J’ai confiance en nos institutions et nos processus de décision. Je sais que nous pouvons nous appuyer sur le rôle historique des piliers du projet européen qui ont toujours su tirer l’Europe vers le haut. Aujourd’hui, le débat ne tourne plus autour du mieux-disant souverainiste ou fédéraliste. Non, aujourd’hui, il est question de la survie de notre modèle de paix et de prospérité, unique exemple de ce genre dans le monde. La solution, c’est bien évidemment plus d’Europe. Nous devons sortir de l’emballement médiatique, du court-termisme imposé, et arrêter d’agir au coup par coup. Nous devons inscrire notre solution dans la durée, et mettre sur pied un processus stable pour une gouvernance économique forte. Au-delà des partis, au-delà des intérêts nationaux, notre assemblée a toujours montré l’exemple sans perdre de vue l’intérêt des peuples que nous représentons.

3-103-000

Joanna Senyszyn (S&D), *na piśmie*. – Europa zмага się z kryzysem i jego konsekwencjami. Po analizie wewnętrznych wyzwań czas przyjrzeć się zewnętrznej polityce ekonomicznej. Unia musi walczyć o swoją światową pozycję. Im dłużej będziemy z tym zwlekać, tym trudniej będzie utrzymać dotychczasową pozycję, nie mówiąc o zwiększaniu naszych wpływów. Trzeba skuteczniej reagować na zmiany w światowej gospodarce. Aby wzmocnić swój potencjał rozwoju, Unia musi podjąć inicjatywy w relacjach zewnętrznych. Na tych zagadnieniach powinien się między innymi skupić nadchodzący szczyt Unii.

Należy położyć nacisk na umowy dwustronne i regionalne dotyczące różnych dziedzin współpracy ze strategicznymi partnerami, których rynki dynamicznie się rozwijają. Aby zwiększyć swój potencjał wobec światowych partnerów, Unia musi promować europejski model wzrostu gospodarczego, oparty na konkurencyjności, odpowiedzialności społecznej i równowadze ekologicznej.

Unia musi pozostać otwarta dla potencjalnych nowych członków z Europy. Organizm, który się nie rozwija słabnie, a następnie umiera. Ważne jest prowadzenie efektywnej polityki rozwojowej i handlowej. W tym kontekście należy wspierać działania służące łagodzeniu zmiany klimatu w regionach najbardziej nędznych, kontynuować działanie na rzecz wyeliminowania ubóstwa, zwłaszcza poprzez import produktów rolnych.

Unia Europejska musi być skuteczniejszą orędowniczką demokracji, praworządności i praw człowieka. Wymaga to wprowadzenia i konsekwentnego stosowania zasady warunkowości, która przewiduje sankcje gospodarczo-finansowe dla reżimów łamiących prawa człowieka.

3-103-500

Silvia-Adriana Țicău (S&D), *în scris*. – Problemele economice și competitivitatea Uniunii se află pe agenda Consiliului European din octombrie. Ca și în 2008, UE intenționează

acum să recapitalizeze băncile europene. Frecvența mai mare, din ultimii ani, a crizelor financiare arată că încercăm, cu instrumente depășite, să ne adresăm doar efectelor crizelor economice și financiare, și nu cauzelor acestora.

Este momentul unei schimbări mai profunde a sistemului financiar european și, implicit, este nevoie de dezvoltarea a noi instrumente financiare. În lipsa unui proces semnificativ și rapid de restructurare a sectorul financiar, UE s-ar putea regăsi, în câțiva ani, în situația de a recapitaliza băncile. Uniunea trebuie să adopte rapid măsuri de creștere economică și de creare de locuri de muncă.

Cetățenii europeni își doresc pace și prosperitate și sunt îngrijorați astăzi pentru viitorul lor și al copiilor lor. Aceștia își doresc locuri de muncă decente și un trai decent, astfel încât fiecare să fie inclus în societate și să fie util acesteia. De aceea, Uniunea trebuie să investească urgent într-o politică industrială ambițioasă, eco-eficientă, capabilă să asigure locuri de muncă pe teritoriul UE. De asemenea, pentru creșterea competitivității sale, UE trebuie să investească în propria infrastructură de transport, de energie și de comunicații și tehnologia informației.

3-104-000

Angelika Werthmann (NI), *schriftlich*. – Der auf den 23. Oktober verschobene Ratgipfel wird angesichts seiner Tagesordnung und der aktuellen Lage in Europa ein sehr, sehr wichtiger. Trotz der finanziellen Situation, in der wir uns alle befinden – und gerade deswegen – müssen wir den Blick auf die Menschen behalten. Und das heißt nun mal: finanzielle Stabilität, ein nachhaltiges Wirtschaftswachstum und vor allem die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen müssen unser aller oberstes Ziel bleiben. Lassen Sie uns „Green Jobs“ in ganz Europa schaffen, geben wir dem Arbeitsmarkt einen neuen Impuls! Damit lösen wir auf lange Sicht und auch nachhaltig auch einen Teil der Klimaproblematik. Der nächste Klimagipfel steht wieder an. Er bietet eine neue Chance, die USA und China ins völkerrechtliche Boot zu holen. Was die Klimavereinbarungen betrifft, steht einfach zu viel auf dem Spiel!

15. Accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen (debate)

3-106-000

President. – The next item is the debate on

– the oral question to the Council on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Renate Weber, Sophia in 't Veld, Alexander Alvaro, Cecilia Wikström, Sarah Ludford, Filiz Hakaeva Hyusmenova, Stanimir Ilchev, Louis Michel, Metin Kazak, Sonia Alfano and Gianni Vattimo, on behalf of the ALDE Group (O-000218/2011 – B7-0628/2011),

– the oral question to the Council on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Cornelia Ernst, Willy Meyer and Marie-Christine Vergiat, on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group (O-000221/2011 – B7-0629/2011),

– the oral question to the Commission on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Cornelia Ernst, Willy Meyer and Marie-Christine Vergiat, on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group (O-000222/2011 – B7-0630/2011),

- the oral question to the Council on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Claude Moraes, Ioan Enciu and Iliana Malinova Iotova, on behalf of the S&D Group (O-000223/2011 – B7-0439/2011),
- the oral question to the Council on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Marian-Jean Marinescu, Andrey Kovatchev, Carlos Coelho, Mariya Nedelcheva, Monica Luisa Macovei, Elena Oana Antonescu, Simon Busuttil, Georgios Papanikolaou and Manfred Weber, on behalf of the PPE Group (O-000224/2011 – B7-0440/2011),
- the oral question to the Commission on the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen by Marian-Jean Marinescu, Andrey Kovatchev, Carlos Coelho, Mariya Nedelcheva, Monica Luisa Macovei, Elena Oana Antonescu, Simon Busuttil, Georgios Papanikolaou and Manfred Weber, on behalf of the PPE Group (O-000225/2011 – B7-0621/2011),
- the oral question to the Council on the entry of Bulgaria and Romania into the Schengen Area by Mara Bizzotto, on behalf of the EFD Group (O-000234/2011 – B7-0631/2011),
- the oral question to the Commission on the entry of Bulgaria and Romania to the Schengen Area by Mara Bizzotto, on behalf of the EFD Group (O-000235/2011 – B7-0632/2011).

3-107-000

Renate Weber, *Autor*. – Zilele acesta au loc meciurile de calificare pentru Campionatul European de Fotbal, ceea ce ne face pe toți să ne pricepem la fotbal. Iar situația României și Bulgariei poate fi comparată cu un meci de fotbal pierdut de cele două țări nu pe teren, ci la „masa verde”. Deși s-au pregătit intens și au jucat tehnic foarte bine, cele două țări nu au reușit să se califice în „Liga Schengen”, pentru că unii arbitri au decis că regulile stabilite inițial și fair-play-ul nu contează și au creat reguli noi chiar în timpul jocului, reguli pe care, de altfel, nu le știe nimeni, dar care au consecințe foarte serioase.

Personal, mulțumesc Președinției poloneze pentru eforturile continue depuse în vederea aderării țării mele la spațiul Schengen. Dar faptul că dezbatem astăzi o rezoluție asupra unui lucru pe care noi l-am decis deja prin vot în urmă cu patru luni arată cât de mare este impasul în care se află acum Uniunea Europeană. Pentru că mi se pare absurd să avem două adevăruri, unul al Parlamentului European și altul al Consiliului, cu privire la libera circulație înăuntrul granițelor Europei. Sunt sigură că autoritățile și demnitarii din Olanda și Finlanda înțeleg că cetățenii europeni au drepturi care nu pot fi interpretate și aplicate diferit, în funcție de naționalitatea sau etnia cărora le aparțin prin naștere. Și totuși, au cedat unor presiuni interne marginale, dar vocale.

Dacă suntem responsabili, nu avem voie să permitem o nouă ruptură în Europa: nici est-vest, nici nord-sud. Partidele de extremă dreaptă chiar asta așteaptă, ca oamenii păcăliți și confuzi să refuze să mai fie guvernați de la Bruxelles. Tocmai de aceea dublul standard trebuie să dispară atât din discursurile liderilor politici europeni, cât și din deciziile lor. Dacă acest dublu standard nu ar fi existat, România și Bulgaria ar fi fost deja în spațiul Schengen, iar această decizie ar fi generat efecte pozitive pentru economia europeană.

3-108-000

Marie-Christine Vergiat, *auteur*. – Monsieur le Président, le 22 septembre dernier, le Conseil a rejeté l'entrée de la Roumanie et de la Bulgarie dans l'espace Schengen. Que d'hypocrisie! Certes, ce sont les Pays-Bas et la Finlande qui ont opposé leur veto à cette

demande. Mais la majorité des États membres, à commencer par la France et l'Allemagne, partagent, semble-t-il, le doute de ces États membres. Pourtant, la Roumanie et la Bulgarie remplissent désormais les conditions qui ont été imposées aux nouveaux entrants en 2008. Et apparaissent même mieux préparés que certains de ceux qui ont été acceptés sans réticences à l'époque.

On invoque la nécessité de soi-disant certitudes en matière de lutte contre la corruption et le crime organisé. Foutaises, oserais-je dire! Quelle est la triste réalité? L'évolution politique dans un certain nombre d'États membres est la seule cause réelle de ce refus. La xénophobie mine de plus en plus l'Europe et l'on joue avec les peurs. Car la raison profonde de ce refus est toujours la peur de l'insuffisance des contrôles aux frontières et révèle la réalité de ce qu'est l'espace Schengen.

Qu'en est-il du soi-disant principe de libre circulation des personnes si l'on refuse à certains citoyens européens ce que l'on accorde à ceux d'États non membres de l'Union? La réalité de l'espace Schengen, c'est que c'est de plus en plus un espace de sécurité au sens étroit du terme, un espace policier sécuritaire qui permet à l'Europe de se replier sur elle-même. C'est l'Europe-forteresse. Celle qui refuse d'accueillir quelques millions de Tunisiens et qui refuse de tendre la main à quelques dizaines de réfugiés libyens. La démagogie électoraliste des gouvernements finlandais et néerlandais est largement partagée dans de nombreux États membres.

La Commission est gardienne des traités. Peut-elle nous expliquer quels nouveaux critères vont être imposés à la Roumanie et à la Bulgarie? À quand, comme en matière économique, un principe de majorité qualifiée renversée en matière de droits de l'homme, de justice et de liberté? Jusqu'à quand laisserons-nous dériver l'Union et jusqu'à quand l'intérêt de quelques-uns continuera-t-il de prévaloir sur l'intérêt général? Oui, l'Union européenne a un problème de gouvernance. Mais ce n'est pas un problème de gouvernance économique, c'est un problème de gouvernance politique.

3-109-000

Claude Moraes, *author*. – Mr President, the Socialist and Democrat Group also begins with the premise that Schengen is a cornerstone of the European Union and therefore we should not create a two-tier situation in relation to the Member States of the European Union.

The continuing delay and blocking by Member States, in particular the Netherlands and Finland, of Romania and Bulgaria joining the Schengen acquis risks creating that two-tier system for EU Member States. Bulgaria and Romania have met the criteria to join Schengen, the same criteria that were applied to each Member State that has previously joined the acquis. Furthermore, this has been judged and verified by the independent expert EU committee, yet some Member States are now taking the political initiative of blocking their accession on the basis that they have serious levels of corruption and organised crime. Of course corruption and organised crime are serious issues, but the approach to these serious issues is disingenuous and is creating a problem with one of the key principles of the European Union and its freedoms.

The EU has an ongoing evaluation mechanism to judge organised crime and corruption, but we must not pervert that mechanism in creating a two-tier system for these countries. The Member States should be treated equally and fairly. We work hard to tackle all forms of discrimination and we have to ensure that we do not allow for the creation of a

subsidiarity position for Romania and Bulgaria. Of course we welcome efforts to strengthen and improve the Schengen acquis; re-evaluating any legislation is necessary to improve it and adapt it to be able to best respond to current demands and situations. However, the rules that we create must also be respected by all Member States in Council. It should not be that we negotiate EU legislation which is then ignored by some Member States and Council.

We have to strengthen Schengen and ensure that an instrument which was created for solidarity purposes across the EU – for the freedom of individuals across the EU – is not now used to divide it.

3-110-000

Marian-Jean Marinescu, *Autor* . – România a semnat Tratatul de aderare în 2005. Concomitent, s-a angajat să respecte obligațiile cuprinse în Acordul Schengen și să îndeplinească prevederile cuprinse în Mecanismul de cooperare și verificare privind justiția și lupta împotriva corupției. Cele două angajamente cuprind separat cerințe și sancțiuni în caz de nerespectare. Mecanismul este în derulare. Comisia elaborează anual rapoarte de progres și are posibilitatea să aplice sancțiunile prevăzute, în caz de nerespectare a etapelor prevăzute. Foaia de parcurs pentru Schengen a fost respectată în totalitate, în conformitate cu prevederile comunitare actuale, fapt certificat de decizia Consiliului JAI din iunie 2011.

Mai mult, Consiliul European din iunie, inclusiv România, a propus revizuirea criteriilor Schengen, dar a specificat clar în concluzii că această propunere nu afectează procesul de aderare a României și Bulgariei. Din păcate, Consiliul JAI nu a respectat propria decizie din iunie și în septembrie nu a adoptat nicio decizie.

Suntem într-o situație complet neclară, fără nicio perspectivă, în care un stat membru își îndeplinește obligațiile, dar este blocat, putem spune chiar sancționat, de alte state membre, fără motive întemeiate juridic. În plus, în conformitate cu Tratatul Uniunii, Comisia este singura care poate propune sancțiuni împotriva unui stat membru.

Uniunea Europeană este bazată, printre altele, pe încredere, dar și pe respect reciproc. În această situație, cred că este nevoie de intervenția Consiliului European. Cer Consiliului European să ia în discuție acest subiect și să ia o decizie corectă, bazată pe propriile merite ale celor două state membre, în beneficiul tuturor statelor membre și al Uniunii Europene.

3-111-000

Mara Bizzotto, *Autore* . – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Finlandia e Olanda si sono opposte in sede di Consiglio per una ragione molto semplice: Bulgaria e Romania non sono in grado oggi di garantire un efficace controllo delle frontiere e sono teatro di una dilagante corruzione che coinvolge la classe politica e la criminalità organizzata.

A pensarla così non sono i partiti e i movimenti populistici, ma l'Europol nel suo rapporto 2010 sul crimine organizzato. Non c'è alcuna propaganda populista, ma un serio problema di sicurezza. Nel caso la Bulgaria entrasse in questo momento nell'area Schengen, gli organismi di polizia e sicurezza prevedono che le frontiere bulgare, soprattutto quelle marittime, diventerebbero facile obiettivo della criminalità turca e dell'Est Europa, e Bulgaria e Romania diventerebbero il crocevia di traffici di esseri umani e di droga.

È naturale che alcuni Stati membri abbiano molte riserve sulla reale capacità di Bulgaria e Romania di garantire effettivi controlli alle frontiere contro la criminalità organizzata e la

korupcja, ed è quindi assolutamente naturale che si siano opposti al loro ingresso in Schengen. Consentirlo ora significa aprire la strada alla criminalità transnazionale e aprire un varco nelle frontiere europee proprio laddove c'è una fortissima pressione migratoria dalla Turchia.

Le ragioni per opporsi sono molte e l'Europa non può ignorarle. Chiedo quindi di sapere quali siano le intenzioni di Commissione e Consiglio in merito a questa delicata questione, che a mio avviso è stata trattata finora con sufficienza e senza tener conto dei pericoli che l'ingresso di Bulgaria e Romania comporterebbero, a detta degli organismi competenti, in materia di sicurezza e criminalità internazionale.

A mio avviso, Commissione e Consiglio dovrebbero rinviare l'ingresso di questi due paesi a Schengen e dare l'ok solo quando ci sarà la ragionevole certezza che l'ingresso di Bulgaria e Romania non avrà ricadute sulla sicurezza dei cittadini europei.

3-112-000

Piotr Stachniak, *urzędujący przewodniczący Rady*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Jestem bardzo wdzięczny Parlamentowi i ugrupowaniom politycznym za poruszenie tej ważnej kwestii oraz za skierowanie pytań do Rady podczas dzisiejszej sesji plenarnej. Cieszę się, że kwestia przystąpienia Bułgarii i Rumunii do strefy Schengen jest tak szczególnie ważna dla członków Izby.

Jestem pewien, że wiedzą Państwo, iż Rada omówiła tę kwestię podczas sesji w dniach 22-23 września na podstawie kompromisowego wniosku prezydencji. Został on przygotowany w odpowiedzi na obawy – wyrażane wcześniej przez niektóre państwa członkowskie – w sprawie początkowego wniosku-decyzji w sprawie ram dla pełnego zastosowania postanowień dorobku Schengen do Bułgarii i Rumunii.

Niestety stało się jasne, że niemożliwe będzie zapewnienie jednomyślnego poparcia w ramach Rady, koniecznego do osiągnięcia porozumienia. Dlatego prezydencja postanowiła nie poddawać wnioskowi-decyzji Rady pod głosowanie.

Jak Szanowni Posłowie pamiętają, akt przystąpienia z 2005 r. przewiduje weryfikację za pomocą procedury oceny w celu zagwarantowania, że Bułgaria i Rumunia spełniają warunki niezbędne do stosowania wszystkich części dorobku Schengen. Jest to warunek konieczny dla Rady, aby mogła ona – po konsultacjach z Parlamentem Europejskim – podjąć decyzję w sprawie pełnego stosowania dorobku i wynikającego stąd zniesienia kontroli na granicach wewnętrznych oraz na granicach pomiędzy tymi dwoma państwami członkowskimi.

Oceny te przeprowadzono w latach 2009-2011. Po zakończeniu procesu oceny Rada do spraw Wymiaru Sprawiedliwości i Spraw Wewnętrznych przyjęła dnia 9 czerwca bieżącego roku konkluzje potwierdzające, że konieczne warunki wstępne, umożliwiające Radzie podjęcie decyzji o zniesieniu kontroli powietrznych, lądowych i wodnych w granicach wewnętrznych, zostały spełnione. Rada uzgodniła również, że powróci do tej kwestii jak najszybciej, nie później niż we wrześniu bieżącego roku.

Polska prezydencja przedłożyła Radzie wniosek kompromisowy. Wniosek ten przewidywał stopniowe zniesienie kontroli na granicach wewnętrznych: początkowo na powietrznych i morskich, a następnie kontroli na granicach lądowych. Był też owocem procesu intensywnych dyskusji z państwami członkowskimi, w tym oczywiście z Bułgarią i Rumunią. Jak już wspominałem, nie uzyskał on niezbędnego jednomyślnego poparcia.

Nadal traktujemy przystąpienie Bułgarii i Rumunii do strefy Schengen jako priorytet i jesteśmy zaangażowani w prace nad szybkim podjęciem decyzji w tej sprawie. Polska prezydencja jest zdeterminowana w kwestii zagwarantowania szybkiego porozumienia w tej sprawie i w tym celu będziemy nadal pracować nad zrównoważonym podejściem, które w sposób zadowalający uwzględni konkretne obawy wyrażone przez niektóre państwa, jednocześnie przewidując zniesienie kontroli na granicach lądowych w rozsądnych ramach czasowych.

Prezydencja będzie na bieżąco informować Parlament o dalszym rozwoju sytuacji w tym zakresie.

3-113-000

Cecilia Malmström, *Member of the Commission* . – Mr President, thank you for putting this issue on the agenda. Thank you for your support on this. As you are aware the decision on Romania and Bulgaria joining the Schengen area is the responsibility of the Council, so it is the Council who can and who has answered many of your questions.

From the Commission's side, we have repeatedly said that the two countries fulfil the technical criteria, they belong in the Schengen area, we support them entering the Schengen area and we also support the numerous and very hard efforts made by the Polish Presidency. I hope that we can find a solution to this in the very near future.

3-114-000

Simon Busuttil, *on behalf of the PPE Group* . – Mr President, this debate and this resolution are our response to the unjustified delay by the Council of Bulgaria's and Romania's accession to the Schengen zone.

This Chamber has already made its position clear and we reiterate it today: namely that Bulgaria and Romania should be allowed to join Schengen once they fulfil the entry conditions. We say this out of a basic sense of fairness and respect for the rule of law, so we are very surprised and deeply disappointed that, despite Bulgaria's and Romania's having fulfilled the conditions for membership – the same conditions that were applied to all the rest of us – the Council failed to ratify the decision to give them the green light.

We are told that this happened because of the opposition of two Member States – the Netherlands and Finland – which wield a veto on the decision. That is disappointing because both these countries have a strong European tradition of respect for fairness and the rule of law. As it happens, both their governments rely on the support of populist parties. I would not like to think that the reason for the blockage is that these governments are held hostage to populism, because that would be very worrying indeed. We need to stand up to populism by explaining to the public that fairness dictates respect for the rules, and that when the rules are respected we should draw the appropriate conclusions: in this case by allowing both Bulgaria and Romania to join the border-free area of Schengen. We should not be afraid to explain this to the public. We should not be afraid of taking fair decisions, and we should not be afraid to show political responsibility. Not to do so would be to move the goalposts after the game has started, and that is simply not fair.

3-115-000

Илияна Малинова Йотова, *от илнето на групата S&D* . – Господин Председател, искам специално да благодаря на госпожа Малмстрьом, която винаги присъства, когато става дума

за Шенген, но съм изненадана, че председателят на Европейската комисия – господин Барозу не е сред нас в един такъв дебат, който е подкрепен от огромното мнозинство в Европейския парламент. Очевидно той не се интересува от него и от волята на евро-депутатите и предпочита да ги замени с участието си в предизборната кампания в България.

С днешната резолюция настояваме за категоричната намеса и на комисарите, и на министрите от Съвета за решение или ясен график за приемането на България и Румъния в Шенген. Казусът с приемането на двете страни е много сериозен, защото поставя под въпрос действието на европейското право. Критериите за това членство са изпълнени, но решение няма. Съветът постави Комисията и всички нас в юридическа клопка, като позволи нови изисквания към двете страни в хода на самата процедура по приемането. Срещу това поведение на Съвета Европейската комисия трябва да реагира много по-твърдо, тъй като тя е пазител на договорите и съблюдава за тяхното изпълнение. Европейската комисия трябва да гарантира, че новият пакет който предлага за оценка на изпълнението на критериите от Шенген, ще се изпълнява от всички и няма да зависи от политическата конюнктура.

И накрая, искам да отговоря и на госпожа Bizzotto като цитирам едно днешно изявление на наш колега социалист: „Ако имаме еднакво отношение към борбата с престъпността и корупцията в страните-членки, така както към България и Румъния, Италия отдавна трябваше да напусне Шенген.“

3-116-000

Sarah Ludford, *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . – Mr President, the EU is based on the rule of law; Romania and Bulgaria have passed the Schengen tests. It is unfair and invidious to allow populist nationalism to move the goalposts. Of course we need stricter tests for Schengen participation. In fact it is a disgrace that Member States which insisted on keeping charge of setting the criteria failed to insert anti-corruption, the independence of judges and fighting mafia crime into them. That is what we need to do from now on, so new and existing Schengen members are properly evaluated and, if necessary, sanctioned. But for the time being apply the rules.

Finally it makes no sense to exclude the UK from the Schengen evaluation process. The UK is not in the border-free arrangements, but it will be in the Schengen Information System and ought to be included in scrutiny, otherwise other Schengen states cannot evaluate the UK.

3-117-000

Tatjana Ždanoka, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group* . – Mr President, we all know there were some shortcomings on Bulgaria and Romania's road to Schengen, but now the problems are resolved and Bulgaria and Romania are fully prepared to join the free travel area in 2011. One cannot invent new criteria for joining the Schengen area and one cannot undermine the certainty that a state may join as soon as the existing criteria are met.

My group finds it unacceptable that the Netherlands and Finland have even blocked the Polish Presidency's compromise in the Council without formulating any convincing reasons to do so. Such action undermines European solidarity and I hope that the European Council will find a solution – as we have heard today – with the assistance of the Commission. I would like to thank Ms Malmström for this.

I myself come from a Member State which joined the Schengen area in the previous enlargement and I remember how we wanted to join the Schengen area. As such, I very much welcome the accession of Bulgaria and Romania.

3-118-000

Timothy Kirkhope, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, suggesting there are flaws in a system and acknowledging weaknesses is not intended as an attack on any Member State or the achievements of the Schengen area, but instead the logical conclusion from reflecting on a system which is no longer working properly or responding to modern challenges.

Some Member States have shown their reservations about Bulgaria and Romania joining the Schengen area – and they do this despite the Romanian and Bulgarian people having worked so incredibly hard to meet the criteria that have been set for them – but calling those reservations xenophobic or racist as we heard a moment ago is a cheap and unworthy suggestion.

Unfortunately, Romania and Bulgaria are the victims of the current criteria which are outdated and lack coordination with modern European concerns, concerns which should rightfully include corruption and organised crime. We have the resources through Europol, Eurojust and Frontex – and indeed OLAF – to improve the system, to find a better way forward by making sure that Member States are ready to join. By ignoring this reality, we do ourselves, the Schengen area and the Member States in question a gross disservice.

3-119-000

Димитър Стоянов (NI). - Господин Председателю, аз никак не съм изненадан, че към България и Румъния се прилага двоен стандарт. Към България и Румъния беше прилаган двоен стандарт през целия процес на присъединяването на тези страни към Европейския съюз. Шест години слушам как в тази зала говорим да не се прилагат двойни стандарти. И въпреки това преговорите бяха водени с двойни стандарти, присъединяването беше крещящ пример за двойни стандарти, защото България и Румъния бяха отделени от другите десет страни от петото разширяване. Присъединяването към еврото е двоен стандарт. Сега идва ред и на Шенген - поредния двоен стандарт. И вижте кой налага ветото - Холандия, една страна, която наскоро показа, че самата тя няма желание да бъде в Шенген.

Проблемът не е в това дали България и Румъния са изпълнили критериите. Дори не е във волята на холандското и финландското правителства да прилагат двойни стандарти. Проблемът, колеги, е в самата система, която вие федералистите сте поставили – една безумна, безсмислена и излишна система, която трябва да бъде отменена и която няма никакво практическо приложение.

3-120-000

Carlos Coelho (PPE). - Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária Malmström, Senhor Secretário de Estado, primeiro, todas as avaliações feitas pelo Conselho, pelos Estados-Membros, provaram que a Bulgária e a Roménia cumprem as regras e estão prontos a entrar; segundo, o Parlamento Europeu, por expressiva maioria, em Junho passado, subscreveu essa opinião. Ora, quando devíamos estar a felicitar os dois governos e a receber os dois Estados no Espaço Schengen, o Conselho recusa deliberar positivamente devido à oposição de dois Estados-Membros. É importante que o Conselho ultrapasse esta situação

rapidamente para não aumentar o sentimento de injustiça e a sua decepção face à Europa por parte dos cidadãos búlgaros e romenos.

Para nós, Schengen está no centro do espaço de liberdade, segurança e justiça. Criámos a livre circulação preservada e reforçada e, por isso, precisamos de um novo sistema de avaliação de Schengen. Senhor Presidente, no mesmo momento em que estamos a falar da livre circulação e de Schengen, o presidente da organização da juventude, que é deputado no meu país, traz ao meu conhecimento aquilo que está a acontecer na Ucrânia. O presidente da juventude da oposição foi espancado pela polícia ucraniana, tal como outros dirigentes, os seus domicílios invadidos e revistados sem mandato judicial. Quando falamos aqui de *liberdade de circulação* permitam-me que diga que as autoridades que recorrem à intimidação brutal merecem a nossa clara e inequívoca condenação.

3-121-000

Ioan Enciu (S&D). - De multă vreme, aderarea României și Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen a depășit strict dezbateră legată de cele două țări. De fapt, ea este în acest moment o întruchipare a tuturor bolilor de care Uniunea Europeană suferă de ceva vreme: ignoranța față de regulile europene și de tratate, populismul, naționalismul, declinul solidarității și negarea unor drepturi de bază, precum dreptul la liberă circulație. Cred că este de datoria Parlamentului European să reamintească tuturor valorile pe care Uniunea Europeană este fondată și să condamne comportamentele egoiste și antieuropene ale unora din statele membre, prinse în capcana populismului de extremă dreaptă.

Așa cum președintele Comisiei, domnul Barroso, a spus recent, votul unei minorități nu ar trebui să condiționeze voința mării majorități și a Uniunii. Acceptăm și respectăm principiul suveranității fiecărui stat membru, însă nu putem fi de acord ca unul sau două state să blocheze dorința celorlalte de a avansa în proiectul european.

Rezoluția pe care o vom vota mâine nu este doar despre România și Bulgaria. Cu toții știm, chiar și cei care se opun aderării la Schengen, că cele două țări respectă cele mai înalte standarde prevăzute de acquis-ul Schengen. Rezoluția de mâine va fi, de fapt, o condamnare a populismului și a naționalismului și o chemare la respectarea regulilor și principiilor europene, de care unele din statele membre au uitat. Consiliul are datoria de a ține cont de opinia Parlamentului European și de a acționa în consecință.

3-122-000

Станимир Илчев (ALDE). - Господин Председател, стана така че произнасянето на думите България, Румъния и Шенген в едно изречение се превръща в илюстрация на един голям парадокс. Работната група за Шенген даде положителна оценка. Съветът реши, че двете страни са готови. Парламентът потвърди същото. И дори на 24-ти юни правителствените ръководители се споразумяха решението да се вземе не по-късно от септември. При очевидната логика в тази серия от действия, резултатът днес е нулев. България и Румъния продължават да чакат неизвестно докога. Натрапват им се изисквания, които изглеждат формулирани *ad hoc*. Тези изисквания не произтичат от Договора за присъединяване. Те създават неравнопоставеност. Двете държави-членки, които блокираха присъединяването на Румъния и България, упорито защитават един парадокс.

Трябва да се заяви категорично – отказът от положително решение за присъединяване на България и Румъния създава неприемлива ситуация, която преминава в политическа изолация на двете държави. А нашият съюз не бива да бъде жертва на изолационизъм.

3-123-000

Judith Sargentini (Verts/ALE). - Deze week nodigde Roemenië Nederland uit om te komen kijken hoe het land de grenzen bewaakt. Roemenië wil bewijzen dat het aan alle standaarden voldoet. Ik vind dat een mooie geste, maar het gaat niet helpen. De Nederlandse regering probeert willens en wetens tijdens de wedstrijd de regels te veranderen.

De regering ligt op ramkoers. Het gaat ze helemaal niet om de buitengrenzen, het gaat ze om binnenlandse politiek. Werknemers uit Oost-Europa wordt verweten dat zij werkloosheid onder Nederlanders in de hand werken. De regering wil zich aan het Nederlandse publiek van haar sterke kant laten zien. Maar vrij verkeer van werknemers wordt hier verward met vrij verkeer van personen. En wij zijn een dief van onze eigen portemonnee. Nederlandse handel met beide landen zal averij oplopen. Wij betonen ons niet alleen maar een slechte buur, wij betonen ons ook een slechte koopman. In het Nederland dat ik ken, komt dat normaal gesproken heel hard aan.

Ik roep dan ook mijn collega's in Nederland op om op te houden nationale debatten te voeren over de rug van Roemenen en Bulgaren die vrij willen reizen, net zoals wij dat doen.

3-124-000

Peter van Dalen (ECR). - Voorzitter, ik steun de toetreding van Roemenië en Bulgarije tot Schengen niet, en daar heb ik drie overwegingen voor.

Ten eerste: beide landen lijken aan de Schengen-criteria te voldoen, maar deze criteria zijn te slap en onvoldoende. Er wordt geen rekening gehouden met corruptie, mensenhandel en georganiseerde misdaad, en juist op die terreinen moeten beide landen nog veel huiswerk maken. De Europese Unie moet ze daarbij helpen, en laten we dan over enkele jaren nog eens praten over die toetreding.

Ten tweede staat Schengen onder druk. Griekenland en Italië kunnen de instroom van immigranten en asielzoekers nauwelijks meer aan. We moeten eerst die problemen oplossen, voordat we over Schengen verder praten.

Ten derde: Dexia voldeed ook aan de stresstest voor banken, maar de bank is deze week op het nippertje gered. Juist politici moeten de oren en ogen openhouden voor de verschillen tussen de theorie en de alledaagse praktijk. Dat verschil is in Roemenië en Bulgarije bij het vrij verkeer van personen nog kolossaal.

De spreker is bereid een "blauwe kaart"-vraag te beantwoorden (artikel 149, lid 8, van het Reglement)

3-125-000

Димитър Стоянов (NI). - Уважаеми колега, точно преди малко чухме госпожа комисарят да казва, че България и Румъния изпълняват всички критерии за членство. Вие твърдите обратното. Отговорете ми на въпроса, Вие ли лъжете, или лъже госпожа комисарят? Ако твърдите, че тя лъже, станете и ѝ го кажете в очите.

3-126-000

Peter van Dalen (ECR). - Deze kwestie heeft niets met liegen te maken door de een of de ander. Het heeft met twee dingen te maken. Ten eerste, de criteria die nu gehanteerd worden voor de Schengentoetreding zijn onvoldoende en moeten worden aangepast, en ten tweede - ik zei het u al in mijn voorbeeld over de Dexia-bank - deze heeft onlangs de

stresstest nog volledig gehaald, er was niets aan de hand. En nu, afgelopen week, is die bank op het nippertje gered.

Wij als politici moeten er juist op letten hoe de alledaagse dingen in de praktijk gaan en hoe het er in theorie uitziet. Daarvoor heb ik gewaarschuwd en daarom zeg ik dat beide landen er nu nog niet aan toe zijn; de praktijk verschilt nog te veel van de theorie.

De spreker is bereid een "blauwe kaart"-vraag te beantwoorden (artikel 149, lid 8, van het Reglement)

3-127-000

Corina Crețu (S&D). - Aș vrea să îl întreb pe domnul van Dalen de ce trebuie să plătească două state, România și Bulgaria, pentru ce se întâmplă în banca Dexia? Ce legătură are Dexia cu aspirațiile popoarelor român și bulgar de a accede la Schengen? Nu vi se pare că am trăit suficient sub comunism, datorită lașității și populismului din Uniunea Europeană? De ce trebuie, din nou, noi să plătim pentru greșelile dumneavoastră?

3-128-000

Peter van Dalen (ECR). - Mevrouw, ik heb de vergelijking met de Dexia-bank gemaakt, omdat het er in theorie, in de boeken, op leek dat Dexia een prima bank was waar niets mee aan de hand was. Dus alles was goed. Dat is hetzelfde waar we nu mee te maken hebben met Bulgarije en Roemenië: het lijkt erop dat het allemaal klopt, maar de corruptie, de mensenhandel en de georganiseerde misdaad zijn nog te groot, en bedreigen het vrije verkeer van personen. Dus dat moet eerst worden aangepakt, net zoals Dexia nu is aangepakt, en dan kunnen we op een later tijdstip weer praten over de toetreding van beide landen tot Schengen.

3-129-000

Philip Claeys (NI). - Voorzitter, ik ben niet verbaasd over de krokodillentranen die hier al geplengd zijn, omdat de reusachtige kloof tussen de burgers en de Europese politiek zich nergens zo spectaculair manifesteert als wanneer we het hebben over het wegvallen van de grenzen. We weten allemaal dat Bulgarije en Roemenië nog altijd te kampen hebben met zeer grote problemen, zoals de georganiseerde misdaad en corruptie. En dat zijn de problemen die per definitie zullen worden uitgesmeerd over de andere lidstaten, wanneer de binnengrenzen zullen wegvallen.

Er is verder ook het probleem dat Bulgarije nog een aantal maatregelen moet nemen om de samenwerking met Griekenland en Turkije te verbeteren op het vlak van het beheer van de grenzen. Het probleem van de massale illegale immigratie via Turkije is genoegzaam bekend. De landen die zich verzetten tegen de toetreding van Bulgarije en Roemenië tot het Schengengebied doen dat niet alleen uit nationaal belang, maar ook in het belang van alle andere lidstaten van de Europese Unie, want het Schengengebied kan alleen maar functioneren als het vertrouwen er is dat alle lidstaten volledig voldoen aan alle voorwaarden.

De spreker is bereid een "blauwe kaart"-vraag te beantwoorden (artikel 149, lid 8, van het Reglement)

3-130-000

Victor Boștinăru (S&D). - Aș dori să îl întreb pe distinsul europarlamentar neînscris, domnul Claeys, dacă imaginea aceasta apocaliptică a Bulgariei și României este cea pe care a prezentat-o împreună cu conaționalul său, domnul van Dalen? A discutat cumva, măcar

din greșeală, măcar pe coridor, cu reprezentanții multor companii olandeze din România, cu multinaționalele olandeze care fac mari afaceri de succes în România și să afle de ce aceia sunt tentați de România și de ce politicienii de dreapta din Olanda sunt împotriva României și Bulgariei?

3-131-000

Philip Claeys (NI). - Voorzitter, ik moet mijn collega zeggen dat ik geen Nederlander ben, maar Vlaming, dat wij echter wel dezelfde taal spreken. Ik heb dus niet gesproken met vertegenwoordigers van Nederlandse belangengroepen die zaken doen in Bulgarije en Roemenië.

Ik heb trouwens begrip voor de mensen die dat wél doen en ik sluit mij aan bij hetgeen collega Van Dalen heeft gezegd, namelijk dat wij extra streng moeten zijn bij elke uitbreiding van het Schengengebied die er nog komen gaat, omdat wij heel grote problemen hebben gekend. Ik moedig de twee lidstaten waarvan vandaag sprake is aan om alle nodige inspanningen te doen, om zo snel mogelijk, maar volgens de regels te kunnen toetreden.

De spreker is bereid een "blauwe kaart"-vraag te beantwoorden (artikel 149, lid 8, van het Reglement)

3-132-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Ja nie som ani z Rumunska, ani z Bulharska, ale chcem sa opýtať pána poslanca, keďže som nemala príležitosť sa opýtať predchádzajúceho pána poslanca van Dalena, napriek tomu, že nereprezentujem tieto dve krajiny: kde si osobujete právo posudzovať členské štáty Európskej únie, ktoré splnili všetky potrebné podmienky na to, aby sa stali súčasťou schengenského priestoru, vyjadrovať sa na ich adresu v pléne Európskeho parlamentu takým spôsobom, akým sa vyjadrujete? Sú vaše krajiny lepšie v porovnaní s inými členskými štátmi Európskej únie, ktoré sú v Schengene?

3-133-000

Philip Claeys (NI). - Mijn land is niet beter, als het op het beheer van immigratiestromen aankomt, dan andere landen binnen de Europese Unie, integendeel zelfs. Maar daar gaat het hier niet over.

Ik denk dat het belangrijk is dat de regels overal op dezelfde manier worden toegepast en dat er in verband met immigratie zeer grote ongerustheid bestaat bij de publieke opinie in Europa over te grote stromen illegale immigranten. Dat er bij elke nieuwe stap die gezet wordt in de richting van uitbreiding van de Schengenzone wij er zeer goed op moeten toezien dat aan alle voorwaarden is voldaan. Het zijn de lidstaten die daarover beslissen, de Europese Raad en de lidstaten die daarin vertegenwoordigd zijn. Dat zijn de regels en die regels moeten dan ook gerespecteerd worden.

3-134-000

Андрей Ковачев (PPE). - Господин Председател, Ако всички страни членки изпълняваха правилата, които сами са приели, не само в Европа нямаше да се стигне до сегашната финансова и икономическа криза, но ние с вас днес нямаше да водим този дебат. За съжаление реалността в Европа е различна. Държавите-членки не спазват правилата, които са приели. В резултат на това имаме икономическа и финансова криза, имаме блокирано членство на България и Румъния в Шенген. А реалността е следната – двете страни изпълниха всички критерии, спрямо които бяха оценявани страните, които се присъединиха към Шенген на по-ранен етап и които бяха заложили в присъединителните договори. Не

съществува нито един аргумент в подкрепа на тезата, че присъединяването на двете страни излага на риск Шенгенското пространство. Напротив, позволете ми с факти да аргументирам приноса на България към сигурността на европейските граждани. България, както и Румъния станаха част от Шенгенската информационна система през ноември 2010 г. От началото на месец ноември 2010 г. до 11 октомври 2011 г. данните показват, че България е предоставила на страните-членки на Шенген следната информация: за 323 издирвани лица за арест, 1383 издирвани моторни превозни средства, лични документи, оръжие и други лични вещи в страните от Шенгенското пространство, 92 изчезнали лица, 1208 лица, участващи в наказателни производства в Шенгенското пространство, 737 дискретно наблюдавани лица и над 8000 отказа за визи за влизане в Шенгенското пространство. България и Румъния изпълняват вече своята солидарна отговорност спрямо всички други граждани на Европейския съюз.

Уважаеми колеги, особено колегите от крайната десница, които говориха преди малко, аз се надявам с тези аргументи, не само европейските граждани, но финландските и специално холандските граждани също да видят, че присъединяването на България.....

(Председателят прекъсва изказващия се)

3-135-000

Mitro Repo (S&D). - Arvoisa puhemies, olen Suomesta. Kuten tiedämme, joidenkin jäsenvaltioiden vastustus on lykännyt toistaiseksi Bulgarian ja Romanian Schengen-jäsenyyttä. Vaikka molemmat maat täyttävät Schengen-jäsenyydelle yhteisesti asetetut tekniset kriteerit, halutaan Schengen-jäsenyyden ehdot tulkita Romanian ja Bulgarian kohdalla jotenkin kokonaisvaltaisemmin. On yleisesti tiedossa, että niin Bulgarialla kuin Romanialla on ongelmia korruption, järjestäytyneen rikollisuuden sekä tuomioistuinjärjestelmän kanssa.

Ongelman ydin lienee kuitenkin se, että Bulgaria ja Romania eivät olleet täysin EU-valmiita liittyyssään unioniin. Useat poliittiset uudistukset ovat jääneet puolitiehen eikä EU:lla tunnetusti ole keinoja saada jäsenvaltioitaan järjestykseen. Toivonkin, että Schengen-jäsenyyden lykkääntyminen voitaisiin tulkita positiivisesti myös kannustukseksi Romanialle ja Bulgarialle viedä kaikki uudistuksensa loppuun.

3-136-000

Филиз Хакъева Хюсменова (ALDE). - Господин Председател, уважаеми колеги, от месеци се обсъждат аргументи в защита на присъединяването на България и Румъния към Шенген. Днес те отново получават гласност, за да бъдат чути от тези, които се поставят над правилата. Днес повтаряме, че неприемането на страните е неоправдано и е нарушение на процедурите поради доказаната им техническа готовност. Изтъкваме, че се прилагат двойни стандарти, дори дискриминация. Говорим за криза на доверието в целия Съюз и за политически популизъм в страните, които са против присъединяването. Предупреждаваме, че сме на път да загърбим ценности като равноправие, солидарност, сътрудничество. Надявам се, че няма да станем заложници на скептицизма, подхранван и от тежката криза. В противен случай, аз се присъединявам към идеята за преосмисляне на процедурата за вземане на решение на Съвета с единодушие, особено когато тя се упражнява в ущърб на законодателството.

3-137-000

Csanád Szegedi (NI). - Tisztelt Képviselőtársaim! Nagyon sajnálom azt, hogy Bulgária és Románia esetét nem tudjuk különválasztani. Ugyanis én csak Románia schengeni csatlakozásával kapcsolatban szeretnék szót emelni. Ugyanis a schengeni övezethez való csatlakozással kapcsolatban kettős érzéseim vannak. Hiszen mind az erdélyi magyarságnak, mind pedig Magyarországnak érdeke az, hogy a jelenlegi országhatárok minél jobban elhalványuljanak. Így megszűnnének azok az igazságtalan trianoni határok is, amelyeket Magyarországra kényszerítettek. Ugyanakkor megértem a hollandokat is, meg a finneket is abból a szempontból, hogy meg kell nézni a bűnügyi statisztikákat. Ez nem bonyolult művelet, nem fikcióról beszélnek, hanem valóságról.

Ezek a bűnügyi statisztikák pedig azt mutatják, hogy jelenleg Románia nem érett a schengeni csatlakozásra. Illetve, a schengeni csatlakozás az valamilyen bővítmenyt, jogi bővítmenyt jelent egy országra nézve. Én addig nem tudom támogatni Románia csatlakozását a schengeni övezethez, amíg a székely területi önrendelkezés, vagy az érmelléki magyarok autonómiájának kérdése megoldatlan marad.

3-138-000

Sari Essayah (PPE). - Arvoisa puhemies, vapaa liikkuvuus on EU:n perusarvo, joka pohjautuu luottamukseen. Siksi Bulgarian ja Romanian tilannetta on tarkasteltava kokonaisuutena, sillä hyväksyttävän jäsenvaltion sisäisen turvallisuuden tilanne ei saa heijastua kielteisesti muihin Schengen-valtioihin. Kun Schengen-sääntöksiä pannaan täytäntöön, on erityistä merkitystä jäsenvaltion kyvyllä torjua korruptiota ja järjestäytynttä rikollisuutta sekä valtioiden oikeuslaitosten toimivuudella. Bulgarian ja Romanian tulee aidosti täyttää nämä vaatimukset ennen kuin ne voidaan hyväksyä Schengen-alueeseen.

Kesällä julkaistussa CVM-raportissa todettiin molempien maiden osalta edistymistä mutta edelleenkin vakavia puutteita. Siksi Suomen ja Hollannin johtopäätökset ovat mielestäni selkeät. Tekniset valmiudet eivät riitä, jos emme voi vakuuttua siitä, ettei rajavalvojia voida lahjoa. Suomessa on myös kiinnitetty huomiota romanivähemmistön heikkoon asemaan ja siihen, että monet romanit ovat joutuneet lähtemään kotimaastaan hakemaan turvapaikkaa tai kerjäämään muualle Eurooppaan.

Vapaan liikkuvuuden alueen turvallisuuden kannalta on viisasta kannustaa Romaniaa ja Bulgariaa ponnisteluihin, jotta liittyminen Schengen-alueeseen olisi mahdollista. Seuraava luonteva tarkasteluajankohta sijoittuu ensi kevääseen, jolloin odotetaan komission väliraporttia.

Puhuja esittää kysymyksen Reulille sinistä korttia nostamalla (työjärjestyksen 149 artiklan 8 kohta)

3-139-000

Ioan Enciu (S&D). - Aș vrea să o întreb pe stimata colegă dacă, fiind deputat într-un parlament și creând legi, legi cu adevărat europene, este normal că primul lucru este să fie respectate chiar de către noi și să le expunem în așa fel cetățenilor care ne-au ales? Al doilea lucru: aș vrea să o întreb, deoarece mulți distinși colegi au ridicat această problemă aici, de unde știu dânsii exact ceea ce se întâmplă în România și Bulgaria legat de corupție? Este scris undeva? Au spioni în România?

3-140-000

Sari Essayah (PPE). - Arvoisa puhemies, minulla ei ole vakoojia, mutta sen sijaan kansainvälinen media kertoo siitä, mitä tapahtuu Romaniassa ja Bulgariassa. Minulla on tässä International Herald Tribune, joka on päivätty syyskuun alkupäiville ja jossa kerrotaan, että romanialainen rajavaltio voi tehdä noin 5800 euron tulot itselleen pimeästi, kun hän kääntää päänsä pois sopivalla hetkellä, kun joku ylittää rajaa esimerkiksi erilaisten vaarallisten tuotteiden kanssa. Tämä kertoo siitä, mikä on rajavaltion tilanne tällä hetkellä Romaniassa.

3-141-000

President. – I am reminded of the old saying 'It must be right; I read it in the newspaper.'

3-142-000

Emine Bozkurt (S&D). - Voorzitter, afspraken zijn afspraken. Als je de spelregels gedurende de wedstrijd verandert, creëer je wantrouwen. Wat zijn de afspraken die we hier met elkaar maken nog waard? Daarom is het van belang om beloftes na te komen. Roemenië en Bulgarije voelen zich nu oneerlijk bejegend door de lidstaten. Ze hebben immers de afspraken om tot Schengen toe te treden vervuld.

Er zijn echter in 2007 bij de toetreding van deze landen ook nog andere afspraken gemaakt, over bestrijding van corruptie. De resultaten laten nog te wensen over volgens recente Commissieverslagen.

Deze afspraken kunnen direct effect hebben op de Europese ruimte van vrijheid en veiligheid. Begrijp me niet verkeerd. Ik wil een sterke Schengen-zone met Roemenië en Bulgarije. Eentje waarmee burgers hun vertrouwen kunnen behouden in een Europa zonder binnengrenzen. De buitengrenzen zullen immers zo sterk zijn als de zwakste schakel. Daar mag geen twijfel over bestaan. Die is er nu wel. Daarom vraag ik aan de Raad hoe hij dit denkt op te lossen? Mijn hoop is dat dit snel zal gebeuren, zodat Roemenië en Bulgarije zo spoedig mogelijk deel kunnen uitmaken van de Schengen-zone.

3-143-000

Kinga Gál (PPE). - Egy friss, az Európai Ifjúsági Parlament által készített felmérés szerint az európai fiatalok nagy része, a megkérdezettek 89%-a tette le a voksát az Európai Unión belüli szabad mozgás mellett, ezt tartva a legfontosabbnak. Ebből a felmérésből az is kiderült, hogy a szabad mozgást támogatók között a legnagyobb arányban Románia és Bulgária fiataljai szerepelnek. Pontosán ők azok, akiktől megvonják a Schengen által biztosított szabad mozgás lehetőségét. Vagyis ők azok, akik most ugyan már négy és fél éve uniós állampolgárok, mégsem élvezhetik ezt, az unió egyik legfontosabb vívmányát, noha az országuk megfelel a schengeni követelményeknek. A tagállamok nem változtathatják meg menet közben a játékszabályokat.

Már annyiszor követett el hibát az Unió a kettős mérce alkalmazásával, amit aztán nagyon nehezen tud korrigálni, gondolok itt a koppenhágai kritériumokra. Úgyhogy a legfontosabb üzenet az, amit annyiszor elmondtunk és újra hangsúlyozni kell, hogy nem lehet kettős mércét alkalmazni – most ezúttal Romániával és Bulgáriával szemben. És ezt kell megértenie a még vonakodó két tagállamnak.

3-144-000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). - Señor Presidente, la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior y el Pleno del Parlamento Europeo han expresado su apoyo al ingreso de Rumanía y Bulgaria en el acervo Schengen porque han cumplido los criterios establecidos (cooperación policial, protección de datos, sistema de visados y sistema de información Schengen) en lo relativo a las fronteras exteriores marítimas y terrestres, de modo que la negativa del Consejo a avalar ese cumplimiento de los criterios técnicos y su aplazamiento *sine die* lanza un mensaje que nos preocupa, y este Parlamento lo afirma en su Resolución con claridad.

Preocupa, en primer lugar, porque significa la interposición de un doble rasero, un *double standard*, que encubre prejuicios, no datos fehacientes, en relación con la fiabilidad del cumplimiento de los criterios, pero, en segundo lugar, porque lanza una sombra que perjudica el crédito, el prestigio y la confiabilidad de Schengen como lo que es y como lo que debe seguir siendo: un espacio de libre circulación de personas, y aun más, la mejor expresión hasta la fecha de que Europa es ciudadanía, de que Europa es libre circulación de personas, de que Europa es algo más que el euro y el mercado interior y de que Europa tiene dimensión política. Eso es Schengen.

3-145-000

Monika Hohlmeier (PPE). - Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! An den Anfang möchte ich einen Dank an Bulgarien und Rumänien stellen für die beeindruckenden Anstrengungen, die sie unternommen haben, wobei sie im Rahmen des Schengen-Abkommens nicht nur technische Details erfüllt haben, sondern auch an ihren Grenzen zur Sicherung der Außengrenzen in Richtung Europäische Union ganz konkrete Maßnahmen ergriffen haben. Die Behauptung, dass hier nur kleine technische Details erfüllt wurden, ist schlichtweg falsch. Es möge jeder einmal an diese Grenzen fahren und sehen, was Bulgarien und Rumänien an massiven Anhebung der Standards, Weiterbildungen und Fortbildungen durchgeführt sowie an Maßnahmen ergriffen haben, um die Außengrenzen zu sichern. Dies wird hier nach meinem Dafürhalten deutlich unterschätzt.

Als zweites: Das Thema Korruption wird immer wieder angesprochen und auch das Thema organisierte Kriminalität. Ich halte es für richtig, die Themen anzusprechen, und ich halte es auch für richtig, innerhalb Schengens massiv gegen Korruption und organisierte Kriminalität vorzugehen. Dies allerdings alleine Bulgarien und Rumänien ins Gepäck zu geben, ist falsch. Wir haben auch innerhalb der Schengen-Länder bereits erhebliche Probleme in diesen Bereichen. Deshalb verlange ich in diesem Zusammenhang, aber auch in Bezug auf die Sicherung der Außengrenzen nachdrücklich eine Evaluierung des Schengen-Bestands innerhalb aller Mitgliedstaaten, weil es notwendig ist, abzusichern, dass alle Schengen-Staaten den Bestand erfüllen und nicht nur diejenigen, die beitreten wollen. Wir brauchen dauerhafte Sicherung, und nicht nur kurzfristige Forderungen gegenüber zwei Mitgliedstaaten.

3-146-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Reálne riešenia vyplývajúce z faktov musia byť presadzované prostredníctvom politických rozhodnutí. Takže na úvod tie fakty.

Rumunsko a Bulharsko prijali schengenské acquis pri pristúpení k Únii v roku 2007. Obe krajiny zásadným spôsobom prepracovali a reorganizovali svoje systémy integrovaného riadenia hraníc a viditeľne posilnili svoje inštitucionálne a právne rámce. To sa uznáva vo

všetkých správach schengenského hodnotenia. Obe krajiny v plnej miere vykonali schengenské acquis, čo je podľa Zmluvy o pristúpení a súčasného právneho rámca Európskej únie jedinou podmienkou na ich vstup do schengenského priestoru. V konečnom dôsledku Parlament svojim uznesením, ktoré bolo prijaté v júni tohto roka, veľkou väčšinou hlasov potvrdil, že Rumunsko a Bulharsko sú na vstup pripravené.

Vyzývam preto všetky členské štáty, aby prijali rozhodnutie o rozšírení schengenského priestoru o tieto dva štáty výhradne na základe schengenského acquis a schengenských postupov, ktoré sú v súčasnosti platné. Som toho názoru, že členským štátom, ktoré už sú v procese vstupovania do schengenského priestoru, nie je možné ukladať dodatočné kritériá. Je teda na mieste, zo strany kompetentných orgánov, prijať potrebné opatrenia umožňujúce Rumunsku a Bulharsku pristúpiť do schengenského priestoru, keďže zoznam požiadaviek, ktoré tieto krajiny dostali pri podpise Zmluvy o pristúpení, splnili.

3-147-000

Γεώργιος Παπανικολάου (PPE). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η ενωμένη Ευρώπη διανύει μια από τις πιο δύσκολες περιόδους της ιστορίας της. Οι εξελίξεις καθημερινά στον οικονομικό και στο δημοσιονομικό τομέα είναι εξαιρετικά δυσάρεστες. Φαίνεται ότι το ίδιο δυσάρεστες είναι οι εξελίξεις και στον πυλώνα της ελεύθερης κυκλοφορίας των ευρωπαίων πολιτών.

Η αχτίδα ελπίδας που φάνηκε το τελευταίο διάστημα για το ευρωπαϊκό όραμα, για το κοινό μας όραμα, έρχεται από τη Βουλγαρία και τη Ρουμανία, δύο χώρες που δούλεψαν σκληρά, άλλαξαν πολλά στις δομές και τη λειτουργία τους και είναι πλέον έτοιμες – αυτό δείχνουν όλες οι αξιολογήσεις και όλες οι εκθέσεις – να μπουν στη ζώνη Σένγκεν. Η είσοδός τους θα δείξει σε όλους μας ότι το όραμα παραμένει ζωντανό και θα θυμίσει σε όλους που μας παρακολουθούν ότι η Ευρώπη δεν έχει μόνο κοινό νόμισμα, αλλά και κοινά σύνορα.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, σ' αυτή την κρίσιμη στιγμή όπου, για πολλούς λόγους, τα βλέμματα του κόσμου είναι στραμμένα πάνω μας, δίνει - δυστυχώς - λάθος μήνυμα. Δίνει το μήνυμα ότι, εντός της ευρωπαϊκής οικογένειας, κράτη μέλη που επιθυμούν την περαιτέρω ένταξή τους σε όλους τους τομείς της ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης, αντιμετωπίζονται - επαναλαμβάνω δυστυχώς - με καχυποψία, με δυσπιστία από άλλα κράτη μέλη αυτής της ίδιας οικογένειας.

Καταλήγοντας, θέλω να είμαι σαφής: οι φίλοι φαίνονται στα δύσκολα. Η Βουλγαρία και η Ρουμανία είναι φίλοι μας, είναι εταίροι μας, έχουν εκπληρώσει στο ακέραιο τις υποχρεώσεις τους και τους αξίζει – το επαναλαμβάνω – να βρεθούν σήμερα, άμεσα, εντός του χώρου Σένγκεν.

3-148-000

Tanja Fajon (S&D). - Spoštovana komisarka, ni kritika na vaše delo, ampak Evropska unija s takšnim mešetarjenjem s pravili izgublja verodostojnost. Zatrjujemo, da sta Bolgarija in Romunija izpolnili vse pogoje, Nizozemska in Finska torej nimata nobenih argumentov za blokado. In takšen populizem je močno nevaren.

Evropa je v težkih razmerah, ko sta povezovanje in zaupanje še toliko bolj pomembna. In vsaka širitev je dokazala, da gre za krepitev sodelovanja. Zakaj imamo Komisijo in Parlament, če lahko dve državi odločita drugače. Mi bomo odgovorni, če bomo zavozili schengenski projekt. Zato vas sprašujem gospa komisarka, kako lahko ukrepamo skupaj, da bi odpravili blokado.

Če ne moremo, potem jaz ne vidim smisla ne v vašem ne v našem delu. Na mizi imamo občutljivo reformo Schengena, ohraniti moramo modrost in treznost in najti skupne rešitve in nikakor ne načeti temeljev svobode potovanja.

3-149-000

Anna Hedh (S&D). - Herr talman! Avvecklandet av inre gränser och möjligheten att resa och vistas inom hela Schengenområdet i upp till tre månader är en grundpelare för EU och detta är viktigt för EU:s alla medborgare, oavsett om man kommer från Sverige, Rumänien, Holland eller Bulgarien. Rumänien och Bulgarien uppfyller alla de tekniska kraven och därför ska de också få delta i Schengensamarbetet. Blockeringen i rådet av dessa båda länders tillträde i Schengen är därför emot reglerna. Man kan inte behandla vissa länder på ett sätt och andra på ett annat, och frångå de regler som finns. Då handlar det om populism och nationalism i vissa medlemsstater.

Jag vill ha ett konkret svar på vad Finland och Nederländerna verkligen menar och förväntar sig. Avslutningsvis: Murar ska inte byggas vare sig inom eller utanför Europa och EU.

3-150-000

Eduard Kukan (PPE) - Schengenský priestor je pre občanov jedným z najhmatateľnejších prejavov slobody pohybu v Európskej únii. Rumunsko a Bulharsko, ako členské štáty, majú právo stať sa členmi tohto priestoru tak, ako každá iná krajina Únie. Štandardy a kritéria ich vstupu musia byť také isté, ako v prípade ktorejkoľvek inej krajiny. Posledné hodnotenie schengenskej hodnotiacej pracovnej skupiny ukázalo, že obidve krajiny spĺňajú kritériá vstupu do schengenskej zóny a implementovali schengenské acquis vo všetkých siedmich požadovaných oblastiach.

Ako pri každom inom opatrení, aj v tomto prípade treba dodržiavať zásady a hodnoty, na ktorých Únia stojí. Rovnaký prístup k právam a povinnostiam jednotlivých členských štátov a uľahčenie voľného pohybu osôb je jedným z nich. Členské štáty a európskej inštitúcie by si mali uvedomiť, že používanie dvojakeho metra je v tejto situácii neprípustné. Vyzývam preto predstaviteľov Rady a poľského predsedníctva, aby začali túto otázku riešiť čo najskôr.

3-151-000

Silvia-Adriana Țicău (S&D). - Astăzi, Președintele Comisiei și Președinția Consiliului UE au vorbit despre recâștigarea încrederii cetățenilor europeni. Seriozitatea și respectarea angajamentelor luate contribuie la recâștigarea acestei încrederi. România și Bulgaria și-au îndeplinit angajamentele privind respectarea criteriilor pentru aderarea la spațiul Schengen. Este momentul ca și celelalte state membre să își respecte angajamentele și să aprobe aderarea României și Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen.

Românii și bulgarii circulă liber în Uniunea Europeană din 2002, deci cu aproximativ cinci ani înainte de aderarea la Uniunea Europeană. Atât Parlamentul, cât și Consiliul au confirmat în luna iunie că România și Bulgaria au îndeplinit criteriile necesare și sunt pregătite pentru aderarea la spațiul Schengen. România și Bulgaria ar trebui incluse în spațiul Schengen strict pe baza procedurilor și acquis-ului Schengen. Nu pot fi impuse criterii suplimentare statelor membre aflate deja în procesul de aderare la spațiul Schengen.

În ceea ce privește corupția, se va dezvolta un cadru european, care se va aplica în egală măsură tuturor statelor membre.

3-152-000

Elena Oana Antonescu (PPE). - Pe parcursul anului 2011, România și Bulgaria au dovedit prin măsurile și deciziile strategice luate că au capacitatea logistică și umană să asigure un nivel ridicat de securitate pe granița de est a Uniunii Europene și că au îndeplinit toate criteriile de aderare. A fost un efort financiar considerabil, dublat de acțiuni ferme de reformă instituțională și administrativă.

Ne aflăm acum în situația ciudată în care, deși condițiile tehnice au fost îndeplinite, acestea reprezentând singurele condiții de aderare, integrarea este totuși amânată pe o perioadă nedeterminată. Consideră Consiliul că este drept să cerem aplicarea acestor criterii suplimentare de aderare a acestor state la acest moment? Regulile nu sunt făcute pentru a fi încălcate sau pentru a fi schimbate în timpul jocului, nici nu pot fi interpretate și folosite într-un mod pătitor. Abordările populiste nu cred că fac bine Europei, iar astfel de episoade pot funcționa și ca un precedent periculos.

3-153-000

Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D). - Mr President, the Schengen arrangement is the purest expression of a basic value shared by the EU, namely the free circulation of people within the Union. The fact that Romania and Bulgaria are being prevented, exclusively on political grounds, and in defiance of the signed Treaty, from having access to this space, is a sad reminder that what was integrated can equally be disintegrated. Unfortunately thus, the old policies of beggar-thy-neighbour and of finger-pointing prevalent in Europe in the 1930s are back in force, only this time not among individual states, but among members of the same organisation, the EU.

Although each country is free to pursue its national interest, let us not forget that there is no integration without a minimal solidarity and that the bad feelings accumulated today might burst out tomorrow when times are better, slowing down our further integration.

3-154-000

Мария Неделчева (PPE). - Господин Председател, действията на Европейския съюз се основават на здрава логика, ясни правила и ясни послания. Не намирам нито едно от изброените в аргументацията на Съвета. Отлагането на членството на България и Румъния в Шенген е опасна игра с важно значение и сериозни рискове. Неясните причини и всякакви допълнителни критерии крият сериозни последствия. Те са основополагащи в дългосрочен план. На ниво Европейски съюз ще защитим ли европейските ценности и еднакви правила за всички, или ще се поддадем на популизма и национализма? Корупцията е общоевропейски проблем. Когато ясно го разграничим от останалите, ще се справим и с него.

На ниво България и Румъния решението на Съвета е част от имиджа на Европейския съюз за българските и румънските граждани. Аз се радвам, че като член на Европейския парламент няма да ми се наложи да поправам имиджа, който в момента някои страни в Съвета създават на Европейския съюз.

И накрая, какъв е отговорът на Съвета за нашата работа в Европейския парламент и неговите доклади? Какъв е смисълът да създаваме нови правила, когато сегашните не се спазват? Вашето послание в този момент е едно – европейските граждани не са във вашия дневен ред.

3-155-000

Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D). - Az Európai Unióban kétségtelenül van egy adósságválság és a schengeni rendszer is válságban van. De ez a mostani vita nem a schengeni rendszer válsága, ez az európai szolidaritásnak a válsága. Nevezetesen, hogy hét év telt el azóta, hogy csatlakoztunk az Unióhoz. Tíz országot felvettek, és még mindig vannak elsőrendű tagállamok és másodrendű tagállamok. Elfogadhatatlan, hogy nincs az Unióban egyenlő bánásmód. Senki nem kér – aki támogatja Románia és Bulgária schengeni tagságát – kivételes bánásmódot ezen országok számára. Egyenlő bánásmódot kérünk, hiszen ezek az országok teljesítették azokat az alapvető schengeni feltételeket, amit a Parlament is és a Tanács ezen a nyáron jóváhagyott.

Ezért felszólítom a finn és a holland populistákat, hogy hagyják abba eddigi politikájukat. Ne legyen akadály Románia és Bulgária schengeni tagsága előtt.

3-156-000

Cecilia Malmström, Member of the Commission . – Mr President, there has been much talk about corruption today, and corruption is a disease that we all suffer from. Let us be honest: is there a single country in the European Union that has no corruption?

We intend to fight this. The Commission has presented a proposal for fighting corruption more effectively and addressing the issue in a biannual report in which we single out the problems and help each Member State to move forward – and I would like to thank this particular plenary for its support in that regard.

However, the criteria for Bulgaria and Romania joining Schengen were outlined in the accession agreement of 2005. They fulfil the criteria, and no additional criteria can be added. Romania and Bulgaria have done a lot to meet these criteria and that is why the Commission has said that they do fulfil them. That is why the Council in June said, yes, they fulfil the criteria, and that is why you, the plenary, with a huge majority, said, yes, they fulfil the criteria. Now it is time to make a decision.

3-157-000

Piotr Stachniak, urzędujący przewodniczący Rady . – Panie Przewodniczący! Chciałem jeszcze raz podkreślić, że polska prezydencja nadal traktuje przystąpienie Rumunii i Bułgarii do strefy Schengen jako swój priorytet. Naprawdę żałujemy, że niemożliwe było osiągnięcie niezbędnego porozumienia podczas wrześniowego posiedzenia Rady do spraw Wymiaru Sprawiedliwości i Spraw Wewnętrznych w oparciu o zaproponowane przez nas podejście. I nadal wierzymy, że nasz wniosek proponował naprawdę zrównoważone podejście, które może i powinno stanowić podstawę rozstrzygnięcia w tej kwestii.

Dlatego chciałem zapewnić, że prezydencja będzie kontynuować prace nad znalezieniem rozwiązania, które uzyska konieczne – co w tym przypadku oznacza jednomyślne – poparcie i zagwarantuje, że przystąpienie Rumunii i Bułgarii do strefy Schengen odbędzie się w rozsądnym terminie i przy najbliższej sposobności.

3-158-000

President. – I have received two motions for resolutions ⁽³⁾ tabled in accordance with Rule 115(5) of the Rules of Procedure.

(3) See Minutes.

The debate is closed.

The vote will take place tomorrow, Thursday 13 October.

Written statements (Rule 149)

3-158-500

John Attard-Montalto (S&D), *in writing*. – I believe that this issue is part of a far wider debate. The European Union needs to have a direction and not directions. It is imperative for Europe to be, and to be seen as a real union. At present Europe is not seen as a coherent entity. Because, in reality, it is not. Within the Union a tug-of-war is being waged between those States which want more union and those States which want less union. We are trying to find compromises allowing Member States to choose and pick which initiatives they wish to participate in. Schengen is perhaps one of the best examples. But there are others like the Eurozone. Selecting parts of a menu is resulting in a Europe à la carte. I have advocated that in order for Europe to be taken seriously and be seen as a meaningful power, it has to have a common project, a common aim, a common direction. This can only occur if further integration takes place. That is why – in spite of a number of difficulties – I am in favour of Bulgaria and Romania becoming part of Schengen. The more countries that participate in common initiatives, the more integrated we become.

3-159-000

Sebastian Valentin Bodu (PPE), *în scris*. – Rezoluția în discuție trebuie să fie votată în forma în care a fost depusă și orice amendament referitor la condiții suplimentare cerute înaintea aderării României și Bulgariei reprezintă o modificare a regulilor în timpul jocului.

Țara mea a investit enorm în vederea alinierii la standardele de securitate a frontierelor, iar acum i se reproșează problema corupției, o problemă care se referă însă la România în general. Împotriva acestui flagel, România luptă, poate mai mult decât se luptă alte state membre cu alte fenomene cel puțin la fel de periculoase, precum deficitul bugetar și datoriile suverane, fenomene care amenință însăși existența zonei euro și chiar a Uniunii Europene, deci, implicit, și a zonei Schengen.

Atunci când a fost făcută evaluarea României pe Schengen, a fost testat și gradul de pregătire și integritate al polițiștilor de frontieră și al vameșilor în acest domeniu. Repet, în acest domeniu, pentru că nu voi putea spune niciodată că nu există corupție în punctele de trecere a frontierei și în vămi. Dar, în acest domeniu, testul a fost trecut, altfel nu ar fi putut fi îndeplinite condițiile privind protecția datelor, Sistemul de Informații Schengen, controlul frontierelor (terestră, maritimă și aeriană), cooperarea polițienească și regimul vizelor.

3-160-000

Mario Borghezio (EFD), *per iscritto*. – La contrarietà all'ingresso di Bulgaria e Romania all'area Schengen è dovuta ad uno di quelli che dovrebbero essere i portati principali della politica europea: il principio di precauzione. Infatti, è più che prevedibile il fatto che alcuni Stati Membri, già meta di consistenti flussi immigratori, possano essere messi ancor più sotto dura prova con l'ingresso nell'area Schengen di due Paesi che non sembrano aver raggiunto un livello sufficiente nel controllo delle frontiere esterne. Ciò vale in maniera molto evidente per quanto riguarda la frontiera fra Bulgaria e Turchia.. Non si può consentire la libera circolazione dei cittadini se non quando si abbia la certezza che ciò non determini: aumento della micro criminalità e dell'immigrazione illegale, diminuzione della sicurezza

e rischi per l'ordine pubblico. I dati sulla lotta alla criminalità organizzata in questi due Paesi non sono certo confortanti per chi abbia a cuore una politica europea di serio ed efficace contrasto alle mafie.

3-161-000

Cutas, George Sabin (S&D), *în scris*. – Doresc să reamintesc că România și Bulgaria îndeplinesc în prezent toate condițiile prevăzute de către acquis-ul Schengen. Acest lucru este atestat nu numai de concluziile Grupului de lucru pentru evaluarea Schengen, dar și de poziția fermă a Parlamentului European, exprimată prin intermediul Rezoluției adoptate în iunie 2011.

Amânarea pe termen nedefinit a aderării României și Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen vorbește despre lipsa de credibilitate a construcției europene, în care regulile se fac și se desfac în funcție de interesele anumitor state membre. În Uniunea celor 27 există țări de primă categorie și țări de categoria a doua, cetățeni cu drepturi și cetățeni de rang inferior, state „vechi” și state „noi” sau care au aderat prea devreme. Vorbim cu ușurință despre solidaritate, dar închidem la fel de ușor ochii atunci când un stat membru este victima unei discriminări. Promovăm un naționalism desuet, fără să ne dăm seama că fiecare decizie de acest gen face din construcția europeană o formă fără fond.

3-162-000

Kinga Göncz (S&D), *írásban*. – Az euróövezet válsága után küszöbön áll az EU második válsága - a schengeni övezeté. Két tagország blokkolja a tagállamközi Tanácsban Bulgária és Románia schengeni csatlakozását. Ez veszélyezteti az EU hitelességét és jogbiztonságát is: nem lehet kettős mércével mérni! A schengeni csatlakozás bizalmi kérdés is: rábizzuk-e egy országra az EU külső határainak a védelmét akkor, amikor minden értékelés szerint megfelel a lefektetett kritériumoknak? A válasz egyértelmű: igen! Bulgária és Románia csatlakozásának akadályozása mögött ki nem mondott szempontok és érdekek húzódnak, és ez tovább rongálja a közbizalmat. A schengeni bővítés elhalasztása növeli a csalódottságot a bolgár és román uniós polgárokban. Az elkezeredettségnek főként azok a hátrányos helyzetű közösségek eshetnek áldozatul, akiket bünbakként kezelnek a schengeni tagságról szóló döntés halogatásáért. Ha valamire igazán nincs szüksége az Európai Uniónak a válság közepén, az épp a tagállamok közti bizalmatlanság és az indulatok növekedése. Egyértelműen fel kell lépünk Bulgária és Románia schengeni csatlakozásáért, és mihamarabb bevezetni a megfelelő schengeni értékelő rendszert!

3-163-000

Cătălin Sorin Ivan (S&D), *în scris*. – România și Bulgaria au îndeplinit criteriile tehnice prevăzute în acquis-ul Schengen, ceea ce ar fi trebuit să se traducă într-o aderare a acestora la spațiul de liberă circulație. Nu s-a întâmplat așa și acum, acestor două state li se pot impune criterii adiționale, care nu au fost aduse în discuție în cazul aderării niciunui alt stat membru până acum. Parlamentul European este susținătorul unui spațiu Schengen așa cum a fost el gândit în 1995, fără criterii suplimentare și arbitrar și astăzi ne reafirmăm poziția de susținere față de acest pilon de integrare.

Dar dacă respectarea acquis-ului Schengen nu mai reprezintă un argument suficient de puternic pentru a convinge unele state membre, șubrețirea construcției europene ar trebui să fie luată în considerare. În perioada de criză profundă pe care o traversăm astăzi, blocarea aderării României și Bulgariei la spațiul Schengen reprezintă un semnal negativ și periculos,

care poate deschide calea către divizarea Uniunii. Îmi reafirm încrederea în verticalitatea politică a liderilor europeni, care trebuie să se poziționeze corect față de cele două state, indiferent de temeri, prejudecăți și derapaje naționaliste.

3-163-500

Lena Kolarska-Bobińska (PPE), *na piśmie*. – Szanowny Panie Przewodniczący! Tak jak nie możemy zmieniać przepisów regulujących przeprowadzenie wyborów przed głosowaniem, tak nie powinniśmy zmieniać reguł umożliwiających przystąpienie do strefy Schengen nowych starających się o to państw. Rumunia i Bułgaria dołożyły wielu starań, aby spełnić unijne kryteria. Obecnie państwa członkowskie, wliczając te, które już przystąpiły do Schengen, nie powinny mówić Bułgarii i Rumunii tuż przed osiągnięciem celu, że muszą zacząć cały proces od nowa. Możemy przedyskutować zasady reformy systemu Schengen dla przyszłych państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej, ale nie możemy ustanawiać nowych przepisów dla obecnych członków. Dlatego pragnę wyrazić swój sprzeciw wobec poprawki zgłoszonej przez naszych brytyjskich kolegów z ECR. Europejska Partia Ludowa powinna wysłać w tej sprawie jasny i spójny przekaz. Musimy zwalczać korupcję we wszystkich państwach członkowskich, ale sprawozdanie to nie dotyczy walki z korupcją. Niecodzienne jest to, że posłowie do Parlamentu spoza strefy Schengen chcą wprowadzić zmiany w regulach. Powinni być ostrożni. Pewnego dnia Wielka Brytania może zechcieć dołączyć do krajów strefy Schengen. I co będzie, jeżeli nie spełni „nowych kryteriów” zaproponowanych przez starych członków? Dziękuję.

3-164-000

Petru Constantin Luhan (PPE), *în scris*. – Pentru a finaliza cu succes aderarea României și Bulgariei la Uniunea Europeană, este nevoie ca acestea să se bucure de aceleași privilegii ca și celelalte state membre, în ceea ce privește mai ales libera circulație a persoanelor. Cele două state au câștigat acest drept în urma îndeplinirii tuturor cerințelor necesare pentru implementarea acquis-ului Schengen.

Vreau să mulțumesc tuturor colegilor pentru sprijinul acordat în această problematică și susțin necesitatea de a retransmite un mesaj clar din partea Parlamentului către Consiliul European. Ne dorim ca toate statele membre să beneficieze de un tratament egal și regret că actualele regulamente referitoare la accesarea în spațiul Schengen NU sunt respectate de către unii, din considerente strict politice.

3-165-000

Elżbieta Katarzyna Łukacijewska (PPE), *na piśmie*. – Koleżanki i Koledzy! Bułgaria i Rumunia od czasu przystąpienia do Unii Europejskiej liczą na jak najszybsze otwarcie dla nich granic. Chciałabym zauważyć, że polityka małych kroków w stosunku do Rumunii i Bułgarii jest sukcesem, bowiem nakłada na te państwa szablon europejski. Nie ulega jednak wątpliwości, że wielu Europejczyków ma obawy przed rozszerzeniem strefy Schengen. Narastające konflikty w Afryce Północnej, czy zorganizowana przestępczość nie wzbudza pozytywnych emocji i nie napawa optymizmem. Według mojej opinii, jeśli Bułgaria i Rumunia spełniają warunki konieczne to zagranicą nie fair jest zwlekanie z decyzją o powiększeniu. Potrzebujemy szybkich i jednocześnie przemyślanych decyzji. Europa musi być solidarna, wszystkie państwa powinny działać razem, a nie osobno, dla wspólnego dobra, zwłaszcza teraz w okresie europejskiego kryzysu. Potrzebne jest wzajemna współpraca i wzajemne zaufanie. Bez tego nie ma mowy o podejmowaniu decyzji ważnych dla nas i dla obywateli UE.

3-165-500

Alexander Mirsky (S&D), *in writing*. – Recently, Parliament has turned into an institution where double standards are broadly used. Practically, in all areas of activity there exists fellowship by national principle, lobbying and uncovered unprofessionalism. If such a state of play continues to exist, then Parliament may lose its international status, and its opinions and resolutions will bring forth only a smile instead of a serious attitude. Now a decision not to give Bulgaria and Romania the right to join Schengen is false and unfair. I call on all Members of the European Parliament to stop closing their eyes and ears. We should support the right of our brothers and neighbours to travel around the EU without any restrictions, because these countries are part of the European Union.

3-166-000

Katarína Neveďalová (S&D), *písomne* – Vážení kolegovia, chcela by som vyjadriť svoje hlboké znepokojenie nízkou mierou solidarity voči Bulharsku a Rumunsku. Rovnako ako pri športovom zápase tak aj v biznise alebo politike platí, že pravidlá sa počas hry meniť nemajú. Tieto krajiny splnili potrebné požiadavky prístupových zmlúv a sú pripravené na vstup do spoločného schengenského priestoru – čo dokazovala už správa prijatá v júni. Preto zdieľam rovnaký postoj s väčšinou svojich kolegov naprieč politickým spektrom: dvojité meradlo pre staré a nové členské štáty nie je akceptovateľné. Takýto zásah do pravidiel by mal za následok zvýšenie nedôvery v schengenské *acquis* a zároveň by vytvoril nebezpečný precedens, ktorý by mohol zásadným spôsobom ovplyvniť budúce členské krajiny. Preto by som chcela vyjadriť svoju podporu Rumunsku a Bulharsku a zároveň vyzvať krajiny blokujúce ich vstup do Schengenu k prehodnoteniu svojho postoja.

3-167-000

Rareș-Lucian Niculescu (PPE), *în scris*. – Un important lider politic european – de a cărei bună credință în ceea ce privește aderarea Bulgariei și României la Schengen nu mă îndoiesc – a folosit o formulă destul de neinspirată, afirmând că cele două state au îndeplinit toate condițiile de aderare, prin urmare trebuie să fie „tolerate” de Europa. Cuvântul este cât se poate de prost ales: România și Bulgaria au dreptul să se alăture spațiului Schengen și nicidecum să fie tolerate – îndeplinirea condițiilor tehnice este singurul criteriu aplicabil în această privință, iar faptul că am îndeplinit aceste criterii a fost constatat de experții europeni. Orice posibilă deviere de la acest principiu nu denotă decât aplecarea unor lideri politici către un populism ieftin; ei încearcă să distragă atenția propriilor cetățeni – afectați de criza financiară mondială – de la problemele reale, către alte probleme, create și întreținute artificial.

3-168-000

Franz Obermayr (NI), *schriftlich*. – Man kann den Dänen und den Finnen angesichts ihrer weisen und patriotischen Entscheidung nur gratulieren! Hier müssen ganz klar die Sicherheitsinteressen der eigenen Bürger im Vordergrund stehen! Nach wie vor ist die Bekämpfung der Korruption, der organisierten Kriminalität, des Menschenhandels und der Prostitution in Rumänien und Bulgarien mangelhaft, und Verbesserungen gehen nur sehr langsam vonstatten. Gerade mein Heimatland Österreich ist aufgrund seiner exponierten geografischen Lage ein besonders beliebtes für Schlepperbanden aus dem Osten.

Zurzeit ist eine EU-Verordnung zur ständigen Kontrolle der Einhaltung der Schengen-Regeln in Arbeit. Darin sollten jedenfalls Sanktionsmechanismen enthalten sein, die es ermöglichen,

Lücken in einzelnen Mitgliedstaaten zu bekämpfen. Dabei sollte auch eine vorübergehende Wiedereinführung von Grenzkontrollen möglich sein, wenn die Sicherheitsinteressen der Bürger gefährdet sind. Anstatt nun an den Grenzen Tulpenzwiebel-Exporte aus Holland zu boykottieren, sollte Rumänien seine Außengrenzen lieber vor ganz anderen Eindringlingen schützen.

3-168-500

Kristiina Ojuland (ALDE), *in writing*. – Mr President, I object to the way the Council has handled the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the Schengen area. For the moment the Council has postponed their accession indefinitely, despite the fact that, according to the Commission's progress reports, both countries had fulfilled all the required technical and legal criteria, which has also been reiterated by the Commissioner today. As a champion of transparency the European Union cannot afford to discredit itself by applying the terms laid out in the EU Accession Treaties in an arbitrary manner. If the current criteria are deemed insufficient or incomplete, they should be amended accordingly in cooperation with the involved parties. Instead the Council has opted for a political decision without a proper legal basis. Such discrepancies must be avoided in the future by exerting more foresight when devising any criteria that are to be applied in a uniform manner. Failure to live up to one's principles at home also inflicts damage on the reliability of the EU abroad.

3-169-000

Justas Vincas Paleckis (S&D), *raštu*. – Šengeno erdvė yra vienas iš esminių Europos sąjungos pamatų, tvirtinantis ES valstybių solidarumą ir užtikrinantis laisvą piliečių judėjimą. Rumunija ir Bulgarija įvykdė visus stojimo į Šengeno erdvę kriterijus. Tai pripažino ir nepriklausomi ekspertai. Tačiau kilo politinė kai kurių ES valstybių kampanija, siekianti užkirsti kelią šių dviejų valstybių narystei dėl korupcijos ir organizuoto nusikalstamumo priežasčių. Tai rimtos Rumunijos ir Bulgarijos žaizdos. Tačiau Šengeno durų užtrenkimas nėra pati tinkamiausia priemonė jas gydyti. Šių dviejų tautų palikimas už Šengeno borto prisideda prie dviejų greičių ES kūrimo. Pritariu pasiūlymui, jog šį klausimą turėtų iš esmės išanalizuoti ir priimti atitinkamą sprendimą Europos vadovų taryba. Sveikinu ES pirmininkaujančią Lenkiją, kuri taip pat ieško kuo greitesnio ir sklandesnio sprendimo.

3-169-500

Daciana Octavia Sârbu (S&D), *în scris*. – Țările din Estul Europei au fost rupte de cele din Vest prin Cortina de Fier pentru câteva decenii. Astăzi, două țări din Uniunea Europeană, Olanda și Finlanda, încearcă din nou să ne izoleze de restul Europei. Se pare că, în cazul României și Bulgariei, regulile s-au schimbat în timpul jocului, aderarea acestor două state amânându-se pentru o perioadă nedeterminată, deși ambele țări au îndeplinit toate criteriile cerute.

Cred că aderarea României și Bulgariei la Schengen trebuie să se facă pe baza criteriilor stabilite inițial; cel puțin, așa ar fi corect. În final, aș dori să mulțumesc Președinției Poloneze pentru tot sprijinul acordat României și Bulgariei în acest demers și sper ca guvernele populiste să nu aibă câștig de cauză.

3-170-000

Csaba Sógor (PPE), *írásban*. – A legutóbbi bel- és igazságügyi miniszteri tanácsülésen újra elhalasztották a Románia és Bulgária schengeni csatlakozásáról szóló szavazást, mivel úgy tűnik, azt nem támogatja az összes tagállam. Szeretném felhívni a figyelmet, hogy

miközben az Európai Unió valódi, az európai joggal és a tagállamok közötti kölcsönös bizalommal összhangban álló magyarázat nélkül halogatja a döntést, Románia teljes mértékben teljesíti a csatlakozási szerződésben leszögezett, a schengeni csatlakozáshoz szükséges feltételeket. Egyes vélemények szerint a romániai korrupció megoldatlan problémája az oka a csatlakozásról szóló döntés halasztásának. Tisztelt Képviselőtársaim! Eltekintve attól a tényről, hogy egy tagállamban a korrupció mértéke nincs jogi összefüggésben a schengeni csatlakozással, Önök úgy gondolják, hogy más tagállamok korrupcióval kapcsolatos problémái arra kellene készítsék a többi tagállamot, hogy kizárják ezeket az államokat az európai integráció egyes elemeiből? Én nem gondolom ezt. Románia és Bulgária esetében sem szeretném, ha ez megtörténne.

3-171-000

Joanna Katarzyna Skrzydlewska (PPE), *na piśmie* . – Panie Przewodniczący! Mam nadzieję, że Rada wkrótce ustosunkuje się do kwestii wstąpienia Bułgarii i Rumunii do strefy Schengen. Jest to ważna sprawa nie tylko z perspektywy obywateli tych krajów, ale z perspektywy wszystkich obywateli Europy. Swoboda przemieszczania się to jedna ze swobód, którą mieszkańcy Unii Europejskiej cenią sobie najbardziej. Nie powinniśmy sztucznie tworzyć trudności i stawiać właśnie tym krajom dodatkowych, nieprzewidzianych wcześniej wymagań. Ochrona przed przestępczością zorganizowaną, handlem narkotykami czy procederem prania brudnych pieniędzy jest bezsprzecznie istotna, ale jeśli oba te państwa wzmocniły kontrolę w tym zakresie, zgodnie z zasadami systemu Schengen nie powinny być w ten sposób blokowane na podstawie powszechnie panujących obaw, często bez konkretnych danych, m.in. przed niechcianą imigracją. Zasad gry nie zmienia się w trakcie jej trwania.

3-171-500

Rafał Trzaskowski (PPE), *na piśmie* . – Bułgaria i Rumunia spełniły wszystkie wymogi stawiane im przez Unię i należy otworzyć przed nimi strefę Schengen. Musimy wypełnić zobowiązanie wobec tych państw. Nie zmienia się reguł w trakcie gry, a szczególnie w czasach kryzysu, kiedy Unia potrzebuje więcej jedności i solidarności wśród państw członkowskich. Problem korupcji nie dotyczy tylko tych dwóch państw, a co ważniejsze, nie przeszkodził im spełnić formalnych wymagań stawianych im przez Komisję Europejską. Dlatego nie ma powodu, dla którego ich przyjęcie do strefy Schengen miałyby zostać odłożone w czasie. Rada powinna jak najszybciej podjąć pozytywną decyzję w tej sprawie.

3-172-000

Traian Ungureanu (PPE), *in writing* . – The accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the Schengen Area should be just that: a process regulated by the norms previously agreed. Both countries took this process in good faith and prepared according to the rules. But something changed. There is a pressure to change the rules of the game during the game. This is not only unfair towards two Member States that were singled out. This is detrimental to the European solidarity principle. It happens at a most unfortunate time, when true European values are tested by radical agendas and political forces. The Schengen debate was largely absorbed by this sort of politics.

The resolution adopted today is a step in the right direction. The resolution proved that there is a consensus in the European Parliament on the need to promote the interests of a coherent and united Europe, especially in times of doubt and crisis. Romania and Bulgaria should not be treated differently. Once they fulfil the original criteria they should be allowed

to join the Schengen Area. The same rules should work from now on for future candidates. The European Parliament always supported this approach. This is an excellent example of applied European politics.

3-173-000

Владимир Уручев (PPE), *в писмена форма*. – Г-н Председател, България и Румъния са изпълнили всички критерии за влизане в шенгенското пространство, както са формулирани в законодателството и договорите им за присъединяване към ЕС. Всъщност източните граници вече се охраняват от тези страни по шенгенски критерии, макар и официално да не са в това пространство. Това са фактите, от тук нататък започват проблемите. ЕС е разделен за мерките за излизане от разрастващата се финансова и дългова криза, когато е заплашено самото съществуване на този съюз. Две страни блокират решение на Съвета за влизането на България и Румъния в Шенген без да имат каквото и да е юридическо основание за това. Сякаш всеки дърпа чергата към себе си. Неминуемо възниква въпросът дали ЕС може да взема силни решения в такава сложна ситуация, когато единствения отговор е повече Европа, повече единорействие и солидарност, а не разединение и национален протекционизъм. В този контекст предстоящият Съвет на 23 октомври е тест за дееспособността на Съюза, за това дали лидерите са на висотата на очакванията на гражданите за решителни действия за справяне с надвисналите заплахи, включително отказ от популистични вътрешнополитически цели в името на спасението на Европа. Решението за влизане на България и Румъния в Шенген е част от този тест!

16. Situation in Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and Egypt (debate)

3-175-000

President. – The next item is the statement by the Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy on the situation in Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and Egypt.

3-176-000

Catherine Ashton, *Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – Mr President, thank you very much for the opportunity to come again to the Parliament. It was only two weeks ago in Strasbourg that we discussed the situation in our Southern Neighbourhood and we felt that sense of impatience and uncertainty, that real change does takes time and we know it will be measured in years and not in seasons. But we also recognised the importance of our continuing support and tonight we will focus on Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Bahrain where the latest events remind us of what we were saying two weeks ago.

Let me begin with Egypt and start by being absolutely clear that what we saw in Egypt on Sunday night was totally unacceptable. We were all shocked and appalled by the violence against a peaceful demonstration by the Coptic Christian community that led to the death of 25 people, with more than 300 injured.

These clashes run contrary to the whole spirit and goals of the revolution and the aspirations of all Egyptians – of all backgrounds and beliefs. They stood side by side asking for legitimate human rights after 30 years of authoritarian rule. The Egyptian uprising belongs to the whole population of Egypt. Protection of human rights is essential. I believe that is the only way to ensure that we are going to have true democracy. I made a statement calling for

calm and restraint and an investigation so that those responsible for the violence can be brought to justice.

I urged and I urged the authorities to protect the right to demonstrate peacefully, and the right to freedom of religion or belief – one of the most fundamental of all human rights. Yet the worst thing now would be for these tragic events to stand in the way of democracy. On the contrary we have to learn these lessons fast. Sunday's events should encourage the government and the ruling military council to investigate, to listen, to review the emergency law and to step up the dialogue with political representatives ahead of elections.

Our Delegation met today with representatives from the Al-Azhar University and Mosque who can play a very important role in the dialogue between different communities. As we have said before in this House, Egypt faces its first opportunity to hold free and fair elections and we will work to help the judges and poll workers in the management of the upcoming parliamentary elections later this year.

We will continue to work both on the process towards democracy and in the relaunch of the economy.

Turning to the example of the Task Force in Tunisia last week, here we were able to bring together the international community – European institutions, Members of this House, Member States, the European Investment Bank, the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, multilateral financial institutions and, crucially, private sector companies – making sure that together we become a catalyst for quicker and more effective assistance; in Tunisia in this case, but important of course across the region.

We were able to pull together a package of EUR 4 billion over three years for Tunisia. We plan to do the same in other countries in the region where that collaborative approach can make a significant difference to the economic opportunities in those countries: Jordan, Egypt, and other countries too.

I hope too that we will be able to do something for Syria in the near future, where the situation remains totally unacceptable and where we must continue pressure on the regime – bilaterally and internationally. You have noted our sanctions and their gradual expansion to include oil exports – even now additional sanctions are under preparation.

You will have also seen our efforts in the UN Security Council and in the Human Rights Council. Member States worked hard in the Security Council to try to get a resolution but were unable to achieve that. I believe we have to redouble our efforts and I will be raising our concerns with our strategic partners, the United States and China, over these coming next few days.

There is no sign, of course, in Syria of the regime abandoning violence and repression and the risk of spiralling violence and sectarian rifts is very real. The recent incidents of targeted killings confirm this danger. That is why the unity of the people and the new political leaders on the ground is essential. We welcome all efforts by the Syrian opposition to come together. The creation of the Syrian National Council is encouraging. Inclusiveness, commitment to non-violence, human rights and democratic values are essential in that process. I believe this Parliament is unique in what it can offer to promote those values and is well placed to offer a forum for dialogue.

We should also seek to associate Arab countries in all of our efforts. We will remain steadfast and determined to support the people of Syria. Our sanctions are not directed against them

but against the regime and those who support it, and we continue to send a message to the people of Syria that we wish to help them achieve their aspirations and will mobilise our assistance and improve our trade and economic links as soon as we see that genuine transition begin.

In Yemen we wait and watch President Saleh who has talked again about transferring power, but I am not convinced that he is listening to his people. Surely this time he must match his words with deeds and transfer that power now. The time for empty promises is gone. The President and his family must stop holding the country's future to ransom. Not least when we look at the tragedy of the humanitarian situation: there is a great lack of fuel, power, food and water, and people face chronic malnutrition.

Even before the current crisis, 7.5 million people – one third of all Yemenis – did not have enough to eat. 400 000 Yemeni people are internally displaced, and the country hosts over 200 000 refugees from the Horn of Africa. How exactly that transition goes forward is for the Yemeni parties themselves to work out. But they have long ago accepted the principles of the Gulf Cooperation Council's initiative. We have engaged at all levels, trying to facilitate peaceful solutions among the key players in Yemen. I have been working closely with the GCC and with the United States to keep a strong and united front, sequencing and coordinating our messages and actions on the ground and in our capitals.

We have also played a key role through the UN Human Rights Council, and will now step that up through our Member States in the UN Security Council.

Last week a 32-year-old Yemeni woman, Tawakul Karman, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Her first meeting with the international community was hosted by our Head of Delegation on Sunday. He transmitted first hand my message that the prize recognises her relentless commitment to human rights, and particularly to the rights of women. Women are at the forefront of the fight against repressive regimes and they must remain central to the shaping of the reforms that follow.

Fourth, and finally, to Bahrain where we have been following the situation very closely and we have made clear our views in statements and in direct talks with the Foreign Minister and with the King. This morning the Bahraini Ambassador was called again to my services. We have adopted conclusions in the Foreign Affairs Council several times and we will not do other than continue to put the situation in the forefront of our work and of our statements.

Like many amongst the honourable Members here I have spoken out against the death penalty – actually all of my life – and the harsh sentences handed down in cases connected to the recent unrest. Special courts should not be used to try civilians and I have urged the Bahraini authorities to stick to the commitments they have made and guarantee fair trials.

For that reason, I take some positive note of last week's decision to retry in civil courts the trials against doctors and nurses accused of tending to the medical needs of those who oppose the regime. That request, from us, was heard, but now surely civilian courts should move to drop all charges.

The decision should be extended to all civilians tried in the Security Courts. About 60 more civilians, aside from those medical personnel, have been sentenced in these courts.

At the end of this month, the International Commission investigating the human rights violations will deliver its report. All the documented allegations must be followed up properly – whoever the presumed perpetrator is.

Our members have also led the way in Geneva to try to secure follow-up to this Independent Commission's findings in the Human Rights Council, and to allow the High Commissioner's Office to visit. On both fronts, I have to say, the Bahraini authorities have chosen to remain evasive.

The investigations should change the political climate and should encourage reconciliation. There needs to be far more and better dialogue between the authorities and the opposition. The authorities should, in my view, inject confidence into this process so that those groups with a legitimate grievance can come to the table.

I have to say though, that without dialogue, without real dialogue and real reforms, there can be no long-term, sustainable solutions to the challenges that are faced in Bahrain.

3-177-000

IN THE CHAIR: LIBOR ROUČEK

Vice-President

3-178-000

Hans-Gert Pöttering, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Vizepräsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Vor wenigen Monaten haben wir mit großer Hoffnung, mit Bewunderung nach Ägypten geschaut, und ich selbst habe Anfang März mit vielen jungen Menschen auf dem Tahrir-Platz sprechen können. Es war ein Aufbruch zur Freiheit, zur Verteidigung der Würde des Menschen, der Menschenrechte und der Demokratie, und heute schauen wir doch mit Sorge nach Ägypten.

Wenn wir zur Kenntnis nehmen müssen, wie Lady Ashton es gerade gesagt hat, dass viele Kopten und Christen umgekommen sind, möglicherweise sogar ermordet wurden, dann muss uns das mit großer Sorge erfüllen. Wir müssen den Ländern der Arabischen Revolution, der Rebellion zurufen: Schützt eure Minderheiten, denn wenn die Minderheiten nicht geschützt werden, dann richtet es sich am Ende gegen eure eigene Freiheit.

Deswegen müssen wir vom Feldmarschall Tantawi und von seiner Regierung fordern, dass die Vorkommnisse untersucht werden, und dass auch diejenigen vor Gericht gebracht und verurteilt werden – und wenn es sich um Soldaten handelt –, die einfach mit ihren Fahrzeugen über die Menschen gefahren sind. Alle, die Gewalt geübt haben, müssen dafür bestraft werden.

Weil sich in einigen arabischen Staaten mehr die Gewalt zeigt, sollten wir jetzt jedoch nicht den Fehler machen, die vielen Millionen zu vergessen, die für Freiheit, für Demokratie, für den Frieden und auch für den Dialog der Kulturen eintreten. Bei den Demonstrationen am Sonntag mit den über 100 000 Kopten waren auch Moslems dabei. Sie haben friedlich mit den Christen demonstriert. Lassen Sie uns also auch diesen Friedenswillen von Millionen friedlicher Moslems nicht vergessen.

Im Jahr 2008 war der Großmufti von Syrien, Ahmad Hassoun, hier im Europäischen Parlament. Er hat eine bemerkenswerte Rede gehalten. Sicher ist er auch ein Mann, der in der Nähe dieses verbrecherischen Systems von Präsident Assad, der zurücktreten sollte,

anzusiedeln ist. Aber jetzt ist auch der jüngste Sohn dieses Großmuftis, der sicher unschuldig ist, brutal ermordet worden, möglicherweise von Fundamentalisten. Also auch die Moslems zahlen ihren Preis. Deswegen müssen wir dafür eintreten, dass die Toleranz für alle gilt, und wir sollten die Demokratiebewegung in den arabischen Ländern mit aller Kraft weiter unterstützen.

3-179-000

Кристиан Вигенин, *от името на групата S&D* . – Господин Председател, уважаема госпожо Ashton, с голямо безпокойство наблюдаваме събитията в страните от южното Средиземноморие. Тази тема присъства в почти всяко заседание на Европейския парламент. Обсъждаме, предлагаме решения, искаме действия от Комисията, от Съвета, от Вас персонално. Оценяваме високо бързите ви реакции и ясните позиции, които изразявате. Но трябва да признаем, че нещата някак не се променят към по-добро, дори напротив.

Ситуацията в Сирия постепенно започва да излиза от контрол. Противопоставянето става все по-брутално. Режимът в Дамаск явно няма намерение да спре насилието и да започне бързи политически реформи. Напротив, дори заплашва с мащабен регионален конфликт, в който иска да въвлече Израел и Иран. Подобно поведение вече говори за слабост и изнервеност, които не вешаят нищо добро нито за сирийския народ, нито за региона като цяло.

В Египет текат процеси, които пораждат смесени чувства. От една страна Египет върви към своите първи демократични избори, в същото време международни наблюдатели не бяха поканени и независимо какво е формалното обяснение, това не е добър знак. Засилват се тенденции, които могат да препънат демократичния поход от площад Тахрир. Напрежението между религиозните групи не е ново явление, но вместо да бъде гарантирана религиозната свобода, конфликтите растат. Участието на силите на реда в касапницата в неделя (по друг начин не можем да го наречем) е много обезпокоително.

Аз Ви призовавам, госпожо Ashton, да настоявате за пълно разследване на събитията, както заявихте, наказание и съд на виновните и нови гаранции от страна на властите в Египет, че ще бъдат гарантирани правата на малцинствата, включително на религиозните малцинства.

Струва ми се, че трябва да потърсим по-ясна подкрепа и ангажимент от нашите стратегически партньори с претенции за глобална роля като Русия и Китай, а така също и от страни – кандидатки за членство в Европейския съюз, имам предвид Турция, която би следвало да се включи по-активно в общите действия на Европейския съюз и неговите страни-членки.

Няма да задавам въпроси, но бих искал да използвате Вашето присъствие тук, за да ни подскажете има ли други стъпки, които Европейският парламент може да предприеме в подкрепа на Вашите усилия.

3-180-000

Kristiina Ojuland, *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . – Mr President, it is a pity to see that the Arab Spring for democracy – now in autumn – is falling back into violence.

The ALDE Group condemns the clashes between different religious groups in Egypt; furthermore it condemns the excessive use of force by the military. Freedom of religion must be protected, as well as the right to demonstrate peacefully while upholding law and order without infringing human rights. We call on the Egyptian authorities to maintain

this delicate balance to prevent the nation finding itself going out of the frying pan into the fire.

The blocking of the Syrian pro-democracy resolution in the United Nations Security Council by Russia and China is an utter disgrace. The disappointment of the EU expressed in the Council conclusions must be reinforced by increasing pressure on international actors to take a strong stance against the killing, mass arrests and torture of civilians in Syria.

In Yemen and Bahrain the regimes must put an end to violence, human rights violations and the suppression of the opposition, and give way to a peaceful regime transition. The revolutionary wave that calls for democracy in the Arab world should not be left to wither.

3-181-000

Barbara Lochbihler, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion* . – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Hohe Vertreterin Ashton, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Unterausschuss Menschenrechte hat in der vergangenen Woche eine Anhörung zur Lage der Menschenrechte in Bahrain, in Syrien und in Jemen organisiert. Wir debattierten unterschiedlichste Forderungen, die in allen Ländern unterschiedlich sind. Aber ich habe auch von Ihren Ausführungen jetzt gehört, dass Sie sich im Detail damit beschäftigen, und es waren im Wesentlichen die gleichen Dinge, die auch wir gehört haben.

Ich möchte deshalb hier nur hervorheben, dass es wirklich notwendig ist, dass die EU insbesondere die Anstrengungen der Zivilgesellschaft unterstützt, und zwar derjenigen, die sich für einen gewaltfreien Wandel einsetzen.

Sie haben erwähnt, dass Sie in Bahrain den Dialog mit der Zivilgesellschaft fördern. Auch das haben wir gehört, aber ebenso die Einschätzung, dass Vertreter der Zivilgesellschaft an eine Reform glauben, aber eben keine Bereitschaft sehen, dass es zu einem ernsthaften Dialog kommt.

Innerhalb der Zivilgesellschaft wiederum ist es wichtig, dass sich die EU für die Frauen und deren Organisationen einsetzt. Dass es sie gibt, dass sie aktiv sind, das zeigt ja auch die Verleihung des Friedensnobelpreises in diesem Jahr an die Jemenitin Tawakkul Karman. Bereits 2006 gründete sie den Verein „Journalistinnen ohne Ketten“ und mobilisiert seit Anfang dieses Jahres zivilgesellschaftliche Proteste im Jemen. Ich bin froh – wie Sie erwähnt haben, Lady Ashton –, dass bereits die EU-Delegation im Jemen Kontakt zu ihr aufgenommen hat. Mit der Preisverleihung wird nicht nur eine Frau gewürdigt, die sich als Muslimin in einer extrem von Männern dominierten Gesellschaft für geschlechtliche Gleichberechtigung stark macht. Das Nobelpreis-Komitee setzt zugleich ein wichtiges Zeichen, nämlich dass in den arabischen Revolten der Kampf um Frauenrechte und Emanzipation eine zentrale Rolle spielen muss. Jede Regierung, die im Zuge der gesellschaftlichen Umwälzungen an die Macht kommt, muss sich dafür einsetzen. Ich hoffe, die EU fördert das, so gut sie kann.

3-182-000

Charles Tannock, *on behalf of the ECR Group* . – Mr President, earlier this year the Egyptian army played a crucial role in forcing the resignation of President Mubarak, after refusing orders to shoot protestors – thus making Egypt's move towards democracy far less bloody than the transition in Libya, where the pro-Gaddafi forces have proved resilient, requiring NATO intervention to tip the balance. We all hope in this House that Sirte falls soon to the Transitional National Council.

However, the most recent reports coming from Egypt of the deaths of dozens of Coptic Christians who were protesting peacefully and killed as a result of a brutal overreaction by the security forces, are shocking and need investigation.

There is concern both in Tunisia and in Egypt over the rise of hardline Salafist influences now, and therefore in my view the more moderate Islamist elements of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt need engaging with and need to be made to understand that they must pledge to respect international obligations made by Egypt on human rights if they are elected to power.

The brutal repression of the Syrian uprising by contrast has led tragically to 3 000 deaths so far, with President Assad sadly refusing to go and appealing to minorities such as his own set, the Alawites, and the Christians to resist the Sunni-led insurgency. The EU must now support the freezing of Syrian assets in Europe, ban oil imports and lean more on Russia and China in the Security Council for support with the hope of speeding up the Syrian National Council's bid to topple the Ba'athist regime.

Yemen's traditional alliance with the US against al-Qa'ida is laudable but the regime is authoritarian. Street protestors have called for UN aid in forcing Ali Abdullah Saleh from power now, but the ECR welcomes the fact that the cases of medics jailed in Bahrain for instance for treating injured protestors are now due to be reviewed, which will give some credibility to the Bahraini Monarchy's quest for democracy.

The ECR calls on the EU to mobilise all available means to the Middle East and North African countries, including direct aid and loan finance for investment, but conditional on respect for human rights and democracy.

Lastly our political parties here in this House must share their experience in order to establish secular, democratic choices for the people of that region.

3-183-000

Marisa Matias, *em nome do Grupo GUE/NGL* . – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Alta Representante, há alturas em que penso que precisamos de parar um pouco e fazer balanços e esta parece-me ser uma das alturas. E parece-me ser porque vamos sempre na cadência dos acontecimentos e de uma resposta de acontecimento em acontecimento e perdemos um bocado aquilo que é a perspectiva do todo.

É certo que cada caso é um caso, e que cada país de que estamos aqui a falar é um caso específico, mas perdoe-me dizer, Senhora Alta Representante, parece-me que é difícil escrutinar quais são os critérios que a União Europeia tem usado para agir em função de cada um dos casos. Temo que estejamos muitas vezes reféns daquilo que são os interesses dos países da União Europeia, de parte de alguns desses países da União Europeia e não de todos. E é por isso que nós usamos tantas vezes nesta casa a expressão *dois pesos e duas medidas* e continuamos a usá-la. Às vezes é sanções sim, outras vezes é sanções não, às vezes a ingerência vai até ao limite da bomba como o foi no caso da Líbia, outras vezes é o silêncio total como foi no caso da invasão do Bahrein pelas forças da Arábia Saudita e, Senhora Baronesa, deixe-me dizer-lhe que tenho estudado atentamente todos os dossiês, não vi ainda uma única declaração das instituições europeias a condenar a invasão do Bahrein pelas forças militares da Arábia Saudita.

São condenações à morte, é violência sem fim, são médicos e enfermeiros que são condenados até 30 anos de prisão por um tribunal militar porque supostamente estavam

a ser contra o regime e não a ajudar os feridos que deles necessitavam. Em relação à monarquia ditatorial do Bahrein e em relação ao regime ditatorial do Iémen, do regime de Saleh, temos tido muito mais silêncios que acções. Eu não sou a favor da ingerência - nunca o fui - mas temo que nos coloquemos numa posição desconfortável, a posição vista de fora, Senhora Baronesa, que é em vez de ajudarmos ao desenvolvimento, às aspirações democráticas e revolucionárias dos povos nos países árabes, em vez de ajudarmos à Primavera árabe, o que fazemos é impedir que ela se estenda, quer por excesso quer por defeito, e não acho que devamos ficar com esse pecado.

Espero que a atribuição do Prémio Nobel a uma activista iemenita possa servir de sinal de que o nosso lado é o lado dos povos que estão em revolução.

3-184-000

Fiorello Provera, *a nome del gruppo EFD* . – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il massacro avvenuto in Egitto per impedire una manifestazione di protesta per l'incendio di una chiesa copta da parte di musulmani salafiti dimostra quanto sia ancora lontana la democrazia.

Al di là delle difficoltà che incontrano i copti quando richiedono l'autorizzazione per costruire una chiesa, in base a una legge che risale all'impero ottomano, sono sempre più numerosi gli attacchi ai cristiani da parte di estremisti musulmani. Le proteste, anziché essere garantite dalle autorità militari che governano l'Egitto, sono represses nel sangue. Paradossalmente, questi conflitti religiosi e queste repressioni erano meno frequenti al tempo di Mubarak.

Ma vi sono altri segnali preoccupanti che deludono le aspettative sulla cosiddetta Primavera araba. Mi riferisco all'attacco all'ambasciata israeliana con il conseguente ritiro dell'ambasciatore, agli attentati contro i gasdotti nel Sinai, alle richieste di alcuni partiti politici di revisione del trattato di pace tra Egitto e Israele e, infine, alla forte avanzata dei partiti islamisti.

Dal momento che l'Unione europea ha giustamente rafforzato il suo sostegno politico e finanziario all'Egitto, non sarebbe il caso di applicare la dottrina Füle-Ashton del "more for more", e quindi anche del "less for less", indirizzando gli aiuti alle forze politiche, sociali e sindacali che promuovono democrazia e stabilità in Egitto?

3-185-000

Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE). - Señor Presidente, la libertad religiosa está reconocida en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos y también en el Pacto Internacional de Derechos Civiles y Políticos –Egipto es Parte en el Pacto desde 1982. Conocemos, además, la relevancia de la libertad de manifestación y de expresión.

La gravedad de lo ocurrido el domingo en El Cairo reside en que se ha reprimido con una fuerza desproporcionada a unos manifestantes que forman parte de una minoría que reclamaba la protección de su libertad de religión. Es necesaria una investigación rigurosa de lo ocurrido y castigar a los culpables, como muy bien ha dicho el señor Pöttering.

La libertad de religión debe ser protegida y hecha respetar por los Estados, como reclamaba este Parlamento en su Resolución del pasado 20 de enero, señora Ashton. Queremos un Egipto de libertad, justicia y paz, un Egipto alejado de hechos como los ocurridos.

Además, Egipto es un gran país, líder en el mundo árabe: lo que ocurre allí tiene una repercusión enorme. Los acontecimientos del domingo no pueden repetirse. Egipto debe ser un ejemplo de tolerancia y concordia, no de violencia y de violación de libertades.

La Unión debe prestar la máxima atención al respeto de las libertades en los procesos de cambio en el mundo árabe que queremos favorecer y acompañar. En los últimos meses, dirigentes religiosos cristianos y también representantes de la sociedad civil de algunos de estos países me transmitieron su preocupación por la situación de la libertad religiosa en sus países.

Señora Ashton, a mí me gustaría que nos informara sobre qué medidas va a proponer para reforzar la acción de la Unión Europea en este campo, como ya le pidió a usted el Consejo de Asuntos Exteriores el pasado mes de febrero.

3-186-000

Richard Howitt (S&D). - Mr President, we return tonight, without apology, to the countries of the Arab world where transition has not yet started but where the demand for it is urgent and, sadly, deadly. As a European Union we must heed the failure of the latest session of the UN Human Rights Council to agree the decisive action needed to provide real protection and support for the region's democracy protestors.

Concerning Yemen, where the situation is deteriorating, full military force is now being used against peaceful protestors, yet the resolution passed in the UN fails to form any conclusion about responsibility for rights violations or to back the High Commissioner's request to establish a presence in that country. We must heed, too, the new evidence from the World Food Programme of the starvation and hunger affecting that country.

Concerning Syria, we should note the formation of the new opposition Syrian National Council and that the High Commissioner again called for referrals to the International Criminal Court, which were not backed in the UN. Interestingly, Egypt, as well as Russia and China, sought to obstruct the commission of inquiry that was set up.

Concerning Egypt, I join with others in this debate to condemn the violence, with witness statements showing that security forces opened fire on protestors and ran them over in armoured cars. I myself have told the Egyptian Ambassador that I was present in Cairo for the constitutional referendum and welcomed the warmth and affection shown by people experiencing their first taste of genuine democracy, so I just do not accept that public opposition is a barrier to the EU mounting an electoral mission which could help entrench that democracy for the future.

Finally, I would hope that Vice-President/High Representative Ashton will also comment, in her winding-up, on the report from Amnesty International which states that peaceful protestors outside Syrian embassies in our own countries – France, Germany, Spain, Sweden and the UK – have been threatened, intimidated and physically attacked by individuals believed to be connected to the Syrian regime. In the UN we can do better to protect civilians in the Arab World. Here in the European Union itself we have no excuse not to do so.

3-187-000

Marietje Schaake (ALDE). - Mr President, while the euro crisis occupies political agendas and headlines, we are facing another crisis, which is that of the EU as a global player. High Representative, I believe that this week's statements on Bahrain, Syria and the violence in

Egypt were very good, but what actions will now back up those words? The EU can seek stronger overlap between values and interests, but not if it continues to navel-gaze or fragment.

We should leverage the impact of our single market to make it work for stability, growth and the defence of human rights. Obama has announced oil sanctions for Syria. While the EU is Syria's main trading partner, it was unable to unite or to lead in this issue. Looking inward also hurts our relationship with Turkey, while we need to cooperate and engage on North Africa and the Middle East in a more intensive way.

We are largely failing our neighbours and the next generation, and with that our own interests. The Arab Spring is turning into a winter and we must stand more closely with those people and their future. In Egypt, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces is behaving no differently than the Mubarak regime was. Citizens are tried in military courts for blogging – like Maikel Nabil – or for speaking out – like Asmaa Mahfouz. What concrete actions will the EU take to invest in a truly new Egypt?

In Syria, an illegitimate government continues to kill people, and there are now threats to Europe concerning that might happen to us if we recognise the Opposition Council. Those threats were made, Mr Pöttering, by the Grand Mufti, and Syrians in the EU are also facing threats. It is up to the Syrian people to determine their own future, but we must protect their human rights and we are not doing enough. More pressure, and giving a clear choice to the economic elites that doing business with al-Assad means no business with Europe would be a good start. Let me specifically highlight the need to ban the export of surveillance, security and censoring technologies to countries that use them to violate human rights. In Bahrain, the prosecution of doctors in military courts for treating people indiscriminately shows disregard for human life. The world unitedly condemns that in the strongest terms. I also wanted to highlight the case of two bloggers that are imprisoned in Bahrain – Abduljalil al-Singace and Ali Abdulemam. Please highlight their cases too.

3-188-000

Rui Tavares (Verts/ALE). - Senhor Presidente, o maior desafio da política externa europeia não é a China nem os Estados Unidos, mas é o que está a acontecer do outro lado do Mediterrâneo, nos nossos vizinhos países árabes. Não porque nós combatamos as tiranias naqueles países, isso quem faz é o povo dos próprios países, mas porque nós temos um inimigo mais forte a combater, o nosso próprio passado, as nossas cumplicidades, as nossas colaborações com regimes autoritários.

Na Síria, onde até há pouco tempo trabalhámos numa espécie de abertura com o regime, que é um regime policial, e onde não fizemos o suficiente para ajudar os refugiados que estão na Síria e não estamos a fazer o suficiente agora para pressionar a Turquia para reconhecer os refugiados que vêm da Síria para a Turquia, no Egipto onde estamos outra vez a cair no mesmo truque de por causa de haver possível violência sectária cairmos nos braços dos militares. É importante investigar bem o que se passou porque pode haver dedo do regime militar na violência sectária no Egipto e do outro lado da Península Arábica, no Bahrein e no Iémen porque, Senhora Ashton, francamente, é preciso muito mais do que chamar o embaixador do Bahrein. O embaixador do Bahrein teve o descaramento de, nesta casa, nos dizer que os médicos que estão presos não estavam presos por tratar manifestantes, mas por estarem no hospital para lá do horário de expediente. É preciso falar com a Arábia Saudita e aí a coisa é muito mais difícil.

Finalmente, para terminar, é preciso dizer uma coisa: foi a Primavera Árabe que libertou o soldado Shalit, que a Sra. Ashton saudou, e deveria ter saudado também a libertação de Barghouti e de mais de mil palestinianos e a Primavera árabe que está a fazer mudar aquela parte do mundo é o nosso maior desafio neste momento.

3-189-000

Konrad Szymański (ECR). - Panie Przewodniczący! To wielki paradoks, że od czasu arabskiej wiosny sytuacja chrześcijan w Egipcie ulega pogorszeniu niemalże z każdym miesiącem. Atakowane są zgromadzenia wiernych, ponad 100 chrześcijańskich kobiet zostało porwanych, są one nierzadko gwałcone, zmuszane do przyjęcia islamu. Unia Europejska musi w tej sprawie działać szybko i jednoznacznie. Nasze ekonomiczne i polityczne wsparcie powinno być adresowane wyraźnie tylko do sił demokratycznych. Musimy sprzeciwić się odniesieniom do szariatu w egipskiej konstytucji. Wybory w tym kraju powinny odbyć się po zmianie konstytucji i trwać jeden dzień w skali całego kraju, tak aby uniknąć fałszerstw i zastraszania. Nasze milczenie w tych sprawach będzie oznaczało cichą zgodę na antychrześcijańskie czystki religijne i na pogrążanie się Egiptu w radykalizmie i destabilizacji.

3-190-000

Bastiaan Belder (EFD). - Sta mij een korte opmerking vooraf toe. Mevrouw de hoge vertegenwoordiger, ik sluit mij als voorzitter van de Israël-delegatie van harte aan bij uw gelukwens aan het adres van de ouders van Gilad Shalit, nu hij binnenkort na vijf jaar van gevangenschap en totaalisolatie vrijkomt. Daarom is dit een heuglijke dag.

Mijnheer de Voorzitter, op aangrijpende wijze heeft het Egyptische dagblad Al Masri Al Jung nauwkeurig verslag gedaan van het bloedbad dat het Egyptische leger zondagavond in Caïro volkomen onverwachts aanrichtte onder vreedzaam demonstrerende christenen. Telefonisch contact leerde mij gisteravond hoe diep de Kopten en christenen van andere kerken geschokt zijn. Een schrijnend gebrek aan bescherming van overheidswege tegen agressie van militante islamisten is in het Egypte van na Mubarak al meer een ontluisterend gegeven.

Maar het toekomstperspectief van Egyptische christenen kan nog donkerder worden. Dat leren de onheilspellende gebeurtenissen van begin deze week.

Mevrouw de hoge vertegenwoordiger, naar ik hoop stelt u alles in het werk om ervoor te zorgen dat er een werkelijk onafhankelijk en diepgaand openbaar onderzoek plaatsvindt naar de vreesaanjagende, dodelijke escalatie van geweld van zondagavond. Tegelijkertijd verwacht ik van de Europese Unie een krachtige, duidelijke stellingname tegen de dagelijkse veelvuldige maatschappelijke discriminatie van de christelijke minderheid in Egypte. De spreekwoordelijke Arabische lente moet immers voor haar, voor die minderheid, nog altijd aanbreken.

3-191-000

Andrzej Grzyb (PPE). - Panie Przewodniczący. Wysoka Przedstawiciel, byliśmy zaskoczeni gwałtownością zmian, które nastąpiły w Afryce Północnej, a w tej chwili jesteście z kolei zaskoczeni, że tam, gdzie staraliśmy się wesprzeć te ruchy, pojawiają się zjawiska przemocy. Tak jak ostatnio wobec egipskich Koptów. Ta społeczność różnymi kanałami próbuje do nas dotrzeć i mówić o tym, co się tam dzieje. Dostałem od tej społeczności np. zdjęcia – jest tu tylko 30 młodych dziewczyn, które zginęły i nie wiadomo,

gdzie są. Społeczności te twierdzą, że zostały one porwane. Takich przypadków jest podobno więcej. Ale mamy też do czynienia z tą ostatnią masakrą, która potwierdza, że tamtejsza sytuacja pogarsza się wobec tych mniejszości. A z drugiej strony jesteśmy tuż przed wyborami, które mają się tam odbyć i jesteśmy też przekonani, że odbędzie się również przygotowanie nowej konstytucji.

Więc jest to moment, w którym my Parlamentarzyści powinniśmy, jako społeczność międzynarodowa, jako Parlament reagować, aby te zmiany, które tam następują, uwzględniały nasze oczekiwania wobec nowych demokracji. Jeżeli mamy je wspierać, to powinniśmy je wspierać w taki sposób, aby standardy dotyczące mniejszości, które są rodzimymi mniejszościami, również były przestrzegane. To dotyczy wszystkich tych krajów, które dzisiaj były przedmiotem omówienia Pani Wysokiej Przedstawiciel.

Zgadzam się z tą opinią, że tragiczne wydarzenia nie powinny zahamować demokracji w Egipcie czy w innych krajach w tym regionie. Jednak jeżeli nie będziemy na to reagować jako społeczność międzynarodowa, to będzie bardzo trudno uzyskać tam standardy, których oczekujemy. Dziękuję.

3-192-000

Μαρία-Ελένη Κοττά (S&D). - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η αραβική άνοιξη, παρά το ελπιδοφόρο μήνυμά της, μετράει χιλιάδες νεκρούς. Στην Υεμένη, παρά την ανακοίνωση παραίτησης του Προέδρου Σάλεχ, οι ταραχές συνεχίζονται. Καθημερινά έχουμε βίαιες συγκρούσεις, μάλιστα πρόσφατα με θύματα γυναίκες που διαδήλωναν προς τιμήν της βραβευθείσας με το Νόμπελ Ειρήνης, Ταουακούλ Καρμάν.

Την ίδια στιγμή, στο Μπαχρέιν στρατιωτικά δικαστήρια διώκουν ακόμη και γιατρούς και νοσοκόμους, που έκαναν το καθήκον τους κατά τη διάρκεια των ταραχών. Το Κοινοβούλιο λειτουργεί χωρίς εκπροσώπηση της αντιπολίτευσης, ενώ οι μεταρρυθμίσεις που προωθεί η κυβέρνηση στοχεύει μόνο στο να μειωθεί η πολιτική ισχύς των Σιτών.

Όσον αφορά τη Συρία, από τις αρχές του Μαρτίου έχουμε, σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία του ΟΗΕ, πάνω από 3.000 νεκρούς. Η διεθνής κοινότητα δεν έχει καταφέρει να εκπέμψει εκείνο το μήνυμα που θα κάνει τον Άσαντ να υποχωρήσει. Η αναγνώριση, πάντως, από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση του εθνικού μεταβατικού συμβουλίου της Συρίας είναι ένα βήμα στη σωστή κατεύθυνση.

Για άλλη μια φορά η Ένωση καλείται να στηρίξει την προσπάθεια εκδημοκρατισμού των χωρών και να διαφυλάξει την ομαλή εφαρμογή των αλλαγών. Πρέπει να στείλουμε ένα ισχυρό μήνυμα ώστε να ανοίξει ο δρόμος για τη μακροπρόθεσμη σταθερότητα και ανάπτυξη των χωρών αυτών αλλά και συνολικά της ευρύτερης περιοχής.

3-193-000

Marian Harkin (ALDE). - Mr President, I want to thank the Vice-President/High Representative for her words here this evening. I will concentrate on Bahrain because I travelled to Bahrain a few weeks ago with a number of Irish medics and with the human rights organisation Front Line.

The specific connection was that a number of the medics who had been imprisoned had trained in Ireland and worked in Dublin. The Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin also have a huge facility in Bahrain and indeed they trained many of the doctors who were imprisoned. In this context I believe the College of Surgeons cannot continue to sit on the fence because they must do something about the totally unacceptable breaches of medical

neutrality. They have a duty of care to their former students and also to the medical profession as a whole.

I would also like to echo your words, Vice-President/High Representative, when you say that the civilian courts should now move to drop all charges. The Bahraini authorities cannot seek to legitimise the entire process simply by changing from military to civilian courts. Yes, it may look positive, and it is, but only on the surface. The arrests of the medics and the subsequent and well supported allegations of torture, with no access to family members or to legal advisers, cannot be legitimised, and all charges must be dropped.

We also have the situation where there are at least 80 people who remain in prison. Furthermore I would like to draw your attention to an extremely serious situation where a number of prisoners, including a man called Abdulhadi al-Khawaja, are on hunger strike. Again I mention Abdulhadi because he worked with Front Line human rights organisation in Dublin and was arrested when he returned to Bahrain. He is on hunger strike protesting at the severe mistreatment of a number of women who protested in the City Centre Mall. Vice-President/High Representative Ashton, I agree with you: real dialogue and real reforms are the only ways to achieve a long-term sustainable solution in Bahrain.

3-194-000

Ashley Fox (ECR). - Mr President, the Kingdom of Bahrain and the United Kingdom have a shared history rooted in friendship and cooperation, and that friendship, ranging from our military links to excellent trade relations and close diplomatic ties, has benefitted both our nations. However, in order to fulfil our role as a friend of Bahrain we must be honest and when things go wrong we must say so clearly. So we are now saying clearly to Bahrain that we demand respect for human rights and the upholding of political freedom.

The conviction and sentencing of 20 doctors and nurses who treated injured protestors was appalling. I am pleased that, following the intervention of the international community, the Bahraini Government has nullified those sentences. I agree with Ms Harkin that the prosecutions should now be dropped.

I welcome the establishment of an independent commission composed of international figures to look into the events of recent months and into allegations of human rights abuses, and I join with Baroness Ashton in saying that what Bahrain requires is a genuine dialogue between government and opposition. We look to the Bahraini authorities to take action to inject real confidence into that process.

3-195-000

Magdi Cristiano Allam (PPE). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il massacro dei cristiani in Egitto è soltanto l'ultimo atto di una lunga serie di atrocità che si perpetuano innanzitutto su un piano istituzionale, dove i cristiani sin dalla nascita vengono marchiati, comparando la menzione della religione su tutti i documenti ufficiali, e nel momento in cui la Costituzione afferma che in Egitto la religione ufficiale dello Stato è l'Islam e la sharia, la legge coranica, è la fonte principale della legislazione.

I cristiani oggi in Egitto sono il 10% della popolazione. Nel VII secolo erano il 99%. Dal 1945 dieci milioni di cristiani hanno abbandonato la sponda meridionale e orientale del Mediterraneo. Negli ultimi sei mesi 93.000 cristiani hanno abbandonato l'Egitto. Questa è pulizia etnica.

Io chiedo alla baronessa Ashton di andare al di là delle denunce e al di là di risoluzioni che non abbiano delle conseguenze e degli atti concreti. Se in Libia abbiamo pensato a bombardare quella popolazione, credo che in Egitto dobbiamo come minimo contemplare l'adozione di sanzioni per far rispettare i diritti fondamentali della persona e i valori assoluti e universali che sono la sacralità della vita, la pari dignità tra le persone e la libertà religiosa.

3-196-000

Tunne Kelam (PPE). - Mr President, the appalling fact of the latest massacre of Copts in Egypt is that it happened under the new interim government, only a month before what it is hoped will be free elections. This will cast serious doubts on the democratic prospects for Egypt.

Copts are among the oldest inhabitants of this ancient country and they participated actively, and in a spirit of solidarity, in demonstrations that put an end to the previous regime. The Egyptian revolution is – as you put it, Baroness Ashton – owned by all its citizens, including Copts. Now our External Action Service has to address this problem in a very forceful way, and I think we need to remind the new regimes that the basic criterion for democracy remains the establishment of secular constitutionalism. We need to indicate clearly that founding the constitutions of the revolutionary Arab countries on Sharia law is bound to legalise ongoing discrimination and the persecution of minorities. Democracy and human rights will not triumph if the constitutional starting point for the new regimes is fundamentally tilted in favour of a single dominant tradition.

3-197-000

Alf Svensson (PPE). - Herr talman! Är det någon gång som Europaparlamentets röst ska höras entydigt och klart så är det självfallet i sådana här sammanhang, det vill säga när mänskliga fri- och rättigheter kränks runt om i vår värld. Nu talar vi om Nordafrika och vi talar mer specifikt om vissa länder där. Minoriteten kopterna finns i Egypten, men vi vet att det finns fler minoriteter och det gäller att vi inte bara talar om detta vid ett tillfälle, utan att denna röst hörs ständigt och ihärdigt. Det är för övrigt också vad Lissabonfördraget kräver och förväntar sig av oss. Mänskliga fri- och rättigheter är inte något som vi ska påtvinga de här länderna, utan snarare något som ska lyfta dem.

Sedan kan jag inte låta bli att också erinra om hur det var när saudiska trupper kallades in i Bahrain. Det var faktiskt genant, för att inte säga famöst, att se de saudiska trupperna och stridsvagnarna komma in och mangla ner människor som törstade och hungrade efter frihet, med tanke på att det var vi i väst, om man med väst menar USA och Europa, som hade utrustat dessa trupper med stridsvagnar och vapen.

Detta hade vi gjort därför att vi satte stabilitet före demokrati, och jag tror att detta måste vara en lärdom för oss framöver: Att inte hålla stabiliteten så högt så att vi accepterar att demokratin trampas ner eller inte lyfts upp tillräckligt starkt och tydligt. För det har vi inte gjort och den eftertanken måste nu få utrymme och härska också framöver. Oljan fanns i Saudiarabien och finns där fortfarande, men demokratin måste också komma dit.

3-198-000

Laima Liucija Andrikiienė (PPE). - Mr President, in Yemen we observe a situation where initially peaceful protests against the rule of President Saleh have been overtaken by an increasingly violent power struggle among government forces and tribal militias. Anti-government demonstrations persist throughout major cities, the economy is

collapsing, violence is ubiquitous, shortages of electricity and fuel are evident and outlying provinces are no longer under government control, but in some cases in the hands of Islamic militants, some of whom are associated with al-Qa'ida.

Although Yemen's death toll is low in comparison with some other Arab Spring countries, this number has been rising, and if there is no immediate help from outside it could lead to the disintegration of the country and civil war. I would say to the High Representative that we should prevent this scenario from becoming a reality.

In Egypt, there is an alarming wave of concern regarding the Christian community's deteriorating conditions. We must stress the need for Egypt to ban all discrimination based on religion, language, gender or ethnicity. I would urge the High Representative to use all the instruments at her disposal to ensure that the rights of minorities are upheld and implemented and that the universal rights of peaceful protest and religious freedom are respected.

3-199-000

Zuzana Roithová (PPE). - Vážená paní vysoká komisařko, nedělní masakr křesťanů v Káhiře, za kterým stojí de facto dnes vládoucí egyptská armáda, je naprosto nepřijatelný. Překvapilo mne, že jste jej ve svém pondělním prohlášení jednoznačně neodsoudila jako zločinecký směr, kterým se nesmí Egypt v žádném případě ubírat. Souhlasím s Vámi, že je potřeba případ vyšetřit a konkrétní viníky dostat před soud. Ale protože to není jediný exces vůči Koptům, tak to nestačí. Je třeba politický akt. Dovoluji si Vás požádat, abyste důrazně varovala egyptské vůdce, že naše, tedy evropská podpora bude nekompromisně podmíněna zajištěním skutečné svobody náboženského vyznání a že islamizace provázená zabíjením Koptů je zločinem. Zločinem, proti kterému musí elity Unie rázně vystoupit a nedovolit jeho relativizování. Jinak ztratíme respekt.

3-200-000

Ana Gomes (S&D). - Mr President, the Arab Spring continues to flourish in the blood of all those who are falling from the bullets of the oppressive regimes of Bahrain, Yemen, Syria and, I must say, the armed forces of Egypt. However, as much as it flourishes in the brave men and women – like Tawakul Karman – who continue to rise up and fight against these oppressive regimes, it is our duty to understand this is not going to happen overnight. We have to support these people, show our solidarity and actively support them in many ways. We have to demand accountability; demand that our own governments do not continue to export weapons and other repressive instruments to these regimes and we have to find clever ways to mobilise and support the civil society that has been so brave.

We must do everything we can to make sure that these people hear our cry of solidarity. That can be done in many ways so that, together with the liberation of Gilad Shalit, the Arab Spring will bring about the liberation of all those Syrians, Bahrainis, Palestinians, Egyptians and Yemenis who are in jail.

We cannot conceal the fact that the regime of Saudi Arabia has tremendous responsibility in what is happening both in Bahrain and in Yemen. We need to also demand this kind of accountability from our own governments as regards relations with Saudi Arabia.

3-201-000

Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL). - São preocupantes os factos que já aqui foram debatidos e que se vivem em diferentes países da África e também do Médio Oriente. Mas eu queria aqui dar especial atenção à posição da União Europeia, sempre ambígua e sempre de dois pesos e de duas pedidas, porque, enquanto na Líbia as tropas e bombas e outro material bélico da União Europeia continuam a matar civis, no Bahrein ficaram calados quando a Arábia Saudita foi com as suas tropas esmagar as contestações populares ao regime e continuam sem ter uma intervenção firme quando assistimos a condenações de pessoas que intervieram nessas manifestações ou até de pessoal da saúde ou simples médicos que trataram os feridos.

Não podemos aceitar que isto continue e não podemos aceitar porque a Arábia Saudita tem petróleo ou porque no Bahrein está a quinta frota norte-americana, que os Estados Unidos façam dali a sua grande base estratégica, que isto sirva para a União Europeia se manter calada e, por isso, Senhora Vice-Presidente, lhe pedimos que mude de posição.

3-202-000

Anna Záborská (PPE) - Egypt nebude slobodný, pokiaľ v ňom kresťania a moslimovia nebudú mať rovnaké práva. Musíme rozhodne odsúdiť násilie, ktoré sa odohralo na námestí Tahrir len pred niekoľkými dňami. Buďme dôslední. Lady Ashton, naši diplomati musia egyptským partnerom pri každej príležitosti pripomínať, že Európa bude spolupracovať len so skutočne slobodným Egyptom. Ale zároveň vyzdvihnime snahy pápeža, Schenoudu III a veľkého imáma Ahmeda al-Tayeba o zmierenie a začatie náboženského dialógu. Národné zmierenie kresťanov a moslimov je cestou ku skutočnej slobode nielen v Egypte, ale aj v ďalších krajinách Arabskej jari. V uliciach Káhiry sa na odevoch ľudí objavili odznaky s krížom a polmesiacom, pod ktorými je nápis *Som Egyptan*. To vzbudzuje nádej a podporuje ju.

3-203-000

Mario Mauro (PPE). - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, i cristiani in Egitto sono vittime per l'ennesima volta di una lotta per il potere. Più in generale, tutte le vittime delle rivolte e delle rivoluzioni arabe rischiano di essere uccise due volte, perché, se magari dopo un ciclo di elezioni avremo in questi paesi Costituzioni che negano la libertà, negano i diritti ed esprimono norme discriminatorie, verrà tradita la ragione per cui tutta questa gente è scesa in piazza.

Ora, è chiaro che per esempio Dio non è presente nella Costituzione americana e in quella sudanese allo stesso modo. Dio non c'è nella Costituzione francese e non c'è neanche in quella cinese, ma il risultato non è lo stesso. Noi dobbiamo essere interlocutori credibili perché nella determinazione dei nuovi testi costituzionali ci si riconosca in valori comuni che garantiscano la libertà. Per questo l'Europa deve far sentire la sua voce, altrimenti rischiamo in questo momento di passare da regime a regime compromettendo quello che è stato fatto in questi mesi.

3-204-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - V poslednom období bolo vydaných niekoľko vyhlásení k situácii v Jemene a situácia je skutočne dramatická. Humanitárna kríza, problémy utečencov a vysťahovalcov, ale najmä problémy s podvýživou by mali vyvolať v našich radoch ešte viacej pozornosti.

Každému je jasné, že Únia sa teraz sústreďí na riešenie krízy v eurozóne, ale nemôžeme zabúdať ani na svoje medzinárodné záväzky a musíme byť v nich dôslední. V pondelok 10. októbra v Luxemburgu prijali ministri zahraničných vecí na stretnutí Rady ohľadom situácie v Jemene závery, ktoré sú v podstate správne, čo sa týka popisu situácie. V poslednom, piatom bode, kde sa hovorí o reakcii Únie voči humanitárnej a politickej kríze v Jemene, sú však závery vágne. Nestačí len reagovať na aktuálne udalosti. Nestačí len vyzývať všetky zúčastnené strany v Jemene, aby spravili všetko pre mierovú politickú transformáciu. Nestačí vyjadriť pohoršenie nad neprijateľnosťou humanitárnej situácie v krajine. Únia musí mať ambície prijať razantnejšie kroky smerom k ukončeniu jemenskej drámy. A to, pani viceprezidentka, platí aj pre ostatné krajiny, o ktorých v dnešnej diskusii hovoríme.

3-205-000

Catherine Ashton, *Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* . – Mr President, I would like to thank all the honourable Members who have spoken. I think there is a very clear message coming out from this Parliament tonight concerning the fundamental relationship between the countries in transition and their people and the need to protect human rights. In that context I am pleased to associate myself with all that has been said about the need to ensure that freedom of expression and freedom of religion and belief should be at the heart of the values held in each of the countries we have been discussing this evening – especially so in the light of the difficult situations and the violence we have seen in Egypt.

I also agree with what has been said about the need to continue our engagement with civil society in the four countries we have been discussing this evening. That is something that we put – and that I put – at the forefront of the work of our delegations and of my own work. It is an enormous pleasure to meet those brave people, many of them women, who have been at the forefront of change and who are seeking the kind of society and the kind of freedoms they see that we in the European Union enjoy. We know that, if we can work collaboratively with them, we can help to engage in that process.

I do believe, as I said earlier tonight, that there is a very special role for this House to play in that process, and I urge all the honourable Members to take up that challenge too, and be willing to engage with civil society – engage with those looking for a new political process, engage with those who are looking for what I have described as ‘deep democracy’ – and offer them your support.

I agree that, in our new strategy for our neighbourhood, the ideas of mutual accountability and ‘more for more’ are really significant. They enable us to support those moving forward on reform, those in civil society and those local organisations and ordinary people who are willing their leadership on to change, and also to support those who are privileged to serve in leadership positions who likewise choose to move forward with reform, to support the economy and the kind of democratic institutions and deep democracy that we wish to see, and to keep that idea of accountability in mind.

We are responsible to the people for delivering what we say we will deliver; those in leadership are responsible for doing what they said they were going to do; and that mutual accountability should, I believe, govern the relationship we have with these countries across our neighbourhood into the future.

I have put out 11 statements on Bahrain, I have put out a number of statements on other countries, and I understand the frustration of feeling that sometimes we use words when we need to seek action. That is also why we need to keep working in the Human Rights Council and in the Security Council, supporting our colleagues in civil society who are seeking change, and making not just statements but also contacts and links in order to say what we know to be true. In Bahrain, that means saying that those who offer medical care should be treated as the heroes and heroines they are, and should not be treated badly by the regime. In Syria, it means saying that those who are trying to come together to provide alternative leadership need to be supported in doing so. In Yemen, it means saying that those who wish to see President Saleh finally do what he said he would also need to be supported, not just with the humanitarian aid we have provided, but also with the full range of support which we can offer.

I know that honourable Members are concerned about the situation in this region and especially in Egypt, a country that has all the potential to be a true and great democracy. It has the potential to throw off the shackles of the past 30 years and grow into the kind of country that the people who stood together day after day in Tahrir Square – people of all faiths, all beliefs and all views, men and women, young and old – have fought for. That is what we have to help the people of Egypt actually to achieve.

3-206-000

President. – The debate is closed.

The vote will take place at the October II part-session.

Written statements (Rule 149)

3-207-000

Elena Oana Antonescu (PPE), în scris. – Sprijin această rezoluție și îmi exprim speranța că represiunile violente din Bahrain, Egipt și Yemen vor înceta. În momentul în care un lider sau o clasă conducătoare alege violența pentru a se menține la putere, legitimitatea deciziilor sale are foarte mult de suferit. Când printre victime se regăsesc femei și copii nevinovați, situația trebuie condamnată la unison de către toți cei care cred în valorile democrației, în libertatea de expresie și în dreptul unui cetățean de a-și contesta propriii conducători.

3-208-000

Elena Băsescu (PPE), în scris. – Continuarea violențelor în Yemen, Siria și Bahrein este profund îngrijorătoare. Recentele atacuri asupra comunității creștine din Egipt constituie un motiv suplimentar de preocupare. Ele sunt un semn al tulburărilor profunde care încă mai există în societate. Utilizarea violenței nu este calea pentru a reconstrui statul pe fundamente democratice. Consider că reacția armatei egiptene la manifestația pașnică a creștinilor copti reprezintă o demonstrație de forță periculoasă. Tensiunile inter-religioase pot destabiliza Egiptul și întreaga regiune. Pentru a le evita, autoritățile egiptene au datoria să facă lumina asupra acestor incidente. Trebuie clarificat și rolul televiziunii naționale, care a transmis informații voite eronate, cu efect de agravare a situației. Solicit Înalțului Reprezentant să accentueze aceste aspecte în dialogul cu autoritățile egiptene.

3-209-000

Corina Crețu (S&D), *în scris* . – Îmi exprim aprecierea față de desemnarea activistei yemenite pentru drepturile femeilor și pentru democrație, Tawakkul Karman, între cele trei laureate ale Premiului Nobel pentru Pace din acest an. De altfel, acordarea prestigiosului premiu acestor militante pentru drepturile femeilor reprezintă o recunoaștere și un stimul pentru rolul activ asumat, în ciuda riscurilor, pentru promovarea ideii unei societăți pașnice și juste. Din păcate, duminică, peste 40 de femei au fost rănite în Yemen, în cursul unei manifestații ce marca atribuirea Nobelului compatrioatei lor. Este o agresiune primitivă, elocventă pentru climatul de violență și teroare în care trăiesc femeile yemenite.

Condamn ferm acest gen de atacuri și solicit Uniunii Europene să fie mai drastică în apărarea drepturilor omului, inclusiv ale femeilor. Un asemenea act demonstrează că în Yemen nu este vorba doar despre plecarea de la putere a președintelui Saleh. După cum violențele împotriva creștinilor din Cairo și epurarea confesională din Irak arată că detronarea dictatorilor rămâne doar o premisă firavă a democratizării, pe care suntem datori să o susținem mult mai mult.

3-209-500

Proinsias De Rossa (S&D), *in writing* . – I must voice my concern at the recent arrest and unfair trial before a military court of 47 doctors and nurses in Bahrain. Their crimes were no more than to treat injured demonstrators who were brought to the hospital, and to protest to the Minister of Health at the refusal to send ambulances to collect the injured. There are also serious and credible allegations of torture. Among the doctors and nurses currently on trial are three doctors who studied at the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, Dr Ali Al Ekri, Dr Basim Daif and Dr Ghassan Daif. All three were arbitrarily detained, held incommunicado in detention, reportedly tortured, denied access to their families for two months and forced to 'confess' under duress. These 'confessions' were videotaped while they were blindfolded and are being used in evidence against them. The EU must do everything in its power to ensure that the Bahraini authorities: release all human rights defenders currently in detention; drop the charges against all 47 doctors, nurses and technicians; overturn the conviction of human rights defenders; end the unfair trials; and bring those responsible for torture to justice.

3-210-000

João Ferreira (GUE/NGL), *por escrito* . – Os manifestantes que, há poucos dias, voltaram à Praça Tahir para exigir à Junta Militar que governa o Egípto (e onde se incluem os ex-responsáveis do regime de Hosni Mubarak) que transfira o poder, revogue o estado de emergência, altere a lei eleitoral e cumpra as promessas de melhoria das condições de vida da população, foram violentamente desalojados pelas forças especiais do regime. A repressão da legítima indignação popular ainda é das poucas coisas certas no Egípto.

Forças sociais e políticas egípcias têm alertado para o facto de a situação no país piorar de dia para dia desde o referendo em que os militares reclamam ter legitimado a sua governação. Denunciam a liberdade manietada, as manifestações criminalizadas, a violência da polícia civil e militar, o julgamento de civis em tribunais militares e as milícias reaccionárias, assim como a recusa de o governo não querer aumentar o salário mínimo e impor um salário máximo, ao mesmo tempo que aumenta preços e insiste em vender barato recursos nacionais como o gás. Neste cenário, é importante que a UE inverta a postura de complacência e cumplicidade que manteve durante quase duas décadas com o

regime de Mubarak, bem patente nas parcerias e acordos assinados, apesar das denúncias frequentes de diversas organizações quanto à brutalidade do regime.

3-210-500

Jacek Olgierd Kurski (ECR), *na piśmie* . – Alois Brunner to wysokiej rangi oficer SS, prawa ręka Adolfa Eichmanna, człowiek, który od 1939 roku odpowiadał za masowe wywózki i eksterminację polskich, czeskich, a później francuskich i bałkańskich Żydów. To jemu przypisuje się rolę kata Żydów na Słowacji i w Bułgarii. Po wojnie ścigany przez międzynarodowe organy, uniknął kary za swoje zbrodnie przeciw ludzkości. Alois Brunner zdołał się ukryć w Syrii, gdzie tworzył i budował siły bezpieczeństwa reżimu Assadów. Hitlerowski zbrodniarz, który odpowiada za mordowanie setek tysięcy Europejczyków, jest ojcem służb, które topią dziś we krwi ulice Himsu, Hamy, Damaszku, Latakii i wielu innych miast Syrii. Represje i brutalne tortury dotyczą młodych i starych, kobiet i mężczyzn. Po zdobyciu kolejnych miast armia przystępuje do ich oczyszczania, wyłapując osoby zaangażowane w protesty. Wielu z aresztowanych już nie wraca, a znajdowane ciała pozbawione są narządów wewnętrznych wyciętych na sprzedaż. Jak donoszą izraelskie źródła, organy transportowane są do centrów przeszczepów w Turcji. Dziś cała Unia powinna jednym głosem potępienia zareagować na wydarzenia w Syrii. Gdy w Libii trwały demonstracje, szybko uchwalono strefę zakazu lotów. Gdy reżim Assada katuje naród syryjski, świat milczy, odwracając głowę. Europa musi za wszelką cenę dążyć do pokoju w Syrii oraz wywierać proreformatorską presję na prezydenta Assada.

3-211-000

Bogdan Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz (PPE), *na piśmie* . – Panie Przewodniczący! Obserwując sytuację na Półwyspie Arabskim, niepokoję się o realia państw dotkniętych serią antyrządowych protestów o tak ogromnym rozmiarze. Tysiące ludzi zginęło w wyniku zamieszek, a jeszcze więcej zostało rannych. Do chwili obecnej sytuacja nie pozostawia złudzeń co do zaciętości konfliktu, czego dowodem może być wydarzenie sprzed kilku dni („Mężczyźni opłacani przez reżim prezydenta Jemenu Ali Abdullaha Saliha zaatakowali kamieniami i butelkami uczestników demonstracji z okazji przyznania Pokojowej Nagrody Nobla jemeńskiej dziennikarce Tawakkul Karman, raniąc 40 kobiet.”).

Wyjątkowy stan, w jakim znalazły się obydwie państwa, zaburza funkcjonowanie ich na wszystkich poziomach, łamane są prawa człowieka, dlatego należy doprowadzić do rozwiązania konfliktu między grupami opozycyjnymi a władzami. Konieczne jest zapanowanie pokoju oraz porozumienia między stronami oraz zaprzestanie przez rząd ataków na ludność cywilną. Apeluję do władz Jemenu i Bahrajnu o pokojowe zażegnanie konfliktu oraz zapewnienie obywatelom wolności i swobód obywatelskich. Niepokojące są również działania Al-Kaidy na wcześniej wspomnianych terytoriach, np. zamach na ministra obrony Jemenu, który dowodził ofensywą wojskową skierowaną przeciwko Al-Kaidzie. Walka z terroryzmem oraz zapewnianie bezpieczeństwa w tym rejonie świata powinny odbywać się zgodnie z zasadami ochrony praw człowieka. Należy apelować o zaprzestanie arbitralnych pobić i aresztowań. Unia Europejska może odegrać dużą rolę, podkreślając konieczność rzeczywistego wprowadzenia różnorodnych inicjatyw politycznych celem poparcia pro-demokratycznych reform w krajach arabskich.

3-211-005

Radvilė Morkūnaitė-Mikulėnienė (PPE), *raštu* . – Besitęsianti įtempta situacija Artimuosiuose Rytuose kelia didelį nerimą. Ne tik dėl dabarties, bet ir dėl ateities. Su viltimi

laukiame lapkričio 28-osios rinkimų Egipte, tikėdamiesi stabilumo ir demokratijos vystymosi šioje valstybėje. Tačiau pastarųjų mėnesių tendencijos - civilių areštai ir tai, kad jie teisiami kariniuose teismuose, pastarasis susidūrimas su krikščionių protestuotojais, išpuoliai prieš Izraelio ambasadą, rodo, kad įtampa auga. Sąmoningai ar ne, eskaluojamas Egipto susiskaldymas. Dabartinė vadovybė privalo užtikrinti visų egiptiečių, įskaitant ir religines mažumas, pagrindines teises, spręsti įtampos tarp religinių bendruomenių klausimą. Privalu išsiaiškinti, kas atsakingas dėl 25 protestuotojų mirčių per pastarąjį susirėmimą, ir kaltuosius patraukti atsakomybėn. Egipte vis dar galioja ypatingoji padėtis - apribotos žiniasklaidos, susirinkimų laisvės. Deja, bet sunku įsivaizduoti pasirengimą demokratiškiems rinkimams tokiomis sąlygomis. Atsakomybė už šios situacijos pataisymą tenka laikinajai karinei Tarybai, kuri kol kas dar turi pasaulio demokratijų pasitikėjimo kreditą.

3-211-003

Tokia Saifi (PPE), *par écrit*. – Les événements qui se sont déroulés ce dimanche en Egypte sont totalement inacceptables, et je les condamne fermement. Il est du devoir des autorités égyptiennes de protéger les citoyens quelle que soit leur appartenance confessionnelle. La situation au Yémen me préoccupe également. Le refus du président Saleh de respecter l'accord conclu avec les états du Conseil de coopération du Golfe n'est pas de nature à mettre fin aux violences quotidiennes qui touchent ce pays. La situation humanitaire est catastrophique, et ce depuis beaucoup trop longtemps. Je me réjouis, comme vous Madame la Haute Représentante, de l'attribution du prix Nobel de la paix à cette jeune militante yéménite Tawakkol Karman, qui a joué un rôle de premier plan dans le déclenchement, en début d'année, des manifestations estudiantines à Sanaa, et ce toujours de manière pacifique. C'est un signe de soutien qui est ainsi envoyé aux manifestants qui aspirent à plus de liberté, de justice et de dignité. Il faudra encore du temps à ces pays en révolution ou en transition pour s'inventer un avenir démocratique. Il est de notre responsabilité d'accompagner ces peuples dans la construction de la société qu'ils se choisissent.

3-211-002

Csanád Szegedi (NI), *írásban*. – Súlyos aggodalommal tölt el a Bahreinben és Jemenben kialakult helyzet. A sorozatos bahreini zavargások, illetve a rohamrendőrség ezekre adott erőszakos reakciója nyugtalanító. Nagyszámú sérültről, kiskorú halálos áldozatokról esik szó a híradásokban, ami elfogadhatatlan számomra. Jemenben a rendkívül erős terroristaveszélyt érzem a legnagyobb problémának, melynek megoldását nem mozdítják elő az ország vezetéséért folyó megmozdulások. Szorgalmazom a helyzet rendezése érdekében történő mielőbbi diplomáciai fellépést az Európai Unió részéről.

3-211-004

Dominique Vlasto (PPE), *par écrit*. – Madame la Haute-Représentante, le printemps arabe n'est pas terminé, le combat pour la liberté continue dans la péninsule arabique. Le traitement infligé aux populations syrienne, yéménite et bahreïnienne m'a choquée et émue. Je me félicite donc que la Vice-présidente de la Commission dénonce formellement l'attitude des régimes autoritaires locaux, manifestement aux abois face au soulèvement populaire. La répression sanglante des manifestations pacifiques et l'emprisonnement arbitraire de membres de l'opposition marquent l'irresponsabilité de ces dirigeants. L'Union ne peut tolérer que de telles atteintes à ses valeurs fondamentales soient commises impunément. Nous devons donc veiller à ce que tous les responsables soupçonnés de violations des droits de l'homme rendent compte de leurs actions. J'insiste pour que l'Union

accompagne la transition démocratique au Proche-Orient pour soutenir les aspirations populaires légitimes. A ce titre, je salue la position des Etats européens qui font pression auprès de l'ONU pour l'adoption d'une résolution du Conseil de Sécurité sur la question. Il est temps de traduire dans nos actes notre engagement de soutenir les peuples désireux de démocratie au lieu de favoriser la stabilité des régimes qui la dénie. C'est le devoir historique des Européens.

17. Current developments in Ukraine (debate)

3-213-000

President. – The next item is the debate on the statement by the Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy on current developments in Ukraine

3-214-000

Catherine Ashton, *Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* . – Mr President, honourable Members, I have no doubt that everyone in this House will join me in expressing condemnation about the verdict against Yulia Tymoshenko pronounced in Ukraine yesterday. I issued a strong statement on behalf of the European Union at that time and I fully share the views that were expressed in President Buzek's statement at the same time.

There is no doubt that the prosecution of Yulia Tymoshenko was politically motivated. Her conviction yesterday followed a trial which did not respect international standards as regards a fair, transparent and independent legal process. Regrettably her case is not an isolated one in the Ukraine. Several other members of her government have been prosecuted and convicted in the same way.

These judicial proceedings have been criticised not just by Ukraine's partners, but by independent monitors and experts. This is not acceptable for a country which holds the Chairmanship of the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe, or for a country which claims to share our fundamental values.

Selective and politically motivated justice is not the European way. Governments are accountable to their electorates and their political decisions should be judged through the ballot box, not through the courts. This principle is a cornerstone of our democracies. There is absolute unity among the Member States of the European Union that the Ukrainian authorities must allow for swift and comprehensive appeals, without limitations to the right to stand in the parliamentary elections next year.

I was interested to see that President Yanukovich has expressed unhappiness with the Criminal Code in Ukraine and recognises the need for change but frankly that is not enough. It does not excuse the authorities from the responsibility to guarantee a process which is fully in line with international standards.

Ukraine also needs to press ahead with critical reforms to the constitution and adopt an electoral law which reflects a cross-party consensus in parliament. A level playing field is essential if we are to see credibility and confidence restored in Ukraine.

The year 2011 was to have been one of unparalleled opportunity and development in EU-Ukraine relations. Our aim was to sign an association agreement, including a deep and

comprehensive free trade area, by the end of the year. That agreement has been conceived not as a gift to Ukraine, or a gift to Europe, but as a mutually beneficial contract sharing our values and standards, opening our markets, modernising and diversifying the Ukrainian economy and entrenching the rule of law and fundamental freedoms. It would have been the first of its kind under the renewed European Neighbourhood Policy and the reinvigorated Eastern Partnership, whose leaders, as honourable Members know, met only 10 days ago in Warsaw and reconfirmed their commitment to closer political association based on these common values.

I believe that the offer of concluding an association agreement should remain on the table. Yulia Tymoshenko herself asked us to carry on with the technical work on the association agreement. Both citizens in the European Union and in Ukraine stand to benefit, and it offers the Ukrainian Government the roadmap for transformation that the country needs. So I believe that we should not walk away from the technical negotiations but continue with the aim of having before us on the table a document which makes it clear to both sides what is possible – and also what could be lost.

But we can only sign such an agreement if we are convinced that the Ukrainian leadership believes in the values on which it is based, and is committed to upholding. It is clear that this House would not accept such an agreement if it did not have this conviction.

Tomorrow, I will be meeting both President Van Rompuy and President Barroso, and Ukraine is on our agenda. Of course we will review the contacts with Ukraine, including those political dialogues and continue to send the clear messages to the leadership on the systemic problem they need to face in re-establishing the rule of law.

As friends of the Ukrainian people, we owe it to them to spare no effort to help Ukrainian leaders take the right decisions. It is clear to us what they are and I believe it is also clear to the people of Ukraine what they are.

3-215-000

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ANNY ΠΟΔΗΜΑΤΑ

Αντιπρόεδρος

3-216-000

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, *on behalf of the PPE Group* . – Madam President, the future of EU-Ukraine relations is at stake at this moment. The sentencing of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko must be condemned. Her trial is politically motivated and did not meet even minimal European standards. Ukraine's European aspirations require that it practise European values of democracy and the rule of law. That is not currently what is happening there.

If the Ukraine Government continues on its path of sabotaging political opposition and abusing power, it will put the country's economic and European prospects at risk. Yulia Tymoshenko should be acquitted and released, and should enjoy full political and civic rights as of now. The verdict, if it is not annulled, will have consequences for the implementation of the EU-Ukraine stabilisation and association agreement.

Nevertheless, negotiations on the stabilisation and association agreement should be completed and the document should be initialled as planned under the Polish Presidency in December. Subsequently its signature and ratification could be declined if no changes

take place in Ukraine. Ukraine will thus be made aware of what it might lose. More importantly, however, the Union will, at the same time, be sending a positive signal to Ukraine as a nation and to its people who have legitimate European aspirations.

3-217-000

Hannes Swoboda, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Hohe Beauftragte, ich kann das, was Sie gesagt haben, im Namen meiner Fraktion voll unterstützen. Die Ukraine muss sich bewusst sein, wohin sie gehen möchte. Möchte sie den Weg nach Europa gehen, dann ist das an bestimmte Voraussetzungen geknüpft, nämlich die Grundsätze unserer Rechtsordnung zu akzeptieren und sie auch umzusetzen.

Meine Fraktion lehnt jede Art eines kriminellen Prozesses ab, eines Gerichtsverfahrens, das den Anschein der politischen Verfolgung hat. Wir haben Vermutungen, dass in Ungarn Dinge passieren, die nicht völlig dem Rechtsstandard entsprechen, wenn gegen Herrn Gyurcsány Verfolgungen angestrebt werden. Wenn wir das kritisieren, dann können wir nicht akzeptieren, was jetzt in der Ukraine passiert.

Wir haben einen gemeinsamen Rechtsstandpunkt, und das heißt, Gerichtsverfahren nach ordentlichen europäischen Prinzipien und nicht als Racheakt einer Regierung. Alle in diesem Haus wissen, dass wir versuchen, gute Arbeitsbeziehungen, gerade auch mit der Partei der Regionen, zu haben, und dass wir die Bemühungen der Ukraine, den europäischen Weg zu gehen, sehr stark unterstützen. Wir werden alles daran setzen, dass das auch fortgesetzt werden kann.

Deshalb stimme ich auch mit dem Kollegen Saryusz-Wolski überein. Wir sollten die Verhandlungen fortsetzen. Aber unsere Fraktion wird ein klares Signal nach Kiew senden: Das sind nicht die Voraussetzungen, um dieses Verhältnis zwischen der Europäischen Union und der Ukraine auf ein besseres und höheres Niveau zu setzen. Die Stimme muss klar und deutlich vernommen werden, und wir werden das auch als Sozialdemokratische Fraktion tun.

3-218-000

Johannes Cornelis van Baalen, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Madam President, the ALDE Group too considers it vital that we arrive at a situation in which Ukraine and the European Union work more closely together, so in principle we favour an association agreement – but an association agreement alone, which is not considered to be a first step to anything else such as membership.

Let us be honest, the due process of law is also vital in any association agreement with Ukraine, and I agree with the High Representative that the prosecution of Mrs Tymoshenko was not, let me say, an example of European thinking and acting.

We must be clear what it is we are asking Ukraine explicitly to do now; we must be very clear. I have heard that a meeting is foreseen between President Barroso and President Yanukovich, at which I think the High Representative will also be present. Is that meeting still on the agenda, and if so what will the Ukrainian President be asked to do? Will it be to change the law under which Ms Tymoshenko was sentenced? Or an appeal, and if so under what conditions? Or a pardon? What are we going to ask for and in what timeframe?

I agree that we should negotiate further, but we should also be clear as to what will be done if the association agreement is ready but the Tymoshenko case has not been resolved. I await an answer.

3-219-000

Rebecca Harms, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion* . – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrte Catherine Ashton! Ich möchte eine Vorbemerkung machen, gerade weil wir über die Ukraine diskutieren, nachdem wir über den arabischen Frühling geredet haben. Die Europäische Union hat ja viel aufzuarbeiten in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Ländern südlich des Mittelmeers. Viel zu lange sind Diktaturen von uns respektiert worden, und wir haben bedingungslos kooperiert. Man sollte aber alles das, was man jetzt gegenüber der Ukraine tut, im Lichte dieser Verantwortung und der negativen Erfahrung, die arabische Völker mit uns auch gemacht haben, bewerten.

Ich bin – und das sage ich für meine Fraktion – ausdrücklich für dieses Assoziierungsabkommen zwischen der Europäischen Union und der Ukraine. Dieses Abkommen kann wirklich dazu dienen, dass gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Beziehungen stabiler werden und dass das Leben für die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer besser wird. Es ist meine tiefe Überzeugung, dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Ukraine sich dieses Assoziierungsabkommen durch ihr Engagement für die demokratische Entwicklung wirklich erkämpft und verdient haben. Dass der Fall Tymoschenko jetzt zu einer Belastung der eigentlich verbesserten Beziehungen zwischen der Europäischen Union und der Ukraine wird, ist sehr bedauerlich. Aber es muss sein aus den Gründen, die alle Vorredner einheitlich geschildert haben.

Ich möchte aber noch darüber hinausgehen und darauf aufmerksam machen, dass nicht nur Frau Tymoschenko, sondern etliche der Mitglieder ihrer ehemaligen Regierung ebenfalls vor Gericht stehen. Ich möchte darauf aufmerksam machen, dass, bevor diese Verfahren eröffnet worden sind, in der Ukraine Hunderte von Richtern und Staatsanwälten ausgewechselt worden sind. Das verstehe ich nicht als die demokratische Reform des Justizsektors.

Ich möchte darauf aufmerksam machen, dass es in der Ukraine nach wie vor keinen wirklich guten und unabhängigen Mediensektor gibt, und dass es sehr schwer ist, Meinungsvielfalt zu garantieren.

Alles das führt dazu, dass wir jetzt hart sein müssen. Ja, wir verhandeln weiter, aber wir machen auch deutlich, dass die Bedingungen für eine Unterschrift von unserer Seite, für eine Zustimmung des Europäischen Parlaments zum Assoziierungsabkommen, in der Tat von den demokratischen Entwicklungen in der Ukraine abhängen.

Frau Tymoschenko gehört zur Parteienfamilie der Christdemokraten in Europa. Herr Janukowitsch verfügt mit seiner Partei der Regionen über einen Beobachterstatus bei den Sozialdemokraten in Europa. Ich finde, beide Parteienfamilien haben eine große Verantwortung dafür, jetzt dafür zu sorgen, dass es demokratische Verhältnisse zwischen Regierungskräften und Oppositionskräften gibt. Es wäre mir ein großes Anliegen, wenn das klappt.

3-220-000

Marek Henryk Migalski, *w imieniu grupy ECR* . – Dziękuję bardzo Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowna Pani Komisarz! Jeśli dobrze zrozumiałem naszą dyskusję, to w tej materii

wszystkie grupy polityczne zgadzają się z tym, co Pani Komisarz powiedziała. To znaczy, że – z jednej strony, ze strony Parlamentu Europejskiego – jest stanowcze potępienie tego procesu i tej sytuacji, w jakiej znalazła się pani Tymoszenko.

Z drugiej strony jednocześnie wspieramy i kontynuujemy nasz wysiłek przybliżania Ukrainy do struktur europejskich, czego wyrazem będzie próba podpisania układu stowarzyszeniowego. I w tej materii, jak rozumiem, na tej sali jest consensus, jest porozumienie. Ale jednocześnie, jak rozumiem, to porozumienie powinno być kontynuowane, z tej sali powinien być jasno sformułowany głos do Kijowa, że nie będzie akceptacji dla tego typu traktowania opozycji. I jeśli, Ukraina poważnie myśli o integracji z Unią Europejską, to takie praktyki nie mają prawa mieć miejsca, ponieważ sprawa integracji Ukrainy z Unią Europejską jest ważniejsza niż niekompetencja kilku polityków i stronniczość kilku sędziów.

3-221-000

Andreas Mölzer (NI). - Frau Präsidentin! Unter Tymoschenko und ihren Mitstreitern versandete bekanntlich die Orange-Revolution in Missmanagement und Profilierungsneurose. Möglicherweise gibt es ja wirklich allerhand Gründe, Frau Tymoschenko zu verurteilen, aber muss sie deswegen wirklich ins Gefängnis? Ihr wurde nicht etwa Korruption nachgewiesen, vielmehr wurde sie wegen des Inhalts des angeblich für die Ukraine nachteiligen Gasabkommens verurteilt. Genau deshalb ist das politisch motivierte Urteil mit unseren Rechtsprinzipien nicht vereinbar.

Die Verurteilung Tymoschenkos war ja klar absehbar als politischer Vernichtungsschlag und Vorwand für die Kündigung des Gasvertrags. Janukowitsch mag eine Konkurrentin damit ausgeschaltet haben, seinem Land hat er aber sicherlich einen Bärendienst erwiesen. Einerseits wird das Urteil von Moskau als antirussisch eingestuft, das ist klar, und Kiew ist ob der Gasabhängigkeit gezwungen, sich mit den Russen zu arrangieren. Andererseits wird mit dem Urteil bewusst eine Belastung der EU-Verhandlungen in Kauf genommen.

Die EU muss sich also gut überlegen, ob als Protest wirklich das Assoziierungsabkommen auf Eis gelegt werden muss, und damit ein Rückschlag für die östliche Partnerschaft in Kauf genommen werden kann.

3-222-000

Michael Gahler (PPE). - Frau Präsidentin! Der politische Prozess und das Urteil gegen Julija Tymoschenko sind ein Schlag gegen Demokratie und Rechtsstaatlichkeit in der Ukraine. Frau Tymoschenko muss daher sofort freigelassen werden. Empört sind insbesondere diejenigen in unserer Fraktion, die diesem Land die europäische Perspektive eröffnen, ja sogar langfristig die Mitgliedschaft nicht ausschließen wollten.

Unsere europäischen Werte teilen die derzeit in Kiew politisch Verantwortlichen und ihre Hintermänner erkennbar nicht. Politische Entscheidungen strafrechtlich zu sanktionieren, mit dem Ziel der Zerschlagung der Opposition, ist nicht akzeptabel. Frau Tymoschenko hätte 2004 für den Wahlfälscher Janukowitsch ja auch ein Gerichtsverfahren inszenieren können. Sie hat das nicht getan, sondern sich politisch mit ihm auseinandergesetzt.

Präsident Barroso sollte sich nächste Woche gegenüber Janukowitsch sehr deutlich positionieren. Wir können keinen Vertrag mit einem Partner schließen, bei dem der Text des Vertrags so eklatant von der Wirklichkeit vor Ort abweicht. Das ist die Realität heute.

Für die Zukunft ist derzeit nicht absehbar, dass die Verantwortlichen in Kiew und die Firtaschs und Choroschkowskijs dieses Landes sich durch die detaillierten Regelungen des Assoziierungs- und Freihandelsabkommens stören lassen. Sie wollen weiterhin Gerichte willkürlich besetzen, sich die Institutionen des Landes für parteiliche und oligarchische Zwecke zu Nutzen machen und unseren Investoren Hindernisse in den Weg legen, damit ihre eigenen Kreise möglichst wenig gestört werden.

Wenn es bis nächste Woche keine konkreten Schritte zur Herstellung von Rechtsstaatlichkeit nach europäischen Maßstäben aus Kiew gibt, sollte sich Präsident Barroso überlegen, ob es tatsächlich genug Gesprächsstoff mit Herrn Janukowitsch gibt. Präsident Ilves hat heute in Tallinn ein Gespräch mit Außenminister Hryschtschenko abgesagt.

3-223-000

Marek Siwiec (S&D). - Czy zdarzyło się tak, że mamy do czynienia z powtórką z greckiej tragedii? Czy zdarzyło się tak, że wszyscy mają swoje racje, wszyscy stoją przy tych racjach? Bo przecież jakąś rację mają władze Ukrainy, które mówią: „walczymy z korupcją, podejrzewamy była panią premier, która była szefem opozycji, o poważne zarzuty korupcyjne”. Mamy rację my, mówiąc o tym, że to jest poniżej jakichkolwiek standardów, aby szef opozycji siedział w więzieniu wraz z siedmioma byłymi ministrami tego rządu.

Wszyscy mają swoje racje, a gdzieś za boku zostaje wielki proces historyczny, jakim jest zbliżenie Ukrainy poprzez umowę stowarzyszeniową z Unią Europejską. W tej trudnej sytuacji, w której nie widać zbieżnych punktów, uważam, że trzeba rozmawiać do końca. To nie Unia Europejska powinna być instytucją, która zamknie drzwi. Tym bardziej uważam, że sensowne i potrzebne jest to, aby przyjąć prezydenta Janukowycza w Brukseli i rozmawiać, przekazać mu wszystkie racje, które stoją za naszym rozumowaniem.

Jeżeli miałyby się zdarzyć tak, że gdzieś na samym końcu, ta umowa nie zostanie z jakiegokolwiek powodu podpisana, to największy zwycięzca i najbardziej zadowolona osoba, będzie siedziała na Kremlu, bo tak naprawdę wtedy zwycięży rosyjska racja stanu. Dziękuję.

3-224-000

Cristian Dan Preda (PPE). - Aș vrea să pornesc de la o întâmplare petrecută ieri. În Comisia pentru afaceri externe tocmai avea loc o discuție cu ministrul ucrainean, Konstantin Grișenko, care încerca să îi convingă pe membrii comisiei că în Ucraina justiția e independentă, și tocmai atunci a picat vestea că fostul prim-ministru, Iulia Timoșenko, a fost condamnată la șapte ani de închisoare. E o situație ușor suprarealistă și asta nu ne aduce aminte decât de tipul de judecată și de asumare a responsabilității din vremea stalinismului. De altfel, nu puțini sunt comentatorii care au calificat procesul Iuliei Timoșenko ca un proces stalinist.

Și atunci, dacă lucrurile stau așa, mă întreb de ce trebuie să continuăm să facem ceea ce facem de câteva luni bune. Noi am spus ceea ce spunem astăzi în momentul arestării Iuliei Timoșenko. Ianukovici nu a fost deloc sensibil la acest discurs, și atunci de ce să punem problema continuării unor negocieri pentru un acord de asociere, când unul din parteneri este, de fapt, un stalinist?

În opinia mea, negocierea acordului de asociere trebuie blocată. Doar un asemenea semn politic foarte clar poate să îl facă pe Ianukovici să înțeleagă poziția noastră. Pentru că altfel, dacă vom continua să ținem aceste discursuri și să spunem: „hai să ne vedem cu Ianukovici,

hai să îi mai explicăm o dată”, mă tem că ne va păcăli, așa cum Stalin i-a păcălit pe unii dintre occidentali mulți, mulți ani de-a rândul.

3-225-000

Kristian Vigenin (S&D). - Mr President, it is very unfortunate that the verdict against the former Prime Minister of Ukraine comes at such decisive moment. It casts a shadow on all efforts made by the current government to bring the country closer to the EU.

The seven-year prison sentence for Ms Tymoshenko rightly provoked an outrage throughout the EU and its Member States. However, against the political correctness I want to be honest in this debate, and I am speaking on my own behalf here.

Is the sentencing of Ms Tymoshenko really political revenge, or was it really an end to impunity in Ukraine? Was the sentence of seven years a shocking abuse of the law, or can we simply not imagine the scale of the abuse of power and the damage to the country? When we call for a fair and objective trial, do we really mean that, or do we mean 'release Tymoshenko'? For me, the answers to these questions are not self-evident.

Let us put aside the emotions, let us not be too quick in rejecting the EU aspirations of the Ukraine. Let us help both the government and Ms Tymoshenko find a solution so that the rule of law is preserved but the political process and the next elections are not called into question. I call on the President Yanukovich to take the situation seriously and to respond adequately to our concerns.

3-226-000

Krzysztof Lisek (PPE). - Dziękuję bardzo, Pani Przewodnicząca. Pani Wysoka Przedstawiciel, serdecznie przepraszam, że nie zwróczę się do Pani, ale to tylko dlatego, że podpisuję się obiema rękami, pod tym, co Pani powiedziała i popieram wszystkie tezy, które zawarła Pani w swoim wystąpieniu.

Po pierwsze, chciałem zwrócić się do narodu ukraińskiego i powiedzieć, że będziemy wspierać jego aspiracje i marzenia o tym, aby stać się częścią wspólnoty zachodnio-europejskiej.

Po drugie, chciałem zwrócić się do prezydenta Janukowicza. Panie Prezydencie, ma Pan szansę wejść do historii, ale albo jako ten, który podpisze niezwykle ważne porozumienie z Unią Europejską, które będzie istotne dla przyszłości Pana narodu, albo wejdzie Pan do historii, wypełniając czarne karty i dołączy do Aleksandra Łukaszenki, bo już nie jest daleko od tego, co się stało z Julią Tymoszenko, do praktyk białoruskich.

Chciałem też zwrócić się do tych, którzy, jak się niekiedy mówi, mają olbrzymi wpływ na politykę ukraińską: do panów: Achmetowa i Firtasza. Jeżeli myślicie Panowie, że będziecie robić interesy z Unią Europejską i zachodnimi firmami i jednocześnie popierać i pozwalać na tego typu łamanie podstawowych zasad demokracji, to się mylicie. Będziemy pamiętać o tym, co robicie.

I na koniec chciałem się zwrócić do pana sędziego Kiryjewa, który wydał ten wyrok. Panie Sędzio, Sędziowie, którzy robią to, co Pan zrobił z Białorusi, są objęci dzisiaj zakazem wjazdu do Unii Europejskiej. I Pan jest niezwykle blisko do tego typu decyzji.

3-227-000

Bogusław Sonik (PPE). - Pani Przewodnicząca! Niedopuszczalnym jest, aby kraj pretendujący w przyszłości do członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej, obierający proeuropejski kierunek swojego dalszego rozwoju, nie spełniał podstawowych norm demokratycznego państwa prawa. Komitet Helsiński niejednokrotnie zresztą bił na alarm w sprawie łamania europejskiej konwencji praw człowieka, której Ukraina, jako członek Rady Europy, powinna bezwzględnie przestrzegać.

Nieprzejrzystość ukraińskiego prawa doprowadziła bez wątpienia do politycznego wyroku wobec pani Julii Tymoszenko. Rzuca to cień na dalszy proces stowarzyszeniowy Ukrainy z Unią Europejską. Jeżeli Ukraina nie zmieni swojej mało wiarygodnej polityki, dalsze rozmowy stoją pod znakiem zapytania, o co już apeluje wielu zaniepokojonych tymi wydarzeniami przedstawicieli Unii Europejskiej, a także tej Izby. Przypomnę rezolucję Parlamentu Europejskiego z dnia 9 czerwca 2011 roku, która w punkcie A mówi, że Unia Europejska sprzyja stabilnej i demokratycznej Ukrainie, która przestrzega zasad praworządności, ochrony mniejszości oraz praw człowieka, a także gwarantuje prawa podstawowe, mając na uwadze rzetelne, bezstronne i niezależne procesy prawne. Są to niezbędne warunki dalszego rozwoju stosunków między Unią Europejską a Ukrainą.

3-228-000

Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D). - Tisztelt Ashton Asszony! Kedves Kollégák! A jelenlegi ukrán vezetés megfontolatlanul és politikai indítékoktól vezettetve indított bírósági eljárást Julija Timosenko ellen. Ez elfogadhatatlan! Ez egyszerre veszélyezteti Ukrajna Európához való közeledését és az orosz-ukrán viszonyt. Rendkívül vitatható egy volt kormányfő bíróság elé állítása és elítélése azért, mert gazdasági, politikai döntéseket hozott. Az igazságot természetesen ki kell deríteni! A választásokon a szavazók már egyszer ítéletet mondtak Timosenko felett, amikor nem lett többé kormányfő. Elfogadhatatlan mindaz, ami ezzel kapcsolatosan Ukrajnában történt és történik. Figyelmeztető azonban, és fölhívnam Ashton asszony figyelmét arra, hogy van olyan uniós ország, ahol szintén koncepció per indult volt kormányfő, Gyurcsány Ferenc ellen Magyarországon.

Ez a tagállam sajnálatos módon éppen az én hazám. Ahol tavaly – Ukrajnához hasonlóan – szintén megindult az igazságügy átpolitizálása. Ez az Európai Unión belül és közvetlen szomszédságában egyaránt elfogadhatatlan.

3-229-000

Kristiina Ojuland (ALDE). - Madam President, disregard of the rule of law in the trial of Yulia Tymoshenko is deeply disappointing. However, before influencing the conclusion of the association agreement with the Ukraine we should keep in mind that there are several political games being played simultaneously in both Kiev and Moscow. Have the Ukrainians really shot themselves in the foot or is there a hint of the good old *divide et impera*?

Hindering progress towards the association agreement also seems to work for the Kremlin. Ukraine is already being held hostage by an economically unreasonable gas contract, and driving a wedge between the EU and Ukraine pushes the country towards greater dependence on Russia. I support the conclusion of the association agreement despite setbacks because this is in the interests of the European Union and especially in the interests of the people of Ukraine.

3-230-000

Charles Tannock (ECR). - Madam President, the Tymoshenko ruling is a travesty: the charges were politically motivated and the sentence shows that President Yanukovich believes the world will stand idly by while he imprisons his political opponents through the use of selective justice. This cannot be allowed to happen on our doorstep.

I am one of Ukraine's closest friends and I sincerely want to see the country move closer to the European Union. However, the actions of President Yanukovich are doing a great disservice to his people by jeopardising Ukraine's deep and comprehensive free trade area and visa liberalisation agreements. Yanukovich foolishly believes that this kind of neo-Soviet behaviour, using Stalin-era legislation, is acceptable in the modern era.

I last saw Yulia Tymoshenko earlier this year and she was very concerned about her future. The world will now be watching to ensure that she is treated humanely and that her right to appeal is honoured by the judicial system, which is clearly not independent in Ukraine.

The EU should continue to engage with Ukraine by telling its Government the truth: that manipulating the judiciary is totally contrary to our values.

3-231-000

Jaroslav Paška (EFD) - Aktuálny vývoj u našich ukrajinských susedov nám opäť dáva dôvody na diskusiu o tom, či dokážeme našim priateľom dostatočne zrozumiteľne tlmočiť naše stanoviská a presviedčať ich, že nie všetky kroky, ktoré pri svojich politických šarvátkach robia, je možné považovať za zlučiteľné s našimi demokratickými zvyklosťami.

Proces s bývalou predsedníčkou vlády, pani Juliou Tymošenkovou, však okrem iného vedie aj k spochybneniu dlhodobých kontraktov o transporte plynu z Ruska do krajín Európskej únie. Každý, kto si spomína na koniec roka 2009, keď viaceré krajiny boli uprostred zimy bez tepla, oprávnene cíti, že náš dialóg s ukrajinskou a ruskou stranou by mal byť v tomto období omnoho intenzívnejší. A to najmä preto, aby sme sa opäť nestali obeťami dlhodobých obchodných sporov našich dvoch východných partnerov Ukrajiny a Ruska. Popri apeloach na slušnosť a demokraciu v politike u pána Janukoviča, by sme, myslím si, mali pridať už aj apel na slušnosť a korektnosť v zmluvných vzťahoch, a to tak voči Rusku ako Ukrajine.

3-232-000

Димитър Стоянов (NI). - Госпожо Председател, доста съм озадачен тази вечер в пленарната зала. Чух някои колеги от ЕНП да произнасят присъди.

Извинявайте колеги, ние сме в парламентарна зала. Ако толкова много искате да произнасяте присъди, напуснете Парламента, отидете и станете съдии и там ще произнасяте колкото искате, ако щете оправдателни, ако щете осъдителни присъди.

Не искам моите думи да се тълкуват погрешно. Аз не заемам позиция дали госпожа Тимошенко от Украйна е виновна, или невинна. Аз имах честта да се срещна с нея преди една година. Но аз си знам мястото. Аз съм парламентарист и не мога да раздавам присъди. Вие твърдите, че не трябва да има натиск спрямо украинската съдебна система и аз съм съгласен с това. Затова нека ние да спрем този натиск. Но колеги, не се заблуждавайте, ако един човек е откраднал сто евро и той подлежи на съдебен процес, то и един политик, който е нанесъл щети за милиарди евро на своя народ, трябва също да подлежи на съдебен процес. Отговорността не може да е само политическа.

(Ораторът прие да отговори на въпрос сина карта (член 149, параграф 8 от правилника)

3-233-000

Charles Tannock (ECR). - Mr President, is Mr Stoyanov suggesting that we, as a democratic body, do not have the right to challenge a corrupt judiciary which uses justice selectively to topple a democratically-elected politician and to stop her standing for public office in future against the incumbent President of Ukraine? That is absurd. If we see miscarriages of justice, or we suspect that the laws being used come from the Stalinist era, then it is our duty and responsibility to point this out to everybody in the world. I am shocked that Mr Stoyanov thinks otherwise.

3-234-000

Димитър Стоянов (NI). - Господин Таннок, и българският наказателен кодекс е от 1968 г., но все още е в действие, не е обявен от Българския Конституционен Съд за противоконституционен и всички разпоредби в него, които са свързани с предишното комунистическо управление са отменени. Така е и в много други страни от Източна Европа. Нашето законодателство продължава да е от времето на комунистическите режими.

Аз не казвам, че ние нямаме право да критикуваме съдебната система на Украйна. Но за мен е неприемливо един член на Европейския парламент да става и да казва, че някой трябва да бъде „незабавно оправдан“. Ние не сме съдии, а законодатели.

3-235-000

Andrzej Grzyb (PPE). - Pani Przewodnicząca! Wiele na tej sali padło słów, które wyrażają solidarność z narodem ukraińskim, troszczą się o europejską przyszłość Ukrainy i ją wspierają, ale nie do pogodzenia jest to z faktem, że pani Julia Tymoszenko miała proces, który był dyktowany przede wszystkim logiką politycznego odwetu oraz próbą eliminacji z życia publicznego i politycznego. I to stoi u podstaw tego protestu, który się pojawia na tej sali. Z drugiej strony jesteśmy przekonani, że ten dorobek w negocjacjach z Ukrainą, który został osiągnięty oraz możliwości Ukrainy są ważne, dlatego chcemy, aby proces ten był kontynuowany, aż do podpisania tego układu o stowarzyszeniu, układu o strefie wolnego handlu. Natomiast postawa obecnych władz Ukrainy będzie decydowała o tym, i tutaj się w pełni zgadzam z panem posłem Saryuszem-Wolskim, czy ten proces powinien być kontynuowany w procesie ratyfikacji.

3-236-000

Csanád Szegedi (NI). - Több mint nyugtalanítók azok a folyamatok, amik Ukrajnában elindultak az elmúlt időszakban. És evvel kapcsolatban nem csak a Timosenkót övező kétségekről kell beszélni, hanem beszélni kell arról a mérhetetlen korrupcióról, ami Ukrajnában van. Beszélni kell arról, hogy nemcsak Timosenkót, hanem az egész ellenzékét ki akarják iktatni. És természetesen beszélni kell az Ukrajnában élő kisebbségeknek az elnyomásáról. Többek között a kárpátaljai magyarságról, amelynek legszentebb emlékművét, a Vereckei-hágón lévő honfoglalás-kori emlékművet, honfoglalási emlékművet többször meggyalázták már ebben az évben is. Szeretném visszautasítani Tabajdi képviselő társamnak és Swoboda úrnak azt az egyszerűen nevetséges összehasonlítását, hogy Gyurcsány Ferencet Timosenkóval hasonlítsák össze. Ne tévesszük össze Piroskát a farkassal!

Gyurcsány egy bukott diktátor. Timosenko soha nem lövetett volna a saját népére. Timosenko soha nem szólította volna az ukránokat, hogy szavazzanak a határon túli ukránok állampolgárságával szembe. És Timosenko soha nem nyert hazugsággal választást.

3-237-000

Csaba Sógor (PPE). - Én is óva inteném képviselőtársaimat, hogy párhuzamot vonjanak az ukrainai igazságszolgáltatás és európai uniós tagországok igazságszolgáltatása között. Gondoljunk csak arra, hogy nemcsak Magyarországon, Franciaországban is volt államfő perben van. De akár említhetném Izland, vagy Horvátország esetét. Ukrajna az elmúlt időszakban bizonyította többszörösen, hogy nemcsak az igazságszolgáltatás, de az emberi jogok területén is némi kívánnivalót hagy maga után, hiszen kisebbségekhez tartozó egyéneket – akik nem volt államfők vagy miniszterelnökök, csak egyszerű ukrán polgárok – fosztott meg anyanyelv-használati jogaitól oktatásban és közigazgatásban.

Ellenben amiben javasolnám képviselőtársaimnak, hogy vonjanak párhuzamot, az az, hogy az Unió akkor tud hatékonyan és hitellel fellépni Ukrajnával szemben, hogyha a területén, az Unió területén levő tagállamok megszüntetik a kollektív jogokat büntető, kisebbségek elleni törvényeket. Ha megszüntetik azokat a rendelkezéseket, amelyek nyelvtörvények és más törvények, más diszkriminatív jellegű törvények formájában sújtják az európai uniós polgárokat.

3-238-000

Catherine Ashton, *Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* . – Madam President, I will be brief because so many of the contributions either echoed my original words or reflected the underlying sentiments in my original statement.

The critical thing for Ukraine now is to take seriously the need to move on what we have been saying about the need for a fair, transparent and independent legal process. That, I would argue, is the core of this debate. Commentators among Ukraine's partners and in independent bodies have made clear that this process did not live up to international standards. That is the basis upon which we need to move forward, and the Ukrainians need to move forward.

I hope that we will see a swift appeals process that will enable that to be the basis upon which decisions are made by the courts. The honourable Members have made very eloquent statements. I will just echo one, which is that we know that it is in the interests of the people of Ukraine to move forward with an association agreement with us and to take forward the values which we hold dear and which the members of the Ukrainian Government claim to wish to see as well. I believe that they should reflect carefully on the very eloquent words of this Parliament tonight, and I look forward to their reacting positively to your comments and to mine.

(Applause)

3-239-000

Πρόεδρος. - Η συζήτηση έληξε.

Η ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί στο Στρασβούργο, στη δεύτερη ολομέλεια του Οκτωβρίου.

Γραπτές δηλώσεις (άρθρο 149)

3-240-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D), písomne . – Aktuálna politická situácia na Ukrajine - usvedčenie bývalej premiérky a líderky opozície p. Tymošenkovej, jej odsúdenie na sedem rokov väzenia, zákaz zastávať verejné funkcie na obdobie troch rokov a povinnosť vyrovnat straty Naftogaz - jasne poukazuje na naliehavú potrebu modernizácie zastaraného súdnictva na Ukrajine. Napriek skutočnosti, že ostatná opozičná líderka sa dopustila závažných chýb, ktoré poznačili ekonomiku Ukrajiny, Európska únia musí byť pripravená poskytnúť pomoc a podniknúť kroky, ktoré by prispeli k modernizácii právneho systému a posilnili postavenie Ukrajiny ako právneho štátu. I v prípade tohto súdneho procesu sa totiž vynárajú pochybnosti o jeho transparentnosti a nestrannosti. Vzniknutú situáciu na Ukrajine nesmieme brať a v konečnom dôsledku neberieme v Európskom parlamente na ľahkú váhu. A tak, ako je dôležité vynakladať snahu pre vyvarovanie sa vzniku podobných situácií v budúcnosti, je zároveň dôležité prostredníctvom modernizovaného nestranného súdnictva zabezpečiť spravodlivý súdny proces, nie proces s politickým pozadím. Je nevyhnutne potrebné spolupracovať na vytvorení podmienok pre posilnenie európskeho integračného procesu Ukrajiny na základe spoločných hodnôt, rešpektovania práva a uplatňovania európskych demokratických štandardov.

3-241-000

Filip Kaczmarek (PPE), na piśmie . – Szanowni Państwo! Skazanie Julii Tymoszenko może bardzo utrudnić relacje Ukrainy z Unią Europejską. Szanujemy suwerenność Ukrainy i rozumiemy odmiennosć systemów prawnych w różnych krajach. Jednocześnie trudno jest zrozumieć i zaakceptować wyrok w sprawie byłej pani premier. Jeden z naszych litewskich kolegów stwierdził, że gdyby wprowadzić zasady karania za kupowanie zbyt drogiego gazu z Rosji, to na Litwie trzeba by uwięzić kilku byłych premierów. Obawy, że motywacje stojące za wyrokiem miały charakter polityczny, są w Europie powszechne. Dlatego apeluję do władz ukraińskich, aby rozważyły wszystkie możliwe rozwiązania, które pozwoliłyby na wyjście z tej kłopotliwej dla wszystkich sytuacji.

3-241-500

Elisabeth Köstinger (PPE), schriftlich . – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Hohe Vertreterin, mit der Verurteilung von Julia Timoschenko hat sich die Ukraine einen Schritt von der EU entfernt. Ich stimme der Hohen Vertreterin und einigen meiner Vorrednerinnen und -redner in Ihren Ausführungen zu und sehe eine klare politische Motivation hinter dem Urteil. Die Europäische Union muss sich nun die Frage stellen, inwieweit ein solches Vorgehen für die Beziehungen zwischen der EU und der Ukraine förderlich ist. Wenn die Ukraine ihren eingeschlagenen Kurs fortsetzt und die Werte und Grundsätze eines gemeinsamen Europas links liegen lässt, dann wird dies nicht zu einer Annäherung beider Parteien beitragen. Die Position der EU ist und muss hier eine eindeutige sein. Die Geschehnisse um Frau Julia Timoschenko werden die Verhandlungen zu einem Assoziierungs- sowie zu einem Handelsabkommen sicherlich beeinflussen, das steht außer Frage. Man sollte allerdings nicht soweit gehen, die Verhandlungen von vornherein als für beendet zu erklären. Das wäre das falsche Signal. Ich stimme dem Ansatz meines Kollegen Herrn Saryusz-Wolski zu, die Verhandlungen fortzuführen um zu einem Abschluss zu gelangen. Mit der Ratifizierung könnte dann zugewartet werden. Eines der Grundprinzipien der EU ist die Wahrung der Rechtsstaatlichkeit. Diese müssen wir ohne Wenn und Aber verteidigen und von unseren Partnern auch einfordern.

3-242-000

Iosif Matula (PPE), *în scris*. – Dezbateră de astăzi asupra arestării fostului prim-ministru ucrainean Iulia Tymoșenko este oportună, în perspectiva evenimentelor recente din Ucraina. Uniunea Europeană trebuie să transmită un mesaj ferm și coordonat către autoritățile ucrainene, privind respectarea separării puterilor în stat. Climatul actual de la Kiev poate genera consecințe grave pentru relațiile dintre UE și Ucraina, în perspectiva încheierii unui acord de asociere. Este important ca guvernul de la Kiev să se angajeze într-un proces de tranziție către democrație și, implicit, către Uniunea Europeană.

Trebuie să avem în vedere faptul că situația Iuliei Timoșenko nu este singulară. Numărul din ce în ce mai mare de anchete derulate în cazul unor lideri politici importanți, membri ai opoziției politice din Ucraina, ridică semne serioase de întrebare asupra imparțialității acestor anchete.

Exemplele din Ucraina, un stat european, vin într-un an, 2011, în care statele din nordul Africii fac pași importanți spre democrație. Ca și garant european al principiilor și valorilor democratice, UE nu poate și nu trebuie să stea pasivă în cazul implicării politicului în justiție.

18. Παρεμβάσεις ενός λεπτού επί σημαντικών πολιτικών ζητημάτων

3-244-000

Πρόεδρος. - Το επόμενο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη είναι παρεμβάσεις διάρκειας ενός λεπτού.

3-245-000

János Áder (PPE). - Másfél éve fogadta el az Európai Parlament a cianidos bányászati technológiák betiltására vonatkozó határozatát, még hozzá óriási többséggel: 488 igen és 48 nem ellenében. Ebben a határozatban az Európai Parlament felszólította a Bizottságot, hogy 2011 végéig – tehát ennek az évnek a végéig – terjessze elő határozati javaslatát. Október közepét írjuk, és sehol semmi. Semmilyen előterjesztés a Házhoz még nem érkezett. Két kérdést kell feltennünk. Az első kérdés: mikor kívánja a Bizottság a javaslatot előterjesztetni? A második kérdés: vállalja-e a Bizottság a teljes politikai, erkölcsi és anyagi felelősségét annak, ha netán a késlekedés következtében egy újabb környezeti katasztrófa következik be bárhol Európában?

3-246-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Na minulotýždňovej konferencii o uplatňovaní Charty základných práv som v svojom príspevku hovorila aj o tom, že Európsku úniu vnímam ako úniu základných práv. Medzi základné práva patrí bezpochyby aj právo občanov Rumunska a Bulharska na vstup do schengenského priestoru, avšak za jedny z najdôležitejších považujem práve sociálne práva.

Sociálne práve by sme mali mať na zreteli práve v tomto období, v období ekonomickej, finančnej a hospodárskej krízy. Lebo kto sú tí, ktorí na následky krízy najviac doplácajú. Nie sú to bankovní manažéri, ani špekulanti či obchodníci na finančných trhoch. Sú to najmä zamestnanci a príslušníci takzvanej strednej vrstvy. Neoliberálny trhový mechanizmus dostal väčšinu týchto ľudí do veľmi ťažkej situácie. Považujem preto za neprijateľné, aby sme dnes dávali do popredia rekapitalizáciu bánk a nehovorili o potrebe zlepšenia sociálnej situácie v Európe.

3-247-000

Niccolò Rinaldi (ALDE). - Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, ieri abbiamo ricevuto una delegazione di cittadini che si definiscono "indignati". Alcuni hanno fatto un lungo percorso per arrivare a Bruxelles, qualcuno addirittura è arrivato a piedi dall'Islanda.

Indignarsi è esattamente l'opposto di cinismo, di indifferenza e di rassegnazione. È un modo non violento e trasparente per richiedere che l'attuale crisi europea sia affrontata premiando le Istituzioni europee assertive, protagoniste, non alla mercé dei governi nazionali, ma soprattutto per affrontare questa crisi con veri strumenti di partecipazione popolare.

L'Unione europea dovrà affrontare scelte difficili, anche impopolari. L'incontro di ieri è stato breve ma significativo, perché è emerso che occorre approfittare di questa crisi per rivoltarsi contro la frammentazione tribale dell'Europa, di un'Europa che stenta ad avere una visione comune, ma soprattutto che occorre coinvolgere pienamente i cittadini in processi dai quali fino ad oggi si sentono esclusi.

3-248-000

Catherine Grèze (Verts/ALE). - Madame la Présidente, après la participation et le succès électoral de Sortu, la preuve a été faite que l'expression politique du mouvement basque est bien la bonne voie. Aujourd'hui, nous sommes à un tournant décisif pour le processus de paix au Pays basque.

Il y a tout juste deux semaines, une commission internationale de vérification a été créée, chargée d'évaluer et de contrôler le cessez-le-feu déclaré par l'organisation ETA, elle-même décidée à collaborer avec cette commission. Cette commission est composée d'experts de haut rang en médiation et en désarmement, reconnus internationalement pour leur neutralité.

Chers collègues, en tant qu'Européens, nous avons une responsabilité à mettre tout en œuvre, à faire tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour résoudre le dernier conflit au sein de l'Union européenne. Je voudrais dès lors interroger la Commission européenne et lui demander comment elle entend reconnaître la commission internationale de vérification et soutenir cette dernière comme interlocuteur-clé de résolution du conflit?

3-249-000

Miguel Portas (GUE/NGL). - Uma vasta recapitalização da banca está actualmente em marcha e ela ocorre poucos meses depois de os testes de *stress* terem feito passar, com distinção, a grande maioria dos bancos europeus. Um deles, o banco Dexia, classificou-se até em 12.º lugar e o seu principal administrador recebeu um prémio, um bónus de 600 mil euros. Afinal era tudo mentira!

Pela segunda vez em três anos o banco Dexia pede para ser salvo com o dinheiro dos contribuintes europeus. E nós temos de ter a noção clara de quão tolerantes temos sido com o sistema financeiro e é por isso que, sinceramente, dou toda a razão aos indignados que, de Nova Iorque a Lisboa, de Atenas a Madrid, se manifestam. Eles não saberão muito de mercados financeiros, mas têm uma coisa essencial: sede de justiça.

3-250-000

Csanád Szegedi (NI). - Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Tisztelt Képviselőtársaim! Mindannyian emlékezhetünk arra, hogy pár évvel ezelőtt, 6-7 évvel ezelőtt a jelenleg Szerbia részét képező Vajdaságban tömeges magyarverések voltak szélsőséges szerbek részéről. És úgy látszott, hogy ez az időszak talán le tud záródni, de az ebben az évben sajnálatos módon újrakezdődtek azok a fenyegetések, aminek egyértelmű célja az etnikai arányok erőszakos megváltoztatása. Falakra írják ki, fiatalokat vernek meg és falakra írják ki, hogy a magyarok meneküljenek el Szerbiából, az nem az ő otthonuk. Sokkal súlyosabb ennél, hogy a szerb állam is állami szintre emelte a magyargyűlöletet és egy olyan kollektivizáló, kollektív bűnösséget felhozó, felmelegítő törvényt hozott, amely jelenleg a kárpótlással foglalkozik, és mind a magyarokat, mind pedig a svábokat kizárja a kárpótlással élhető emberek köréből.

Én nagyon remélem, hogy az Európai Unió befejezi azt a kettős mércét, amit eddig alkalmazott és végre nem csak a szexuális kisebbségeket fogja védeni, vagy nem csak éppen akkor ejtünk krokodilkönnyeket, amikor az olaszországi vagy franciaországi cigányokról van szó, hanem akkor is, amikor egy jelenleg csatlakozásra váró országban ilyen antidemokratikus, diktatórikus, diszkriminatív törvényeket hoznak életre.

3-251-000

Elena Băsescu (PPE). - Eu am ales să vorbesc despre cazul Iuliei Timoșenko la procedura „one-minute”, deoarece foarte mulți colegi au cerut cuvântul la dezbaterile anterioare.

Sentiința abuzivă pronunțată ieri împotriva Iuliei Timoșenko este o confirmare a faptului că i-a fost intentat un proces politic. Este tot mai evident că scopul este eliminarea definitivă a fostului premier de pe scena politică. Procesul a fost lipsit de transparență și nu s-a bazat pe probe veritabile. Diplomaților europeni le-a fost interzis accesul în sala de judecată. În aceste condiții, puterea de la Kiev nu mai este credibilă când își afirmă dorința de a coopera cu UE.

Acest fapt va avea cu siguranță consecințe asupra încheierii acordului de asociere UE - Ucraina. Bunele relații cu Uniunea nu înseamnă doar liberalizarea vizelor sau facilitarea schimburilor comerciale. Înainte de toate, înseamnă respectarea principiilor democrației și statului de drept, pe care este fundamentat Parteneriatul estic, din care Ucraina face parte.

3-252-000

Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D). - Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az Európai Unióban a szociális partnerek bevonása a törvénykezésbe alapvető norma. Miközben a megszorítás politikája rendkívüli módon sújtja a munkavállalókat Európa-szerte, így Magyarországon is, a magyar kormány ezt tovább tetézi: támadást intézett a munkavállalói jogok ellen is. Az új magyar munkajogi szabályozás előkészületei a színpalak mögött átláthatatlan módon, a szociális partnerekkel folytatott hivatalos konzultáció mellőzésével zajlanak, ami ellentétes az európai normákkal. Jellemző, hogy az uniós munkaidő-irányelv tervezetét az európai szociális partnerek írhatják. Kérem az Európai Bizottságot, gyakoroljon nyomást a magyar kormányra, hogy a Munka Törvénykönyvének módosítása során vegye figyelembe az alapvető európai normákat és tartsa tiszteletben a magyar munkavállalók alapvető jogait.

3-253-000

Marisa Matias (GUE/NGL). - Há, de facto, episódios que mais valia fazerem parte do catálogo dos absurdos e o que se passou ontem é um desses episódios. Um conjunto de jovens de várias partes da Europa encontra-se em Bruxelas no âmbito do movimento dos

indignados, e eurodeputados desta casa convidaram-nos para com eles se reunirem e discutir as suas ideias. O que aconteceu foi que, a pedido do Parlamento Europeu, a polícia anti-motim belga e as forças de segurança deste Parlamento montaram um dispositivo altamente desproporcionado para que esses jovens não pudessem entrar nesta casa. E tanto rigor securitário surtiu efeito porque apenas sete cumpriram os critérios suficientes para entrar aqui e dizer para o que vinham. Eu não compreendo esta medida, indignada me confesso, devo dizer, Senhora Presidente. Este Parlamento é a casa da democracia, não deve ter medo dos cidadãos, e afinal qual era a ameaça? A ameaça de pensarem de forma diferente daquilo que é o sistema dominante de pensamento desta casa? Isso não se chama *ameaça*, chama-se *riqueza da democracia* e eu espero que nos indignemos todos - e muito - no próximo dia 15.

3-254-000

Monika Smolková (S&D) - Vo svojom vystúpení chcem upozorniť pani komisárku pre spravodlivosť, základné práve a občianstvo, pani Viviane Redingovú, na rezolúciu, ktorú prijala Európska asociácia sudcov 4. septembra tohto roku na adresu slovenskej ministerky spravodlivosti. Medzinárodná inštitúcia odmietla reformné kroky v súdnictve. Kritizuje spôsob výberu sudcov komisiami úplne ovládanými vládnu koalíciu. Kritizuje presun práva na podávanie návrhov na disciplinárne stíhanie sudcov na ministerku a tiež kritiku súdnych rozhodnutí zo strany predstaviteľov slovenskej výkonnej a zákonodarnej moci. Rezolúcia je hanbou pre súčasnú vládu na Slovensku. Aj keď včera jej slovenský parlament vyslovil nedôveru a čakajú nás predčasné voľby, Komisia by mala reagovať. Za reakciu stojí aj ústavným súdom pozastavenie účinnosti zákona o prokuratúre, ktorý mal úplne ovládnuť nezávislú prokuratúru a riadiť ju z kresla ministerky.

3-255-000

Krišjānis Kariņš (PPE). - Cienījamā priekšsēdētājas kundze! Šajā zālē mēs ļoti bieži runājam, ka dažādās pasaules malās un valstīs jāievieš taisnīgums. Bet, kolēģi, mums ir jāgādā par to, lai taisnīgums atrastos arī mūsu pašu Eiropas Savienībā! Konkrēti, Eiropas Komisijas piedāvājums nākamajā daudzgadu budžeta ietvarā lauksaimniecības un kohēzijas politikā ir klaji diskriminējošs pret Latviju un Baltijas valstīm. Piemēram, kamēr kohēzijas politikā Eiropā kopumā ir plānots pieaugums par 8%, Latvijā samazinājums kohēzijas politikā ir paredzēts par 20% — par piekto daļu! Tāpat lauksaimniecības politikā tikai puse. Kolēģi, mēs visi atrodamies vienotā tirgū, mēs nevaram pieļaut šādu tirgus kropļošanu. Mums jāievieš taisnīgums kohēzijas un lauksaimniecības politikā gan Latvijai, gan pārējām Baltijas valstīm. Paldies par uzmanību!

3-256-000

PRÉSIDENCE DE MME ISABELLE DURANT

Vice-présidente

3-257-000

Petru Constantin Luhan (PPE). - În propunerea prezentată de Comisia Europeană privind politica de coeziune 2014 - 2020 este menționată ca noutate concentrarea asupra grupurilor vulnerabile și acordarea a 20% din alocațiile Fondului Social European pentru acțiuni vizând incluziunea socială.

Excluderea socială, lipsa locului de muncă și sărăcia sunt direct legate între ele. Am văzut însă că, inclusiv în centralizarea ținutelor fixate pentru fiecare stat, așa cum au fost stabilite de acestea în cadrul programelor lor naționale de reformă în aprilie 2011, se precizează că rezultatele în ceea ce privește reducerea numărului populației expuse riscului sărăciei nu pot fi calculate la nivelul Uniunii Europene din cauza diferențelor de metodologii utilizate în statele membre.

Este nevoie, așadar, de linii comune, de metodologii și instrumente care să facă posibilă incluziunea socială. Lipsa lor va conduce la evitarea abordării acestui subiect, mai ales din partea autorităților locale și regionale, care sunt primele ce au de gestionat aceste fonduri. Cer, așadar, Comisiei ca astfel de instrumente să fie elaborate cât se poate de curând, în timp util.

3-258-000

Kinga Gál (PPE). - Az Európai Bizottság ma kiadott Szerbia-jelentéséről szeretnék itt szólni néhány szót. Hiányzik a jelentésből az egyik legproblémásabb eleme, a Belgrádban szeptemberben elfogadott vagyon-visszaszolgáltatási törvénynek. A különben kiemelt fontosságú törvény egy olyan rendelkezést tartalmaz a restitúció kapcsán, ami az egyéni felelősség helyett megerősíteni látszik a kollektív bűnösség, a kollektív felelősség elvét. Pedig – mint tudjuk – az európai igazságszolgáltatás alapköve az egyéni felelősség. Ez a tény láthatóan elkerülte a Bizottság figyelmét sajnos. A törvény hatálya alól ugyanis kikerülnek azok a személyek és örököseik, akik a II. világháborúban a Szerbia területén állomásozó megszálló erők tagjaként vettek részt, függetlenül attól, hogy megállapítható-e esetükben bármilyen egyéni felelősség.

Így kikerül a vajdasági magyar kisebbség szinte egésze, akit akarata ellenére soroltak be, kényszerrel. A törvény ezen cikkelye rossz fényt vet Szerbiára és mindenképpen nehezíti majd tagjelölti státuszának megszerzését, de a Bizottság hozzáállását is megkérdőjelezi.

3-259-000

Dominique Riquet (PPE). - Madame la Présidente, dans le cadre du Fonds d'ajustement à la mondialisation, la Commission européenne et la France avaient décidé d'une mesure de 24,5 millions d'euros pour 3 580 travailleurs concernés par un plan de licenciement chez Renault.

La modification de l'âge de la retraite en France, postérieurement à la négociation sur le fonds, laisse 72 travailleurs dans une situation de non-prise en charge. Le ministre du travail, Xavier Bertrand, examine actuellement ce problème.

Le groupe socialiste, suite à un vœu exprimé par la commission de l'emploi, dépose deux amendements en commission des budgets pour demander un audit et la mise en réserve d'une partie des 24,5 millions. La rapporteure permanente, Barbara Matera, et la Commission européenne ont confirmé le caractère irrecevable de ces amendements, qui sont contraires au règlement du Fonds d'ajustement à la mondialisation et qui ont donc été écartés. Malgré cela, la gauche a voté contre l'attribution des 24,5 millions, rejointe dans une alliance contre nature par ECR et les libéraux, adversaires déclarés du Fonds d'ajustement à la mondialisation et le mandat a été entièrement repoussé.

Au final, à la suite d'une manœuvre partisane visant à gêner le gouvernement français, c'est l'entreprise et 3 500 travailleurs qui se retrouvent dans une situation inédite et

catastrophique. L'Europe est à nouveau stigmatisée. J'espère qu'il sera possible de revenir sur cette très malheureuse mesure.

3-260-000

Antonio Masip Hidalgo (S&D). - Señora Presidenta, nuestros colegas británicos de la Cámara de los Comunes, haciendo honor a la admirable histórica tradición parlamentaria y democrática de su país, han puesto de relieve las intolerables prácticas del grupo Murdoch. También encomiable es la valentía de *The Guardian*.

Pero los aberrantes tentáculos de Murdoch alcanzan otras latitudes. En España tiene en su nómina con sueldo millonario a José María Aznar, ex Presidente del Gobierno, que tanto quiere seguir influyendo en la política española y aun en la europea.

Vamos a entrar en campaña electoral. El Partido Popular y su líder, el señor Rajoy, deberían aclarar a todos los europeos, antes de iniciar la campaña, de qué forma les apoyan el señor Murdoch y su gabinete, qué es lo que el magnate exige a cambio de sostener económicamente al señor Aznar y a su fundación y si esa trama tiene algo que ver con lo sucedido en el Reino Unido, encomiablemente puesto de manifiesto.

3-261-000

Кристиан Вигенин (S&D). - Госпожо Председател, след два дни в София ще се състои заседание на бюрото на Европейската Народна Партия. Очаква се сред гостите, идващи да подкрепят управляващата партия ГЕРБ само седмица преди президентските и местните избори, да бъдат господин Barroso, господин Buzek, еврокомисари. Оставям на страна въпроса дали подобен политически ангажимент е допустим за изброените личности. Бих искал обаче, от тази трибуна, да ги помоля да използват визитата си, за да зададат и някои въпроси. Защо действащи кметове и кандидати бяха подложени на всевъзможен натиск от властта, за да се откажат от участие в изборите? Как е възможно министърът на вътрешните работи да ръководи предизборния щаб на управляващата партия, използвайки целия силов ресурс срещу политическите опоненти? Защо беше запушен гласа на опозицията като беше разпуснат Парламента за периода до изборите? Прецедент в двайсет годишната демократична история на страната. Защо от възможност за гласуване в президентските избори бяха лишени хиляди българи живеещи в чужбина, а вотът там се организира не от конституционно назначените посланици, а от назначени от външния министър заместници? Мога да продължа този списък. Надявам се, че международните наблюдатели ще дадат обективна оценка за състоянието на българската демокрация.

3-262-000

Χαράλαμπος Αγγουράκης (GUE/NGL). - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, οι παλαιστίνιοι πολιτικοί κρατούμενοι έχουν ξεκινήσει εδώ και δύο εβδομάδες απεργία πείνας διαμαρτυρούμενοι για τις απάνθρωπες συνθήκες κράτησης. Εχθές, προστέθηκαν άλλοι 2.000 αγωνιστές. Η διαμαρτυρία έρχεται μετά τις προκλητικές δηλώσεις του ισραηλινού πρωθυπουργού Νετανιάχου, ο οποίος θεωρεί τις συνθήκες κράτησής τους, όπως είπε, υπερβολικά γενναϊόδωρες.

Οι απεργοί πείνας διεκδικούν πρόσβαση στην υγεία, ιδιαίτερα για τους άρρωστους και τραυματισμένους κρατούμενους. Καταγγέλλουν τις συλλογικές τιμωρίες που περιλαμβάνουν απαγόρευση των επισκέψεων από τις οικογένειές τους, ταπεινωτικές σωματικές έρευνες, απάνθρωπη απομόνωση που, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις, φθάνει και τα 10 χρόνια, όπως στην περίπτωση του γενικού γραμματέα του Λαϊκού Μετώπου για την Απελευθέρωση της Παλαιστίνης.

Είναι ανάγκη να δυναμώσει ο αντιιμπεριαλιστικός αγώνας των λαών και ο αγώνας για την αναγνώριση, χωρίς όρους και προϋποθέσεις, ανεξάρτητου κυρίαρχου παλαιστινιακού κράτους, πλήρους μέλους του ΟΗΕ, στα σύνορα του 1967, με πρωτεύουσα την ανατολική Ιερουσαλήμ.

3-263-000

Président - Ceci termine les interventions d'une minute.

19. Souscription de parts supplémentaires dans le capital de la Banque européenne pour la reconstruction et le développement (BERD) (débat)

3-265-000

La Présidente. - L'ordre du jour appelle le rapport de Sharon Bowles, au nom de la commission des affaires économiques et monétaires, sur la proposition de décision du Parlement européen et du Conseil relative à la souscription, par l'Union européenne, de parts supplémentaires dans le capital de la Banque européenne pour la reconstruction et le développement (BERD) à la suite de la décision d'augmenter ce capital (COM(2011)0034 - C7-0038/2011 - 2011/0014(COD) (A7-0227/2011)).

3-266-000

Olle Schmidt, *deputising for the rapporteur.* - Madam President, I will try to stand in for Sharon Bowles, although it will not be an easy task. She regrets that she cannot be here because she is currently in a meeting of the Conference of Committee Chairs with the College of Commissioners – at least one of whom is here – and, of course, the issues covered by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs weigh heavily at this time.

This proposal, to increase the callable capital of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), is another example of the ECON Committee working efficiently while still subjecting the matter to proper parliamentary scrutiny. The result is a far stronger text, which recognises the responsibility of the representatives of the EU shareholding in the EBRD and reinforces the reasons for, and the direction of, our involvement in this institution.

By way of background, the EBRD is the first international financial institution of the post-Cold-War period and was created to support the development of market economies in eastern Europe following the widespread collapse of communist regimes. Following the Arab Spring, the international shareholders of the EBRD decided to increase the callable capital so that the bank could extend its operations into countries such as Egypt.

Initially, the matter was considered non-controversial and the European Council did not amend the proposal. However, the committee decided that it wished to highlight and address in the text a number of issues, which have been successfully negotiated with the Council and Commission. These included emphasis on the fact that the Union's representation in the EBRD governing bodies should encourage it to demonstrate consistency with the Europe 2020 objectives – in order to enhance the overall coherence of the Union's external action policy – and on the importance of the EBRD publicly providing transparent information about beneficiaries and the impact of its financial intermediary operations.

Furthermore, as a result of the committee's amendments, the Governor of the ERBD for the Union should now report annually to Parliament on the promotion of the Union's

objectives with regard to the EU's external action policy, the Europe 2020 strategy and the significant increase in transfer to renewable, energy-efficient technologies. The Governor of the EBRD for the Union will also be required to report annually on the effectiveness of the existing system and on measures to ensure the transparency of EBRD operations through financial intermediaries.

A further aspect which required considerable negotiation in the triologue was finding wording to best describe the characteristics and activities of tax havens. The ECON Committee was keen to request not only that the text should recognise the OECD definition but also that some more specific characteristics of tax havens were recognised.

I hope that the EBRD will be able to use this additional callable capital to support its activities as it starts its work in Egypt and other countries following the Arab Spring.

3-267-000

Olli Rehn, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I want to thank the rapporteur Ms Bowles and her replacement, Mr Schmidt, and the other Members of Parliament for their very constructive approach to the proposal which highlights the significant interest the European Parliament has shown on the activities of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

The EBRD Board of Governors decided on a capital increase in May 2010. The authorised capital stock of the bank will increase by 50% from EUR 20 billion to EUR 30 billion. The purpose of the proposed legislation is to allow the EU to subscribe to additional callable shares in the EBRD, in proportion with the Union's current share in the capital, which is around 3%.

The text examined today is the result of interinstitutional negotiations and the Commission fully supports it. We have now reached, I would say, a very balanced decision which will allow the EU to subscribe to the capital increase in line with the decisions taken by all our Member States. As such this would be a very strong message about EU consistency and EU commitment both to the pre-accession countries and to the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood which, as Mr Schmidt well described, is a key strategic priority for the European Union.

The EBRD activities are widely appreciated to help countries to implement economic transition. The additional capital will provide the EBRD with the necessary operational and risk-bearing capacity to sustain a high level of activity over the coming years. This is essential to continue to promote local private sector development and accompany the transition and economic recovery of the EBRD countries of operation.

The EBRD is not only playing a key role in supporting the financial sector and SMEs, but it also plays a role in energy efficiency and security, nuclear safety and environmental and municipal infrastructure. In the current post-crisis environment the Bank will also better integrate into its priorities important qualitative dimensions of the transition and reform agenda, such as trade integration and regional cooperation, job creation and social sustainability, resource efficiency as well as innovation and greener projects.

Certainly, the EBRD will face a new and very important challenge with the expansion of its geographical scope to the southern and eastern Mediterranean. The Commission has supported this and we see this as a very clear political priority where the EBRD can play an important role. The Commission will thus put forward a formal proposal for a decision

of the Parliament and of the Council to approve an amendment to the Agreement Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development which would allow for such an expansion to the southern and eastern Mediterranean.

3-268-000

Burkhard Balz, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, verehrte Kollegen! Da unser Koordinator Jean-Paul Gauzès kurzfristig seine Redezeit nicht wahrnehmen kann, hat er mich gebeten, an seiner Stelle zu sprechen. Es spricht also ein weiterer Vertreter hier zu Ihnen.

Es geht in dem Bericht um die Aufstockung des Stammkapitals der Europäischen Bank für Wiederaufbau und Entwicklung von 20 Milliarden auf 30 Milliarden Euro, um das AAA-Rating der EBRD zu wahren und den derzeitigen Stimmrechtsanteil innerhalb der EBRD aufrecht zu erhalten. Die EVP-Fraktion unterstützt die Forderung nach einer Bewertung des europäischen öffentlichen Investmentbanking-Systems, die dem Europäischen Parlament von Kommission und den Mitgliedstaaten vorzulegen ist.

Ebenfalls wichtig für uns ist die Forderung an den Gouverneur der EBRD, dem zuständigen Ausschuss im Europäischen Parlament jährlich einen Bericht über die Förderung der Ziele der Union vorzulegen, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Millenniumsziele der EU und die Strategie Europa2020, was Kollege Schmidt auch schon erwähnt hat.

Es ist außerdem zu begrüßen, dass nach dem Ausschussbericht nun die Bewertung von Projekten und Begünstigten der EBRD grundsätzlich öffentlich bekanntgegeben werden müssen und in Zukunft strengere Kontrollen durchgeführt werden sollen. Damit werden in Zukunft eine Geheimhaltung durch Begünstigte und der Rückgriff auf Steueroasen bei Projekten, an denen die Bank beteiligt ist, verhindert. Das ist sehr zu begrüßen.

Unser Koordinator sagte mir, dass im Sommer zwei Trilogie stattgefunden haben. Das Ergebnis findet die volle Unterstützung unserer Fraktion. Deswegen wird die EVP-Fraktion hier auch zustimmen.

3-269-000

George Sabin Cutaș, *în numele grupului S&D*. – Doresc și eu să mulțumesc, în numele grupului meu politic, tuturor pentru foarte buna cooperare asupra acestui dosar.

Decizia privind subscrierea de noi acțiuni de către Uniunea Europeană în capitalul Băncii Europene pentru Reconstrucție și Dezvoltare trebuie însoțită de semnale clare din partea Parlamentului European către celelalte instituții europene și către statele membre privind activitatea acestei bănci. De aceea, în primul rând, consider că este necesară o eficientizare a sistemului bancar european de investiții publice. Trebuie evitate duplicarea și suprapunerea activităților BERD și BEI și doresc să amintesc, în acest sens, Rezoluția Parlamentului European din 25 martie 2009, care solicită o restructurare a sistemului bancar european de investiții publice, inclusiv evaluarea opțiunii de dizolvare a BERD și de integrare a părților sale relevante în cadrul Băncii Europene de Investiții. Așteptăm, de asemenea, prezentarea unei evaluări în acest sens până la sfârșitul celei de-a patra analize a resurselor de capital al băncii în 2015.

De asemenea, cred că este nevoie de controale mai stricte privind posibila tranzitare a finanțării BERD prin paradisuri fiscale și privind folosirea principiului secretului bancar în folosul evaziunii fiscale. Distorsiunile și deficiențele în taxare sunt mecanisme care permit

anumitor entități să nu își îndeplinească responsabilitățile față de societate. Practic, ele alimentează starea de instabilitate financiară prin subminarea reglementărilor în vigoare, promovează inegalitatea și sărăcia și limitează creșterea economică. O bancă finanțată de către Uniunea Europeană nu își permite să lucreze cu astfel de instituții, iar Parlamentul European se pronunță clar în favoarea transparenței și cere dezvăluirea beneficiarilor și a evaluărilor proiectelor finanțate de Banca Europeană de Reconstrucție și Dezvoltare.

3-270-000

Ivo Strejček, *za skupinu ECR*. – Paní předsedající, dovoluňte mi nejprve, abych se obrátil na pana kolegu Olleho Schmidta a požádal jej, aby vyřídil paní Bowlesové poděkování za spolupráci nad tímto materiálem. To není, řekl bych, politicky korektní poděkování, to je lidské poděkování za to, že paní Bowlesová opravdu udělala vše pro to, aby vzala v úvahu všechny názory jednotlivých stínových zpravodajů, a já si toho velmi vážím.

Souhlasím jménem skupiny Evropských konzervativců s navýšením dodatečných akcí a jsem rád, že naše připomínky, které vyzývaly k větší kontrole banky ze strany Evropského parlamentu, se staly součástí finálního kompromisu i po vyjednávání v dialogu.

Jsem také spokojený s tím, že závěrečný kompromis týkající se definice tzv. daňových rájů byl odvozen od definice používané OECD. Věříme, že dodatečný kapitál bude použit rozumně a podpoří strukturální rozvoj v zemích, které to potřebují.

3-271-000

Elena Bănescu (PPE). - Subscrierea de noi acțiuni la capitalul BERD este necesară pentru ca UE să continue promovarea obiectivelor europene în domeniul relațiilor economice externe. Totodată, este esențial ca BERD să nu aibă pierderi neprevăzute, pentru că ar necesita efectuarea de plăți din bugetul UE.

Programele de finanțare ale acestei instituții ar trebui să acorde prioritate și în continuare sectorului privat. Anul trecut, 90% din investițiile BERD din România au fost îndreptate către sectorul privat. În acest context, salut finanțarea proiectelor pentru îmbunătățirea eficienței energetice. Consider că facilitatea de finanțare a energiei durabile va ajuta IMM-urile românești să își îmbunătățească competitivitatea. În același timp, sprijinirea strategiei românești pentru creșterea ponderii energiei regenerabile va apropia România de standardele europene în domeniu.

3-272-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Samotné zvýšenie kapitálu Európskej banky pre obnovu a rozvoj, a teda aj zvýšenie objemu akcií Európskej únie na udržanie konštantného podielu asi 3 %, je akceptovateľné. Chcela by som však využiť túto príležitosť, aby som upozornila na niektoré problémy v súvislosti s projektmi, ktoré EBRD financuje.

Hoci počas krízy sa navýšil objem úverov poskytnutých bankou a tiež sa rozšírilo jej pôsobisko, otázky ohľadom udržateľnosti jej projektového financovania pretrvávajú. Často sú totiž financované projekty s negatívnymi sociálnymi a environmentálnymi dopadmi. A hoci EBRD v priebehu posledných rokov zvýšila financovanie projektov energetickej efektívnosti, stále pokračuje aj v investíciách do úplne odlišného spektra projektov.

Okrem neustáleho zvyšovania objemu financií, ktoré dáme EBRD k dispozícii, by sme sa mali preto ako akcionári zamýšľať aj nad tým, ako sa tieto prostriedky využívajú. Viem,

že v rámci dnešnej diskusie toho veľa nezmeníme, ale chceme by som vyzvať kompetentných, aby sa zaoberali najmä kvalitou investičnej stratégie EBRD.

3-273-000

Jaroslav Paška (EFD) - V súvislosti s politickými vyhláseniami na úrovni Európskej únie a skupiny G20 týkajúcich sa kapitálového posilnenia multilaterálnych rozvojových bánk rozhodla Rada guvernérov Európskej banky pre obnovu a rozvoj v máji minulého roku o zvýšení kapitálu banky o 10 miliárd EUR s cieľom rozšíriť činnosti banky určené na podporu krajiny jej pôsobenia.

Zvýšenie kapitálu je tiež súčasťou strednodobej stratégie banky. Akcionármi Európskej banky pre obnovu a rozvoj je 61 krajín vrátane 29 prijímateľských krajín. Samostatný vklad má aj Európska komisia a Európska investičná banka. Na navýšenie kapitálu sa bude podieľať aj moja krajina. Keď vláda vo februári tohto roku rozhodla o upísaní ďalších 3842 akcií splatných na požiadanie a 431 splatených akcií v hodnote 10 000 EUR. V praxi to znamená zachovanie percentuálneho podielu mojej krajiny na hlasovacích právach Európskej banky pre obnovu a rozvoj. Rovnaký postup volia aj ďalší akcionári banky a je dobré, že sa k tejto politike hlási svojim rozhodnutím aj Európsky parlament a Rada. Európska banka pre obnovu a rozvoj tým získava nové možnosti pre rozšírenie svojej činnosti na podporu investícií.

3-274-000

Olli Rehn, *Member of the Commission* . – Madam President, I would like to thank the Members for their support and interest in this decision. I would also like to thank the rapporteur, Ms Bowles and her super-sub Mr Schmidt, for the very constructive work on this important issue.

The points mentioned today are in line with those which emerged from the discussions we had in the context of the interinstitutional negotiations. I believe the amendments introduced by Parliament already factor in most of these ideas in a balanced way. It is now essential for the Union to subscribe to these additional shares in proportion to its current share in the capital in order to preserve its influence in the bank. The deadline for subscription is the end of this year.

I would like to thank you once again for your support for our proposal and for the rapid and effective legislative work. We see this as clear support for the activities of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in helping countries to implement economic transition.

3-275-000

Olle Schmidt, *deputising for the rapporteur* . – Madam President, I have nothing more to add, but I do think that it is important that in our committee we can now look forward to receiving annual reports from the Governor of the EBRD. It is very good that, for once in this House, we can salute a bank.

3-276-000

La Présidente. - Le débat est clos.

Le vote aura lieu demain 13 octobre, à 11 h 30.

20. Régimes de garantie des assurances (brève présentation)

3-278-000

La Présidente. - L'ordre du jour appelle le rapport de Peter Skinner, au nom de la commission des affaires économiques et monétaires, sur les régimes de garantie des assurances (COM(2010)0370 - 2011/2010(INI)) (A7-0243/2011).

3-279-000

Antolín Sánchez Presedo, *Ponente suplente.* – Señora Presidenta, sustituyo al señor Peter Skinner, ponente de este informe, que me ha pedido que pida disculpas porque no puede estar presente en este debate, tal y como hubiera deseado, y que hable en su nombre.

Quiero, en primer lugar y en su nombre, agradecer a todos los ponentes alternativos el excelente espíritu de cooperación y el intenso trabajo en este informe que hoy se presenta.

El informe sobre los sistemas de garantía de seguros responde al impulso de asegurar que los asegurados estén protegidos contra una eventual insolvencia de su compañía, con independencia del lugar donde hayan contratado la póliza.

Los sistemas de garantía que existen en la actualidad en los Estados miembros contienen elementos distintos que reflejan los respectivos mercados nacionales. El informe apoya un nivel mínimo de armonización que responda a esta diversidad de los sistemas en los diferentes Estados miembros.

El informe pide a la Comisión que presente una directiva de estandarización transfronteriza, en coherencia con los principios del país de origen, que cuente con un nivel de protección coherente de los consumidores en los diferentes tipos de productos en el ámbito de los seguros.

También reclama a la Comisión que lleve a cabo evaluaciones de impacto detalladas y consultas públicas sobre la inclusión de los diferentes tipos de seguros, para que exista un terreno de juego equilibrado entre los mercados europeos de seguros.

Igualmente, el informe pide a la Comisión que establezca un modelo único para la financiación por parte de las aseguradoras de los sistemas de protección de los asegurados en casos de insolvencia.

Saludamos positivamente el anuncio de la Comisión sobre la presentación de un borrador en esta materia. El señor Skinner quiere que transmita además su compromiso para trabajar con igual espíritu de cooperación en las demás legislaciones en el ámbito de los seguros que se están tramitando en estos momentos en el Parlamento Europeo.

3-280-000

Vicky Ford (ECR). - Madam President, please pass on my thanks to the rapporteur for his work. I know that Mr Skinner would like to see a coherent cross-border framework for consumer protection insurance, and I thank him for balancing this with much Member State discretion and respecting subsidiarity. However, I will not vote for his report.

The cost of insurance is rising in many countries and in many sectors. Insurers today face low returns on asset portfolios and increased solvency requirements, but with higher claim rates and more exposure to fraud, while in some sectors costs are added by the gold-plating of claims packages. All these costs were added even before Commissioner Reding drove

headlong into the women drivers debate. We do risk insurance becoming simply unaffordable, especially for those on lower incomes, and too often the Commission will bring forward legislation that adds costs but has little real benefit.

I want to wait and see what the Commission's proposals are in this area before making a judgement. Fundamentally, what is the benefit of offering additional consumer protection for insurance products if we leave behind a raft of consumers who cannot afford to buy insurance products in the first place?

3-281-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová (S&D) - Finančná kríza ukázala, že dôvera spotrebiteľov vo finančný systém sa môže rýchlo narušiť. Platí to najmä v prípade, že nie sú dostupné adekvátne postupy náhrady škody, ak spotrebiteľia utrpeli straty v dôsledku zlyhania finančných inštitúcií. Systémy poistných záruk môžu byť hodnotným nástrojom pri znižovaní rizík, ktorým sú poistenci vystavení, ak by prišlo k zlyhaniu poisťovacej spoločnosti a tá by sa dostala do platobnej neschopnosti. Často sa však tieto systémy poistných záruk odlišujú v otázke krytia. Z toho potom vyplývajú rôzne stupne ochrany poistencov v jednotlivých členských štátoch.

Výrazné rozdiely sú aj v iných aspektoch ovplyvňujúcich rozsah poskytovanej ochrany a tiež v prevádzkových postupoch a spôsoboch financovania. Na udržanie dôvery spotrebiteľa v poisťovací priemysel, ale aj v jednotný trh s finančnými službami, by podľa môjho názoru mala byť zabezpečená jednotná úroveň ochrany spotrebiteľa. Spotrebiteľ by takpovediac mal mať istotu, že všetky druhy poistných produktov, ktoré si zakúpi, sú kryté systémami poistných záruk a že tieto systémy budú zaručovať, aby získal v stanovenom čase 100 % náhradu, ktorá bude jednotná v celej Európskej únii.

3-282-000

Elena Băsescu (PPE). - UE trebuie să ofere protecție consumatorilor în cazul în care companiile de asigurare insolabile nu își onorează obligațiile contractuale. Lipsa unei armonizări în acest domeniu ar putea distorsiona concurența transfrontalieră și ar împiedica o protecție uniformă a consumatorilor.

România este printre cele 11 state membre care dispun în prezent de cel puțin o schemă generală de garantare a asigurărilor. Acest lucru înseamnă că mai bine de jumătate din întreaga piață de asigurări din UE nu beneficiază de o protecție eficientă. Subliniez necesitatea unui cadru legal european, care să ofere o protecție completă și continuă deținătorilor sau, după caz, beneficiarilor polițelor de asigurare. Totodată, este esențial ca modelul de finanțare pentru sistemele naționale de garantare a asigurărilor să respecte principiul subsidiarității.

3-283-000

Seán Kelly (PPE). - Madam President, I welcome Mr Skinner's proposals. Certainly the whole issue of insurance has come very much to mind in recent times. I have seen in my own country a rather strange situation occurring whereby wages are going down and yet the cost of insurance is going through the roof. This is true for general insurance and particularly for health insurance. As a result, many consumers cannot afford to be insured, which is not a very satisfactory position. I have also seen, in areas where flooding occurred, that the cost of insurance went up six-fold and even then, when you read the small print, very many situations have not been covered.

So, certainly, an impact study would be very desirable in order to establish a level playing field right across Europe, to ensure that consumers are insured and that they are insured for what they think they are being insured for and for what they are paying for.

3-284-000

Jaroslav Paška (EFD) - Blížiac sa zavedenie smernice Solventnosť II od roku 2013 výrazne zasiahne do európskeho poistného trhu. V súčasnej podobe však táto smernica nechráni spotrebiteľov pred stratami v prípadoch zlyhania poisťovní, a preto Výbor pre vnútorný trh a ochranu spotrebiteľa odporúča Komisii zosúladiť systém poistných záruk s uvedenou smernicou.

Jednotný, právne záväzný rámec na ochranu systémov poistných záruk založený na minimálnej harmonizácii sa javí ako dobré východisko. Najmä v súvislosti s cezhraničnou činnosťou poisťovateľov môžu v krajinách bez systémov poistných záruk vznikajú isté problémy. Európska únia nemá harmonizované normy ochrany spotrebiteľov, a tak poskytovatelia pôsobiaci vo viacerých národných systémoch podľa prístupu hostiteľskej krajiny by museli počítat s vyššími nákladmi. Preto sa ako výhodnejšia alternatíva krytia väčšej geografickej pôsobnosti systému poistných záruk zatiaľ javí zásada domovskej krajiny. Komisia by však mala využiť zostávajúci čas na posúdenie otvorených otázok tak, aby pri vstupe smernice Solventnosť II do platnosti boli dosiahnuté požadované ciele.

3-285-000

Miroslav Mikolášik (PPE) - Rôznorodosť systémov poistných záruk v Európskej únii vyplýva z osobitosti národných trhov v členských štátoch. Rozmanitosť však prináša značnú neistotu pre spotrebiteľov predovšetkým v cezhraničných prípadoch, kde nie je jasne stanovené, aké pravidlá sa budú uplatňovať. Systém poistných záruk na európskej úrovni musí zaručiť účinnejšiu ochranu všetkých poistencov v EÚ, a preto by mal aj obsahovať stanovenie primeraných postupov náhrady škody pre spotrebiteľov, ktorí utrpeli straty v dôsledku zlyhania finančných inštitúcií.

Návrh smernice o systémoch poistných záruk by mal zlepšiť existujúci systém ochrany vkladov a prispieť tak k vytvoreniu homogénnejších podmienok na vnútornom trhu s poistením. Jednoznačnou prioritou podľa môjho názoru zostáva zabezpečenie rovnocennej ochrany spotrebiteľa bez ohľadu na domovskú krajinu poisťovateľa a zlepšenie informovanosti spotrebiteľov o rizikách spojených s poskytovaním finančných služieb.

3-286-000

Olli Rehn, Member of the Commission . – Madam President, I would like to congratulate Mr Skinner and his substitute Mr Sánchez Presedo as well as the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs for the report on insurance guarantee schemes. This report marks an important step towards a European approach to overcome the fragmented landscape within a minimum harmonisation framework.

As to the time line, the Commission plans to approve a proposal for a directive by the end of 2012. I trust that we all agree on a number of points made in the report, such as the home state principle and the importance of providing consumers with easy and appropriate information, for instance through a single point of contact.

However, there are a few important issues on which the White Paper tabled last year presented arguments for a preliminary position of the Commission that I must recall is not exactly that of the report presented today.

On coverage, our position in the White Paper was that the insurance guarantee scheme should cover both life and non-life insurance policies.

On the level of funding, the White Paper stated that it needs to be set at an appropriate target level with a suitable transition period in an EU directive. Should funding be ex-ante or ex-post? In the White Paper our position was that insurance guarantee schemes established at national level should be all financed, at least to a certain extent, by ex-ante contributions from insurance undertakings. The Commission however did not exclude that, in the case of a lack of resources, ex-ante funds could possibly be complemented by ex-post funding arrangements.

Honourable Members, this report from Mr Skinner comes at an important time when we are preparing for a European regime for insurance guarantee schemes. We believe that it will not be too difficult in the future to find a very good common ground acceptable for both the European Parliament and the Commission. We are encouraged by the commitment shown by you in Parliament, and your report reinforces this basis for our joint work ahead.

3-287-000

La Présidente. - Le débat est clos.

Le vote aura lieu demain 13 octobre, à 11 h 30.

Déclarations écrites (Article 149)

3-288-000

Louis Grech (S&D), *in writing* . – The recent economic downturn and the absence of proper compensation mechanisms for consumers' losses have, beyond doubt, adverse implications for consumer and citizens' confidence in the financial sector. Consumers are one of the most vulnerable groups in the financial crisis and need to be reassured that their money and savings are secured. In order to effectively improve citizens' confidence, protect consumers' and taxpayers' rights and enhance market stability, European Institutions, must take urgent actions and build a common cross-boarder framework for IGS, without undermining the protection already offered by some Member States. The IGS should fully take into account consumer interests by providing high degrees of effective, equal and adequate levels of consumer protection. The Commission should ensure that existing legislation really benefits consumers, especially with regards to the provision of information and facilitating cross-border contact and payments. The information available to consumers in the event of an insurer's insolvency should be easily accessible, comprehensive and easy to follow, with clear indications as to which authority the consumer should approach when making claims or enquiries. Last but not least an appropriate target level of funding should be set, with a suitable transition period in order to guarantee that the schemes compensate consumers effectively over a wide range of circumstances.

21. Application du principe de subsidiarité depuis l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne (débat)

3-290-000

La Présidente. - L'ordre du jour appelle le débat sur la question orale à la Commission sur l'application du principe de subsidiarité après l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne de Michael Theurer, Alexandra Thein, Silvana Koch-Mehrin, Andrew Duff, au nom du groupe ALDE (O-000230/2011 - B7-0622/2011).

3-291-000

Silvana Koch-Mehrin, Verfasserin. – Frau Präsidentin! Ja, es ist ein wichtiges Thema; wir kennen es alle. Bis vor dem Lissabon-Vertrag gab es immer die Klage aus den nationalen Parlamenten: 80 % dessen, was wir an Gesetzen beschließen, kommt eigentlich aus Europa, wir müssen das nur noch durchwinken, wir sind gewissermaßen Erfüllungsgehilfen. Das hat sich mit dem Lissabon-Vertrag geändert. Die nationalen Parlamente haben eine tragende Rolle, haben Einflussmöglichkeit. Die EU ist durch den Lissabon-Vertrag demokratischer geworden, weil die Volksvertretungen mehr Macht erhalten haben. Das gilt für das Europäische Parlament genau so wie für die nationalen Parlamente.

Dann gab es trotzdem Klagen aus den nationalen Parlamenten, nämlich, dass die Arbeitsbelastung so angestiegen ist, die Berge an Dokumenten, die jetzt immer auf den Tischen landen – wenige Wochen nur, um zu reagieren. Aber das Wichtige ist ja – und ich habe den Eindruck, dass die nationalen Parlamente es auch zunehmend in Anspruch nehmen und verstehen –, dass es jetzt die Möglichkeit gibt, dass die Volksvertretungen in den Hauptstädten auf Initiativen der Europäischen Union Einfluss nehmen.

Nun ist es fast zwei Jahre nach Inkrafttreten des Lissabon-Vertrags vom 1. Dezember 2009, als diese Prozeduren auch an Kraft gewannen. Deswegen haben einige Kollegen und ich es als für den richtigen Zeitpunkt empfunden, zu fragen, wie die Kommission die Situation jetzt sieht. Ist sie zufrieden mit der Qualität der Reaktionen aus den nationalen Parlamenten, wie behandelt die Kommission das, hat sie ausreichend Ressourcen, inklusive auch ausreichendes Personal, um damit umzugehen? Und in manchen Mitgliedstaaten sind ja die Regionen, die Bundesländer – wie im Fall Deutschlands – wichtig, wie werden Eingaben aus dieser politischen Ebene behandelt, finden die adäquat Resonanz? Wird mit dem Ausschuss der Regionen auch entsprechend zusammengearbeitet?

Das waren die Fragen, die die Kollegen Andrew Duff, Alexandra Thein, Michael Theurer und ich gemeinsam gestellt haben. Ich freue mich auf die Antwort.

3-292-000

Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission. – Madam President, I would like to thank the honourable Member for these questions because it gives me the opportunity to present the Commission's overall assessment of the implementation of Protocol No 2 of the Treaty of Lisbon, also known as the subsidiarity control mechanism.

The subsidiarity control mechanism is up and running, and its implementation has so far been very smooth, thanks not only to thorough preparation by both the Commission and the national parliaments before the Treaty entered into force, but also to the excellent cooperation and constructive contacts between the Commission and the national parliaments.

The experience gained so far has clearly shown that national parliaments are well prepared and ready to assume their new role and powers under the new Treaty. By the end of September 2011, the Commission had sent to national parliaments 139 draft legislative proposals falling within the scope of the subsidiarity control mechanism, and had received a total of 61 reasoned opinions stating that the respective legislative drafts did not observe the principle of subsidiarity. However, in no case have the thresholds provided for in Protocol No 2, triggering the so-called yellow or orange cards, been reached.

The Commission is convinced that relations with national parliaments should not be confined merely to questions of subsidiarity, and it supports a deepening of the political dialogue with national parliaments, of which the subsidiarity control mechanism is only one aspect.

In the context of the political dialogue, the Commission currently receives and replies to more than 600 opinions per year from national parliaments, including their opinions on the content of Commission proposals. One of the questions put to the Commission was about how we are staffed. A unit in the Secretariat-General is dedicated to relations with national parliaments and, in addition, every DG has designated coordinators for relations with national parliaments, who contribute to smooth implementation of the subsidiarity control mechanism and political dialogue, as do the offices of the relevant Commissioners.

Turning to the overall assessment, the question of the subsidiarity control mechanism and political dialogue is an item regularly discussed at the COSAC meetings, where the Commission meets with members of the national parliaments who work in the European committees. I agree with the honourable Member who pointed out that it is very important that national MPs be more involved in discussions on European legislation. We can see that debate on these issues is much more frequent and more detailed, and that the quality of the opinions coming from the national parliaments is much higher.

We are trying to take the same approach on the Commission side because one of the matters raised at recent COSAC meetings concerned comments from national parliaments suggesting that, on some issues, we should be more precise. The national parliaments would like to see more thorough explanation of the subsidiarity clauses in our legislative proposals, and therefore it is a mutual learning process.

In the next phase we should ensure that sectoral proposals – for example, on the environment and transport – are discussed by the national parliaments not only in the European committees but in the relevant sectoral committees. I believe this would increase interest among national MPs in European legislation, and they would also gain greater ownership and be much more careful when it comes to transposition, which, as we all know, depends heavily on national authorities.

I think that the mechanism is working very well. The political dialogue is important because it gives us at the Commission the chance to receive not only reasoned – i.e. negative – opinions, but also a great deal of encouragement and positive opinions from the national parliaments. I am sure that the dialogue will evolve and that the number and quality of both the national parliaments' opinions and the Commission responses will gradually improve in the coming months and years.

3-293-000

Monika Flašíková Beňová, *za skupinu S&D* – V rámci právomocí zdieľaných medzi Európskou úniou a členskými štátmi stanovuje zásada subsidiarity podmienky, za ktorých

Únia môže konať v mene členských štátov. Okrem oblastí vyplývajúcich z výlučnej právomoci Európskej únie sa pod zásadou subsidiarity rozumie na jednej strane ochrana rozhodovacej schopnosti a činnosti členských štátov a na strane druhej uzákoňuje zásah Únie v prípade, že ciele danej činnosti nemôžu byť uspokojivo realizované zo strany členských štátov.

Zapojenie národného parlamentu v dôsledku nadobudnutia platnosti Lisabonskej zmluvy, najmä protokol č. 2, je predmetom výročnej správy, ktorú Komisia predložila. Správa sa zaoberá problematikou, ako sú princípy subsidiarity uvádzané do praxe prostredníctvom inštitúcií, akými sú Európska komisia, Parlament, Rada či Výbor regiónov. Tiež sa zaoberá mechanizmom subsidiarity národných parlamentov, čo bola práve jedna z očakávaných inovácií implementovaných práve vstupom Lisabonskej zmluvy do platnosti. Podľa môjho názoru, pán viceprezident, je na mieste sústrediť pozornosť na niektoré podnety, ktoré vyvolali otázky v oblasti a v problematike subsidiarity.

Európsky parlament už mnoho rokov bráni koncepciu zásad subsidiarity. Od 1. decembra 2009 parlamenty členských štátov mali možnosť v odôvodnenom stanovisku informovať predsedu Európskej komisie, že navrhované legislatívne postupy podľa ich názoru nie sú v súlade práve so zásadou subsidiarity. A preto by ma, pán viceprezident, zaujímalo stanovisko Komisie: čo v tejto veci stihla spraviť a ako adresovala požiadavky Európskeho parlamentu?

3-294-000

Elena Băsescu (PPE). - Salut rediscutarea aplicării acestui principiu, în special din perspectiva Protocolului 2 al Tratatului de la Lisabona.

Consider binevenită elaborarea unui mecanism de control pentru respectarea articolului 5 din Tratatul privind UE. Delimitarea atribuirii competențelor la nivel comunitar și național prin noul text clarifică funcționarea mecanismului subsidiarității. În practică, aplicarea lui trebuie să ia în considerare caracteristicile fiecărui stat membru, precum și ale subunităților sale.

Atrag atenția asupra controlului limitat exercitat de Curtea Europeană de Justiție asupra aplicării acestui principiu. Instanța poate proceda doar la anularea unui act emis în mod ilegal, fără a verifica respectarea subsidiarității. În acest context, exercitarea controlului la nivel legislativ este modalitatea de a completa activitatea Curții.

3-295-000

Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (ALDE). - Señora Presidenta, señor Comisario, construir Europa implica integrar, sumar y creerse de verdad el federalismo, pero también los principios de proporcionalidad y subsidiariedad.

Las casas se empiezan desde los cimientos, de abajo hacia arriba, y por ello Europa debe mejorar, y mucho, sus relaciones institucionales con las regiones. Este protocolo era un primer intento para avanzar y no se ha aprovechado. Las regiones están cerca de las personas y de sus problemas y tienen mucho que aportar. El Comité de las Regiones recomienda que las consideraciones de las regiones figuren, al menos, en los informes de subsidiariedad, que su opinión llegue hasta las Instituciones comunitarias.

El Consejo, en una respuesta escrita fechada el pasado mes, me dice que no tiene información sobre cómo recogen los Estados las inquietudes regionales. Lo mismo me respondieron

en 2010. Tampoco conoce las recomendaciones en esta materia emitidas por el Comité de las Regiones. La Comisión dice lo mismo aunque cree que el sistema funciona bien.

¿Se ratifica usted en esta respuesta o tiene algo nuevo que aportarme?

3-296-000

João Ferreira (GUE/NGL). - Senhora Presidente, neste debate sobre a utilização do princípio da subsidiariedade há uma questão que não pode ser ignorada: é o facto de que toda a dinâmica do processo de integração, o enquadramento jurídico dado pelo Tratado de Lisboa, mas também e - sobretudo - o que vem sendo a prática corrente, subverte completamente o princípio da subsidiariedade. Viram-no autenticamente de pernas para o ar.

A verdade é que, em vez de serem os Estados a decidirem o que é que a UE pode fazer melhor, é a UE que decide o que é que os Estados podem fazer melhor. Dizem-nos agora *Os Estados podem objectar!* Assim é, e as consequências práticas? A verdade é que o processo de controlo oferece poucas garantias. As condições impostas, e sobretudo a pulsão federalista cada vez mais vincada neste processo, dificultam que decisões tomadas ao nível da UE, mesmo quando desrespeitando o princípio, sejam revertidas. É importante, por isso, antes de mais, voltar a virar outra vez o princípio da subsidiariedade e dar-lhe o seu sentido correcto, ou seja, serem os povos a decidirem o que é que a nível comunitário pode melhor ser feito por eles e não ser a União a impor aos Estados o que entende que melhor pode fazer por eles.

3-297-000

Димитър Стоянов (NI). - Госпожо Председател, мисля, че принципът за възможност на националните парламенти да атакуват принципа на субсидиарност, на практика не работи. До сега – две години след влизането в сила на Лисабонския договор, нито веднъж не се е случило националните парламенти да възразят в достатъчно голям брой (2/3 от тях), така че да може да бъде спрян принципът на субсидиарност. Всъщност, на практика това беше заложено в Лисабонския договор с ясното съзнание, че няма да работи. Вие много добре знаете, че една парламентарна процедура по вземане на решение само в един парламент отнема два, понякога три, месеца. Какво остава за 18 парламента да направят това. И цифрите, които комисарят представи тук са красноречиви: по 130 предложения – 60 възражения. По-малко от половин възражение за едно предложение, когато са необходими 18 възражения. Аз мисля, че при субсидиарност принципът трябва да е обратен. Първо да се получава разрешение от парламентите, а след това да се пристъпва към приемане на акта.

3-298-000

Seán Kelly (PPE). - Madam President, the principle of subsidiarity is probably one of the most oft-quoted principles in relation to the European Union, and it is both at once a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in the sense that Member States can legislate in certain areas themselves, and they cannot be blaming the European Union for everything and say the European Union should do this, that or the other thing. It is a weakness and particularly it is a weakness which we see in the response to the economic crisis.

There are certain things that probably most people would agree need to be done at a much quicker pace, but because of subsidiarity that cannot happen. Nevertheless, if it comes to Treaty change it is going to be vital that we spell it out very clearly and work very closely with national parliaments to get the issues which we want resolved. Having said that, it is

encouraging to hear what the Commissioner said regarding the responses from national parliaments in relation to the Lisbon Treaty and subsidiarity, and that is certainly my experience in my own country as well.

3-299-000

Maroš Šefčovič, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, first I would like to thank the honourable Members for their replies to my introductory remarks. Also, I have to thank the European Parliament for a very constructive approach towards this mechanism and also towards the cooperation between the Commission and the national parliaments. I am deeply convinced that the good work of the subsidiarity control mechanism and its efficient application is in the interests of all of us. This is not about blocking European integration but about making it more transparent to the citizens and also more democratic, because the issues are, in this manner, being brought closer to the hearts of citizens and to their concerns.

I also very much welcome the positive tone and constructive approach of the speakers and the roles of the national parliaments in this debate, because their role is also essential when it comes to the building of an inclusive Europe that resonates in the capitals of our Member States and is closely linked to the concerns of the citizens. The Commission is fostering an active political dialogue with the national parliaments. This has been very fruitful, as has been demonstrated by the numbers of opinions and reasoned opinions. We would, of course, very much encourage this tendency to continue in the future.

On the question relating to the Committee of Regions, of course we cooperate with the Committee of Regions very closely. The Committee can play an active role in the mechanism and, most importantly, ensures that there is a voice for local and regional authorities at European level. More specifically, the Committee of the Regions' subsidiarity monitoring network provides a very good access point for regional and local authorities, and can enable the Commission, in some situations, to reinforce the analysis of regional aspects in its impact assessments. It can also help the Commission to strengthen the analysis of subsidiarity and proportionality in the future. In conformity with the Protocol on Cooperation between the Commission and the Committee of Regions, the Commission regularly provides the Committee of the Regions with comments on its opinions.

As regards the subsidiarity control mechanism and regional bodies, we have to respect the Treaty. The Treaty is very clear in this respect, because it states that it is for each national Parliament or each chamber of a national parliament to consult its appropriate regional parliaments with legislative powers. We have to respect the Treaty in that respect.

The first and last questions were on how the mechanism works in practice. I have to say that the national parliaments have been quite efficient and effective in their responses to the legislative proposals from the Commission. It does not look as if they have a particular problem with respecting the eight-week deadline, and we are absolutely punctual when it comes to the legislative deadlines. At the same time as the legislative proposal is sent to the European Parliament and to the Council, it is also sent to the national parliaments. We have seen that within eight weeks the national parliaments are ready and able to send us their opinions.

What we are trying to do now in the Commission is to be more efficient in terms of responses. The Commission has installed a new IT system which is making it easier to record all the responses, and it is trying to improve the quality of its responses to the

national parliaments and to work in more detail on the opinions we receive from the national parliaments.

As has already been said, two years after the Lisbon Treaty entered into force, the subsidiarity monitoring mechanism is working very well. I am sure that it will be a very important tool for involving the national parliaments more closely in the process of European cooperation.

3-300-000

Président. - Le débat est clos.

Déclarations écrites (Article 149)

3-301-000

Bruno Gollnisch (NI), *par écrit* . – Depuis l'entrée en vigueur du Traité de Lisbonne, les Parlements nationaux sont supposés avoir leur mot à dire sur le respect des principes de subsidiarité et de proportionnalité par la Commission européenne. C'est à dire de vérifier le droit à agir de Bruxelles. Mais si j'ai bien compris les chiffres donnés par le Commissaire Šefčovič - notamment, en septembre, 61 avis pour 139 propositions législatives - le mécanisme ne fonctionne pas bien et les seuils prévus par les traités pour s'opposer à un texte ne peuvent jouer. Le Commissaire semblait dire que tout cela s'améliorait et que le dialogue était constant avec les Parlements nationaux pour recueillir leur avis. Moi, je m'interroge sur la capacité de Parlements totalement acquis à l'idée du super-Etat européen, à s'opposer à quoi que ce soit, quelle que soit la volonté des peuples qu'ils "représentent" ! On l'a vu en France, quand le Parlement a approuvé à une écrasante majorité le texte du traité de Lisbonne rejeté par le Peuple français. On le voit encore avec les fonds et mécanismes de stabilité, qui donnent à l'Union européenne des prérogatives exorbitantes pour endetter les peuples afin de sauver l'euro, quand la seule solution est de rendre à la Grèce sa souveraineté monétaire.

3-302-000

Nuno Teixeira (PPE), *por escrito* . – Com o Tratado de Lisboa, os parlamentos nacionais e regionais devem ter uma participação mais activa no processo europeu de decisão, de acordo com o princípio da subsidiariedade, previsto no artigo 5º, 3 do Tratado da União Europeia. Porém, dois anos após a entrada em vigor do Tratado de Lisboa, afigura-se oportuno questionar a Comissão Europeia sobre a avaliação que faz da aplicação do princípio da subsidiariedade, nomeadamente com base nos dados que possui quanto à participação dos parlamentos nacionais e regionais. É essencial que a Comissão possua recursos para trabalhar em sintonia com os parlamentos nacionais e regionais e com o Comité das Regiões com vista à efectiva monitorização da aplicação do princípio da subsidiariedade. Já foram apresentadas algumas propostas legislativas pela Comissão para o controlo do princípio da subsidiariedade que revelam o seu apoio ao diálogo com os parlamentos nacionais. Porém, é também importante que os parlamentos regionais possam participar de forma efectiva no processo europeu de decisão das questões que lhes dizem respeito. Apelo, assim, à Comissão para que, junto dos Estados-membros, e em conjunto com os esforços do Comité das Regiões, contribua para uma melhoria da situação no que respeita à sua participação.

22. Ordre du jour de la prochaine séance : voir procès-verbal

23. Levée de la séance

3-305-000

(La séance est levée à 22 h 05)