



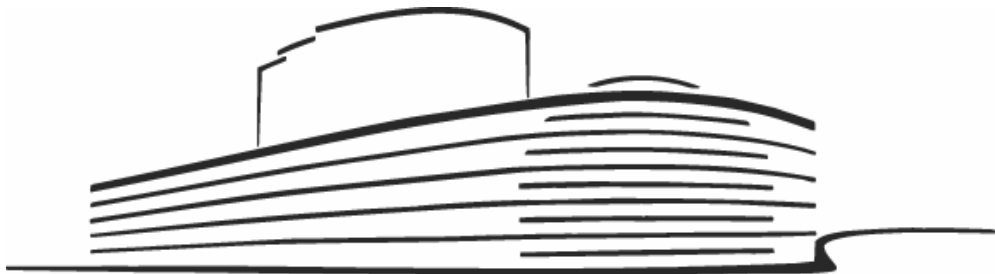
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2024-2029

ПЪЛЕН ПРОТОКОЛ НА РАЗИСКВАНИЯТА	DEBAŠU STENOGRAMMA
ACTA LITERAL DE LOS DEBATES	POSĚDŽIO STENOGRAMA
DOSLOVNÝ ZÁZNAM ZE ZASEDÁNÍ	AZ ÜLÉSEK SZÓ SZERINTI JEGYZŐKÖNYVE
FULDSTÆNDIGT FORHANDLINGSREFERAT	RAPPORTI VERBATIM TAD-DIBATTITI
AUSFÜHRLICHE SITZUNGSBERICHTE	VOLLEDIG VERSLAG VAN DE VERGADERINGEN
ISTUNGI STENOGRAMM	PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD
ΠΛΗΡΗ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΕΩΝ	RELATO INTEGRAL DOS DEBATES
VERBATIM REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS	STENOGRAMA DEZBATERILOR
COMPTE RENDU IN EXTENSO DES DÉBATS	DOSLOVNÝ ZÁPIS Z ROZPRÁV
TUARASCÁIL FOCAL AR FHOCAL NA N-IMEACHTAÍ	DOBESEDNI ZAPISI RAZPRAV
DOSLOVNO IZVJEŠĆE	SANATARKAT ISTUNTOSELOSTUKSET
RESOCONTO INTEGRALE DELLE DISCUSSIONI	FULLSTÄNDIGT FÖRHANDLINGSREFERAT

Вторник - martes - Úterý - tirsdag - Dienstag - teisipäev - Τρίτη - Tuesday
mardi - Dé Máirt - utorak - martedì - otdiena - Antradienis - kedd - It-Tlieta
dinsdag - wtorek - Terça-feira - marți - Utorok - Torek - tiistai - tisdag

17.12.2024



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

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ВГ СЪДЪРЖАНИЕ

1 - Откриване на заседанието	27
2 - Свалянето на режима в Сирия, неговите геополитически последици и хуманитарната ситуация в региона (разискване)	27
3 - Репресии срещу мирни проевропейски демонстранти в Грузия (разискване)	66
4 - Възобновяване на заседанието	72
5 - Връчване на наградата	73
6 - Възобновяване на заседанието	77
7 - Промяна в дневния ред	78
8 - Време за гласуване	79
8.1 - Избиране на омбудсмана (гласуване)	79
8.2 - Прекратяване на европейската платформа за OPC (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (гласуване)	80
8.3 - Регламент за обезлесяването - разпоредби, свързани с датата на прилагане (гласуване)	80
8.4 - Регионална спешна подкрепа за реконструкция: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (гласуване)	81
8.5 - Специфични мерки по линия на Европейския земеделски фонд за развитие на селските райони (ЕЗФРСР) за държавите членки, засегнати от природни бедствия (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (гласуване)	81
8.6 - Горски репродуктивен материал от категория	81
8.7 - Мобилизиране на средства от Европейския фонд за приспособяване към глобализацията: заявление от Белгия — EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (гласуване)	81
8.8 - Дейността на Европейския омбудсман – годишен доклад за 2023 г. (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (гласуване)	81
9 - Възобновяване на заседанието	82
10 - Одобряване на протокола от предишното заседание	82
11 - Невярна информация и дезинформация в платформите на социалните медии, като например	82
12 - Искане за консултации с Европейския икономически и социален комитет (член 151 от Правилника за дейността) (одобрение)	160
13 - Поправки (член 251 от Правилника за дейността) (продължение)	160
14 - Използване на изнасилването като военно оръжие, по-специално в Демократична република Конго и Судан (разискване)	160
15 - Дезинформация и фалшифициране на историята от Русия, за да оправдае своята агресивна война срещу Украйна (разискване)	171
16 - Положението в Майот след опустошителния циклон Шидо и необходимостта от солидарност (разискване)	193
17 - Положението на изправените пред тормоз и кибернасилие жени в политиката в държавите кандидатки за членство в ЕС и съседните държави (разискване)	204
18 - Към споделена визия за европейския туризъм, неговия устойчив растеж и марка	213
19 - Обяснение на вот	228
20 - Дневен ред на следващото заседание	228
21 - Одобряване на протокола от настоящото заседание	228
22 - Закриване на заседанието	228

ES ÍNDICE

1 - Apertura de la sesión	27
2 - Derrocamiento del régimen sirio, sus implicaciones geopolíticas y la situación humanitaria en la región (debate).....	27
3 - Represión contra manifestantes pacíficos proeuropeos en Georgia (debate).....	66
4 - Reanudación de la sesión.....	72
5 - Entrega del Premio Sájarov (sesión solemne).....	73
6 - Reanudación de la sesión.....	77
7 - Modificación del orden del día	78
8 - Turno de votaciones.....	79
8.1 - Elección del Defensor del Pueblo (votación)	79
8.2 - Supresión de la plataforma europea de resolución de litigios en línea (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (votación)	80
8.3 - Reglamento sobre la deforestación: disposiciones relativas a la fecha de aplicación (votación)	80
8.4 - Apoyo regional urgente: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (votación)	81
8.5 - Medidas específicas adoptadas con cargo al Fondo Europeo Agrícola de Desarrollo Rural (Feader) destinadas a los Estados miembros afectados por catástrofes naturales (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (votación).....	81
8.6 - Materiales forestales de reproducción de la categoría.....	81
8.7 - Movilización del Fondo Europeo de Adaptación a la Globalización: solicitud EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper (Bélgica) (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (votación)	81
8.8 - Actividades del Defensor del Pueblo Europeo: informe anual 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (votación)	81
9 - Reanudación de la sesión.....	82
10 - Aprobación del Acta de la sesión anterior.....	82
11 - Información errónea y desinformación en las plataformas de medios sociales, como TikTok, y riesgos asociados para la integridad de las elecciones en Europa (debate)	82
12 - Solicitud de consulta al Comité Económico y Social Europeo (artículo 151 del Reglamento interno) (aprobación).....	160
13 - Correcciones de errores (artículo 251 del Reglamento interno) (curso dado).....	160
14 - Uso de la violación como arma de guerra, en particular en la República Democrática del Congo y Sudán (debate).....	160
15 - Desinformación y falsificación de la historia por parte de Rusia para justificar su guerra de agresión contra Ucrania (debate)	171
16 - Situación en Mayotte a raíz del devastador ciclón Chido y necesidad de solidaridad (debate)	193
17 - Situación de las mujeres políticas que sufren acoso y ciberviolencia en los países candidatos a la adhesión y países vecinos de la Unión (debate).....	204
18 - Hacia una visión compartida del turismo europeo, su crecimiento sostenible y la marca Europa (debate).....	213
19 - Explicaciones de voto.....	228
20 - Orden del día de la próxima sesión	228
21 - Aprobación del Acta de la presente sesión.....	228
22 - Cierre de la sesión.....	228

CS OBSAH

1 - Zahájení denního zasedání.....	27
2 - Svržení syrského režimu, jeho geopolitické důsledky a humanitární situace v regionu (rozprava).....	27
3 - Zásah proti pokojným proevropským demonstrantům v Gruzii (rozprava).....	66
4 - Pokračování denního zasedání.....	72
5 - Předání Sacharovovy ceny (slavnostní zasedání).....	73
6 - Pokračování denního zasedání.....	77
7 - Změna pořadu jednání.....	78
8 - Hlasování.....	79
8.1 - Volba veřejného ochránce práv (hlasování).....	79
8.2 - Zastavení činnosti evropské platformy pro řešení sporů on-line (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (hlasování).....	80
8.3 - Nařízení proti odlesňování: ustanovení týkající se data použitelnosti (hlasování).....	80
8.4 - Regionální mimořádná podpora – RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (hlasování).....	81
8.5 - Zvláštní opatření v rámci Evropského zemědělského fondu pro rozvoj venkova (EZFRV) pro členské státy postižené přírodními katastrofami (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (hlasování).....	81
8.6 - Reprodukční materiál lesních dřevin kategorie.....	81
8.7 - Uvolnění prostředků z Evropského fondu pro přizpůsobení se globalizaci: žádost EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgie (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (hlasování).....	81
8.8 - Činnost evropského veřejného ochránce práv – výroční zpráva za rok 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (hlasování).....	81
9 - Pokračování denního zasedání.....	82
10 - Schválení zápisu z předchozího zasedání.....	82
11 - Neúmyslně nesprávné informace a dezinformace na platformách sociálních médií, jako je TikTok, a související rizika pro integritu voleb v Evropě (rozprava).....	82
12 - Žádost o konzultaci s Evropským hospodářským a sociálním výborem (článek 151 jednacího řádu) (schválení).....	160
13 - Opravy (článek 251 jednacího řádu) (další postup).....	160
14 - Použití znásilnění jako válečné zbraně, zejména v Demokratické republice Kongo a Súdánu (rozprava).....	160
15 - Dezinformace a falšování historie ze strany Ruska v zájmu ospravedlnění jeho válečné agrese proti Ukrajině (rozprava).....	171
16 - Situace na ostrově Mayotte po úderu ničivého cyklonu Chido a potřeba solidarity (rozprava).....	193
17 - Situace političek v kandidátských a sousedních zemích EU, které čelí obtěžování a kybernetickému násilí (rozprava).....	204
18 - Na cestě ke společné vizi evropského cestovního ruchu, jeho udržitelného růstu a značky Evropa (rozprava).....	213
19 - Vysvětlení hlasování.....	228
20 - Pořad jednání příštího zasedání.....	228
21 - Schválení zápisu z tohoto denního zasedání.....	228
22 - Ukončení zasedání.....	228

DA INDHOLD

1 - Åbning af mødet	27
2 - Afsættelsen af det syriske regime, de geopolitiske konsekvenser heraf og den humanitære situation i regionen (forhandling)	27
3 - Undertrykkelse af fredelige proeuropæiske demonstranter i Georgien (forhandling)	66
4 - Genoptagelse af mødet	72
5 - Overrækkelse af Sakharov-prisen (højtideligt møde).....	73
6 - Genoptagelse af mødet	77
7 - Ændring af dagsordenen	78
8 - Afstemningstid.....	79
8.1 - Valg af ombudsmanden (afstemning).....	79
8.2 - Nedlæggelse af den europæiske OTB-platform (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (afstemning)	80
8.3 - Skovrydningsforordning: bestemmelser vedrørende anvendelsesdatoen (afstemning) ...	80
8.4 - Regional nødhjælp: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (afstemning)	81
8.5 - Særlige foranstaltninger inden for rammerne af Den Europæiske Landbrugsfond for Udvikling af Landdistrikterne (ELFUL) for medlemsstater, der er ramt af naturkatastrofer (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (afstemning)	81
8.6 - Forstligt formeringsmateriale af kategorien	81
8.7 - Mobilisering af Den Europæiske Fond for Tilpasning til Globaliseringen: ansøgning EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg maskiner og papir - Belgien (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (afstemning)	81
8.8 - Den Europæiske Ombudsmands virksomhed – årsberetning 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (afstemning)	81
9 - Genoptagelse af mødet	82
10 - Godkendelse af protokollen fra foregående møde.....	82
11 - Misinformation og desinformation på sociale medieplatforme såsom TikTok og dermed forbundne risici for integriteten af valg i Europa (forhandling)	82
12 - Anmodning om høring af Det Europæiske Økonomiske og Sociale Udvalg (forretningsordenens artikel 151) (godkendelse).....	160
13 - Berigtigelser (forretningsordenens artikel 251) (opfølgning)	160
14 - Anvendelse af voldtægt som krigsvåben, navnlig i Den Demokratiske Republik Congo og Sudan (forhandling)	160
15 - Ruslands desinformation og historieforfalskning med henblik på at retfærdiggøre landets angrebskrig mod Ukraine (forhandling)	171
16 - Situationen i Mayotte efter den ødelæggende cyklon Chido og behovet for solidaritet (forhandling)	193
17 - Situationen for kvindelige politikere i EU's kandidat- og nabolande, som udsættes for chikane og cybervold (forhandling).....	204
18 - Hen imod en fælles vision for europæisk turisme, dens bæredygtige vækst og det europæiske mærke (forhandling)	213
19 - Stemmeforklaringer	228
20 - Dagsorden for næste møde	228
21 - Godkendelse af protokollen fra dette møde.....	228
22 - Hævelse af mødet	228

DE INHALT

1 - Eröffnung der Sitzung	27
2 - Sturz des syrischen Regimes, seine geopolitischen Auswirkungen und die humanitäre Lage in der Region (Aussprache)	27
3 - Hartes Durchgreifen gegen die friedlichen proeuropäischen Demonstranten in Georgien (Aussprache)	66
4 - Wiederaufnahme der Sitzung	72
5 - Verleihung des Sacharow-Preises (feierliche Sitzung)	73
6 - Wiederaufnahme der Sitzung	77
7 - Änderung der Tagesordnung	78
8 - Abstimmungsstunde	79
8.1 - Wahl des Bürgerbeauftragten (Abstimmung).....	79
8.2 - Einstellung der Europäischen OS-Plattform (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (Abstimmung).....	80
8.3 - Entwaldungsverordnung: Bestimmungen zum Geltungsbeginn (Abstimmung).....	80
8.4 - Regionale Soforthilfe: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (Abstimmung).....	81
8.5 - Spezifische Maßnahmen im Rahmen des Europäischen Landwirtschaftsfonds für die Entwicklung des ländlichen Raums (ELER) für von Naturkatastrophen betroffene Mitgliedstaaten (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (Abstimmung)	81
8.6 - Forstliches Vermehrungsgut der Kategorie	81
8.7 - Inanspruchnahme des Europäischen Fonds für die Anpassung an die Globalisierung: Antrag EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg Maschinenbau und Papier – Belgien (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (Abstimmung)	81
8.8 - Tätigkeit der Europäischen Bürgerbeauftragten – Jahresbericht 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (Abstimmung)	81
9 - Wiederaufnahme der Sitzung	82
10 - Genehmigung des Protokolls der vorangegangenen Sitzung	82
11 - Fehl- und Desinformation auf den Plattformen der sozialen Medien wie TikTok und die damit verbundenen Risiken für die Integrität der Wahlen in Europa (Aussprache).....	82
12 - Antrag auf Anhörung des Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialausschusses (Artikel 151 GO) (Billigung).....	160
13 - Berichtigungen (Artikel 251 GO) (Weiterbehandlung).....	160
14 - Einsatz von Vergewaltigung als Kriegswaffe, insbesondere in der Demokratischen Republik Kongo und im Sudan (Aussprache)	160
15 - Desinformation und Geschichtsfälschung seitens Russlands zur Rechtfertigung des Angriffskrieges gegen die Ukraine (Aussprache).....	171
16 - Die Lage in Mayotte nach dem verheerenden Zyklon Chido und die Notwendigkeit von Solidarität (Aussprache).....	193
17 - Lage der Politikerinnen in den EU-Bewerber- und Nachbarländern, die Belästigung und Cybergewalt ausgesetzt sind (Aussprache).....	204
18 - Auf dem Weg zu einer gemeinsamen Vision für den europäischen Tourismus, dessen nachhaltiges Wachstum und die Marke Europa (Aussprache)	213
19 - Erklärungen zur Abstimmung	228
20 - Tagesordnung der nächsten Sitzung	228
21 - Genehmigung des Protokolls der laufenden Sitzung.....	228
22 - Schluss der Sitzung.....	228

ET SISUKORD

1 - Osaistungjärgu avamine	27
2 - Süüria režiimi kukutamine, selle geopoliitiline mõju ja humanitaarolukord piirkonnas (arutelu).....	27
3 - Rahumeelsete Euroopa-meelsete meeleavaldajate mahasurumine Gruusias (arutelu).....	66
4 - Istungi jätkamine	72
5 - Sahharovi auhinna üleandmine (pidulik istung).....	73
6 - Istungi jätkamine	77
7 - Päevakorra muutmine	78
8 - Hääletused	79
8.1 - Euroopa Ombudsmani valimine (hääletus)	79
8.2 - Euroopa internetipõhise vaidluste lahendamise platvormi tegevuse lõpetamine (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (hääletus).....	80
8.3 - Raadamist käsitlev määrus: kohaldamise alguskuupäeva käsitlevad sätted (hääletus)....	80
8.4 - Piirkondlik erakorraline ülesehitustoetus: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (hääletus)	81
8.5 - Euroopa Maaelu Arengu Põllumajandusfondi (EAFRD) raames võetavad erimeetmed loodusõnnetustes kannatada saanud liikmesriikidele (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (hääletus).....	81
8.6 - Kategoriasse.....	81
8.7 - Globaliseerumisega Kohanemise Euroopa Fondi vahendite kasutuselevõtmine: taotlus EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgium (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (hääletus).....	81
8.8 - Euroopa Ombudsmani 2023. aasta tegevust käsitlev aastaaruanne (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (hääletus)	81
9 - Istungi jätkamine	82
10 - Eelmise istungi protokoll kinnitamine.....	82
11 - Väärinfo ja desinformatsioon sotsiaalmeediaplattformidel, näiteks Tiktokis, ja Euroopa valimiste usaldusväärsust ohustavad seotud riskid (arutelu)	82
12 - Taotlus konsulteerida Euroopa Majandus- ja Sotsiaalkomiteega (kodukorra artikkel 151) (heakskiitmine)	160
13 - Parandused (kodukorra artikkel 251) (järelmeetmed).....	160
14 - Vägistamise kasutamine sõjarelvana, eelkõige Kongo Demokraatlikus Vabariigis ja Sudaanis (arutelu)	160
15 - Venemaa levitatav desinformatsioon ja ajaloo võltsimine, et õigustada oma agressioonisõda Ukraina vastu (arutelu).....	171
16 - Olukord Mayotte'il pärast laastavat tsüklonit Chido ning vajadus solidaarsuse järele (arutelu).....	193
17 - Ahistamise ja kübervägivallaga silmitsi seisvate naispoliitikute olukord ELi kandidaat- ja naaberriikides (arutelu)	204
18 - Euroopa turismist, selle kestlikust kasvust ja Euroopa kaubamärgist ühise nägemuse kujundamine (arutelu).....	213
19 - Selgitused hääletuse kohta.....	228
20 - Järgmise istungi päevakord	228
21 - Käesoleva istungi protokoll kinnitamine.....	228
22 - Istungi lõpp.....	228

ΕΛ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

1 - Έναρξη της συνεδρίασης.....	27
2 - Ανατροπή του συριακού καθεστώτος, γεωπολιτικές επιπτώσεις και η ανθρωπιστική κατάσταση στην περιοχή (συζήτηση).....	27
3 - Καταστολή ειρηνικών φιλοευρωπαϊκών διαδηλωτών στη Γεωργία (συζήτηση).....	66
4 - Επανάληψη της συνεδρίασης	72
5 - Απονομή του Βραβείου Ζαχάρωφ (Πανηγυρική Συνεδρίαση)	73
6 - Επανάληψη της συνεδρίασης	77
7 - Τροποποίηση της ημερήσιας διάταξης.....	78
8 - Ώρα των ψηφοφοριών	79
8.1 - Εκλογή του Διαμεσολαβητή (ψηφοφορία).....	79
8.2 - Διακοπή της λειτουργίας της ευρωπαϊκής πλατφόρμας ηλεκτρονικής επίλυσης διαφορών (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (ψηφοφορία).....	80
8.3 - Κανονισμός για την αποψίλωση των δασών: διατάξεις σχετικά με την ημερομηνία εφαρμογής (ψηφοφορία).....	80
8.4 - RESTORE – Έκτακτη περιφερειακή στήριξη για την ανασυγκρότηση (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (ψηφοφορία).....	81
8.5 - Ειδικά μέτρα στο πλαίσιο του Ευρωπαϊκού Γεωργικού Ταμείου Αγροτικής Ανάπτυξης (ΕΓΤΑΑ) για κράτη μέλη που έχουν πληγεί από φυσικές καταστροφές (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (ψηφοφορία).....	81
8.6 - Δασικό πολλαπλασιαστικό υλικό της κατηγορίας	81
8.7 - Κινητοποίηση του Ευρωπαϊκού Ταμείου Προσαρμογής στην Παγκοσμιοποίηση: αίτηση EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Βέλγιο (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (ψηφοφορία)	81
8.8 - Δραστηριότητες του Ευρωπαϊού Διαμεσολαβητή – ετήσια έκθεση για το 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (ψηφοφορία)	81
9 - Επανάληψη της συνεδρίασης	82
10 - Έγκριση των Συνοπτικών Πρακτικών της προηγούμενης συνεδρίασης.....	82
11 - Εσφαλμένη πληροφόρηση και παραπληροφόρηση σε πλατφόρμες μέσω κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, όπως το Tiktok, και οι σχετικοί κίνδυνοι για την ακεραιότητα των εκλογών στην Ευρώπη (συζήτηση).....	82
12 - Αίτημα διαβούλευσης της ΟΚΕ (άρθρο 151 του Κανονισμού) (έγκριση).....	160
13 - Διορθωτικά (άρθρο 251 του Κανονισμού) (επακόλουθες ενέργειες)	160
14 - Η χρήση του βιασμού ως όπλου πολέμου, συγκεκριμένα στη Λαϊκή Δημοκρατία του Κονγκό και το Σουδάν (συζήτηση).....	160
15 - Η παραπληροφόρηση και η παραχάραξη της ιστορίας από τη Ρωσία για να δικαιολογήσει τον επιθετικό της πόλεμο κατά της Ουκρανίας (συζήτηση).....	171
16 - Η κατάσταση στο Μαγιότ μετά τον καταστροφικό κυκλώνα Τσίντο και η ανάγκη για αλληλεγγύη (συζήτηση).....	193
17 - Η κατάσταση των γυναικών που είναι πολιτικοί σε υποψήφια για προσχώρηση στην ΕΕ και γειτονικές χώρες και εκτίθενται σε παρενόχληση και κυβερνοβία (συζήτηση).....	204
18 - Προς ένα κοινό όραμα για τον ευρωπαϊκό τουρισμό, τη βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη του και το εμπορικό σήμα Ευρώπη (συζήτηση)	213
19 - Αιτιολογήσεις ψήφου	228
20 - Ημερήσια διάταξη της επόμενης συνεδρίασης.....	228
21 - Έγκριση των Συνοπτικών Πρακτικών της παρούσας συνεδρίασης	228
22 - Λήξη της συνεδρίασης.....	228

EN CONTENTS

1 - Opening of the sitting	27
2 - Toppling of the Syrian regime, its geopolitical implications and the humanitarian situation in the region (debate)	27
3 - Crackdown on peaceful pro-European demonstrators in Georgia (debate)	66
4 - Resumption of the sitting.....	72
5 - Award of the Sakharov Prize (formal sitting)	73
6 - Resumption of the sitting.....	77
7 - Amendment of the agenda.....	78
8 - Voting time	79
8.1 - Election of the Ombudsman (vote).....	79
8.2 - Discontinuation of the European ODR Platform (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (vote).....	80
8.3 - Deforestation Regulation: provisions relating to the date of application (vote).....	80
8.4 - Regional Emergency Support: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (vote).....	81
8.5 - Specific measures under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) for Member States affected by natural disasters (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vote).....	81
8.6 - Forest reproductive material of the ‘tested’ category (A10-0022/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vote).....	81
8.7 - Mobilisation of the European Globalisation Adjustment Fund: application EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Belgium (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (vote)	81
8.8 - Activities of the European Ombudsman – annual report 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (vote)	81
9 - Resumption of the sitting.....	82
10 - Approval of the minutes of the previous sitting	82
11 - Misinformation and disinformation on social media platforms, such as TikTok, and related risks to the integrity of elections in Europe (debate)	82
12 - Request for consultation of the European Economic and Social Committee (Rule 151) (consent).....	160
13 - Corrigenda (Rule 251) (action taken).....	160
14 - Use of rape as weapon of war, in particular in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan (debate)	160
15 - Russia’s disinformation and historical falsification to justify its war of aggression against Ukraine (debate).....	171
16 - The situation in Mayotte following the devastating cyclone Chido and the need for solidarity (debate)	193
17 - Situation of female politicians in EU candidate and neighbouring countries facing harassment and cyber violence (debate)	204
18 - Towards a shared vision for European tourism, its sustainable growth and brand Europe (debate)	213
19 - Explanations of vote	228
20 - Agenda of the next sitting.....	228
21 - Approval of the minutes of the sitting	228
22 - Closure of the sitting.....	228

FR SOMMAIRE

1 - Ouverture de la séance.....	27
2 - La chute du régime syrien, ses conséquences géopolitiques et la situation humanitaire dans la région (débat).....	27
3 - Répression des manifestants pro-européens pacifiques en Géorgie (débat).....	66
4 - Reprise de la séance.....	72
5 - Remise du prix Sakharov (séance solennelle).....	73
6 - Reprise de la séance.....	77
7 - Modification de l'ordre du jour.....	78
8 - Heure des votes.....	79
8.1 - Élection du Médiateur (vote).....	79
8.2 - Abandon de la plateforme européenne de règlement en ligne des litiges (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (vote).....	80
8.3 - Règlement sur la déforestation: dispositions relatives à la date d'application (vote).....	80
8.4 - Soutien régional d'urgence: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (vote).....	81
8.5 - Mesures spécifiques au titre du Fonds européen agricole pour le développement rural (Feader) pour les États membres touchés par des catastrophes naturelles (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vote).....	81
8.6 - Matériels forestiers de reproduction de la catégorie.....	81
8.7 - Mobilisation du Fonds européen d'ajustement à la mondialisation: demande EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Belgique (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (vote).....	81
8.8 - Activités du Médiateur européen – rapport annuel 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (vote).....	81
9 - Reprise de la séance.....	82
10 - Approbation du procès-verbal de la séance précédente.....	82
11 - La mésinformation et la désinformation sur les plateformes de médias sociaux telles que TikTok, ainsi que les risques connexes pour l'intégrité des élections en Europe (débat).....	82
12 - Demande de consultation du Comité économique et social européen (article 151 du règlement) (approbation).....	160
13 - Rectificatifs (article 251 du règlement) (suites données).....	160
14 - Utilisation du viol comme arme de guerre, notamment en République démocratique du Congo et au Soudan (débat).....	160
15 - Désinformation et falsification de l'histoire par la Russie pour justifier sa guerre d'agression contre l'Ukraine (débat).....	171
16 - La situation à Mayotte après le passage dévastateur du cyclone Chido et le besoin de solidarité (débat).....	193
17 - La situation des femmes politiques victimes de harcèlement et de cyberviolence dans les pays candidats à l'adhésion à l'Union et dans les pays voisins de l'Union (débat).....	204
18 - Vers une vision commune en ce qui concerne le tourisme européen, sa croissance durable et la.....	213
19 - Explications de vote.....	228
20 - Ordre du jour de la prochaine séance.....	228
21 - Approbation du procès-verbal de la présente séance.....	228
22 - Levée de la séance.....	228

GA CLÁR

1 - Oscailt an tsuí	27
2 - Díbirt réimeas na Siria, na himpleachtaí geopholaitiúla a bhaineann leis agus an staid dhaonnúil sa réigiún (díospóireacht).....	27
3 - Cniogbheartaíocht ar léirsitheoirí síochánta ar son na hEorpa sa tSeoirsia (díospóireacht)	66
4 - Athchromadh ar an suí.....	72
5 - Bronnadh Dhuais Sakharov (suí foirmiúil)	73
6 - Athchromadh ar an suí.....	77
7 - An Clár Oibre a Leasú.....	78
8 - Am vótála	79
8.1 - Toghadh an Ombudsman (vótáil).....	79
8.2 - Deireadh a chur leis an gClár Eorpach um Réiteach Díospóidí ar Líne (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (vótáil).....	80
8.3 - An Rialachán maidir le Dífhoraoisiú: forálacha a bhaineann leis an dáta cur i bhfeidhm (vótáil).....	80
8.4 - Tacaíocht Éigeandála Réigiúnach: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (vótáil).....	81
8.5 - Bearta sonracha faoin gCiste Eorpach Talmhaíochta um Fhorbairt Tuaithe (CETFT) chun cúnaimh breise a sholáthar do Bhallstáit a ndéanann tubaistí nádúrtha difear dóibh (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vótáil)	81
8.6 - Ábhar atáirgthe foraoise den chatagóir ‘tástáilte’ (A10-0022/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vótáil).....	81
8.7 - Slógadh an Chiste Eorpaigh um Choigeartú don Domhandú: iarratas EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - an Bheilg (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (vótáil)	81
8.8 - Gníomhaíochtaí an Ombudsman Eorpaigh – tuarascáil bhliantúil 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (vótáil).....	81
9 - Athchromadh ar an suí.....	82
10 - Formheas mhiontuairiscí an tsuí roimhe sin.....	82
11 - Mífhaisnéis agus bréagaisnéis ar ardáin na meán sóisialta, amhail Tiktok, agus rioscaí gaolmhara do shláine na dtoghchán san Eoraip (díospóireacht).....	82
12 - Iarraidh dul i gcomhairle le Coiste Eacnamaíoch agus Sóisialta na hEorpa (Riail 151) (toiliú)	160
13 - Ceartúcháin (Riail 251) (beart a glacadh).....	160
14 - Úsáid an éignithe mar arm cogaidh, go háirithe i bPoblacht Dhaonlathach an Chongó agus sa tSúdáin (díospóireacht)	160
15 - Bréagaisnéis agus falsú staire na Rúise chun údar a thabhairt lena cogadh foghach i gcoinne na hÚcráine (díospóireacht)	171
16 - An staid in Mayotte i ndiaidh an chioclóin uafásaigh Chido agus an gá atá le dlúthpháirtíocht (díospóireacht).....	193
17 - Staid na bpolaiteoirí ban i dtíortha is iarrthóirí ar bhallaíocht san Aontas agus i dtíortha comharsanachta a bhíonn ag dul i ngleic le ciapadh agus cibearfhoréigean (díospóireacht) .	204
18 - I dtreo fis chomhroinnte don turasóireacht Eorpach, dá fás inbhuanaithe agus do bhranda na hEorpa (díospóireacht).....	213
19 - Mínithe ar an vótáil.....	228
20 - Clár oibre an chéad suí eile.....	228
21 - Formheas mhiontuairiscí an tsuí.....	228
22 - Críoch an tsuí.....	228

HR SADRŽAJ

1 - Otvaranje sjednice	27
2 - Svrgavanje sirijskog režima, geopolitičke implikacije i humanitarna situacija u regiji (rasprava)	27
3 - Nasilje nad mirnim proeuropskim prosvjednicima u Gruziji (rasprava)	66
4 - Nastavak zasjedanja	72
5 - Dodjela nagrade	73
6 - Nastavak zasjedanja	77
7 - Izmjena dnevnog reda	78
8 - Glasovanje	79
8.1 - Izbor europskog ombudsmana (glasovanje)	79
8.2 - Ukidanje europske platforme za ORS (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (glasovanje)	80
8.3 - Uredba o deforestaciji: odredbe koje se odnose na datum početka primjene (glasovanje)	80
8.4 - Regionalna hitna potpora za obnovu: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (glasovanje)	81
8.5 - Posebne mjere u okviru Europskog poljoprivrednog fonda za ruralni razvoj (EPFRR) za države članice pogođene elementarnim nepogodama (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (glasovanje)	81
8.6 - Šumski reprodukcijski materijal kategorije	81
8.7 - Mobilizacija Europskog fonda za prilagodbu globalizaciji: zahtjev EGF/2024/002 BE/Strojevi i papir Limbourg – Belgija (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (glasovanje)	81
8.8 - Rad Europskog ombudsmana – godišnje izvješće za 2023. (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (glasovanje)	81
9 - Nastavak zasjedanja	82
10 - Usvajanje zapisnika s prethodne dnevne sjednice	82
11 - Pogrešne informacije i dezinformacije na platformama društvenih medija, kao što je TikTok, te povezani rizici za integritet izbora u Europi (rasprava)	82
12 - Zahtjev za savjetovanje s Europskim gospodarskim i socijalnim odborom (članak 151. Poslovnika) (odobrenje)	160
13 - Ispravci (članak 251. Poslovnika) (daljnje postupanje)	160
14 - Korištenje silovanja kao ratnog oružja, posebno u Demokratskoj Republici Kongu i Sudanu (rasprava)	160
15 - Ruske dezinformacije i krivotvorenje povijesti kako bi se opravdao njezin agresivni rat protiv Ukrajine (rasprava)	171
16 - Stanje na Mayotteu nakon razornog ciklona Chido te potreba za solidarnošću (rasprava)	193
17 - Položaj političarki u zemljama kandidatkinjama za članstvo u EU-u i susjednim zemljama koje se suočavaju s uznemiravanjem i nasiljem na internetu (rasprava)	204
18 - Prema zajedničkoj viziji europskog turizma, njegova održivog rasta i brenda Europa (rasprava)	213
19 - Obrazloženja glasovanja	228
20 - Dnevni red sljedeće dnevne sjednice	228
21 - Usvajanje zapisnika s aktualne dnevne sjednice	228
22 - Zatvaranje dnevne sjednice	228

IT INDICE

1 - Apertura della seduta.....	27
2 - La destituzione del regime siriano, le sue implicazioni geopolitiche e la situazione umanitaria nella regione (discussione).....	27
3 - Repressione delle manifestazioni pacifiche pro-europee in Georgia (discussione).....	66
4 - Ripresa della seduta.....	72
5 - Consegna del Premio Sacharov (seduta solenne).....	73
6 - Ripresa della seduta.....	77
7 - Modifica dell'ordine del giorno.....	78
8 - Turno di votazioni.....	79
8.1 - Elezione del Mediatore (votazione).....	79
8.2 - Dismissione della piattaforma europea ODR (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (votazione).....	80
8.3 - Regolamento sulla deforestazione: disposizioni relative alla data di applicazione (votazione).....	80
8.4 - Sostegno regionale di emergenza: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (votazione).....	81
8.5 - Misure specifiche a titolo del Fondo europeo agricolo per lo sviluppo rurale (FEASR) per gli Stati membri colpiti da calamità naturali (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (votazione).....	81
8.6 - Materiali forestali di moltiplicazione della categoria.....	81
8.7 - Mobilitazione del Fondo europeo di adeguamento alla globalizzazione: domanda EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgio (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (votazione).....	81
8.8 - Attività del Mediatore europeo – Relazione annuale 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (votazione).....	81
9 - Ripresa della seduta.....	82
10 - Approvazione del processo verbale della seduta precedente.....	82
11 - Cattiva informazione e disinformazione sulle piattaforme di social media, come Tiktok, e relativi rischi per l'integrità delle elezioni in Europa (discussione).....	82
12 - Richiesta di consultazione del Comitato economico e sociale europeo (articolo 151 del regolamento) (approvazione).....	160
13 - Rettifiche (articolo 251 del regolamento) (seguito dato).....	160
14 - Uso dello stupro come arma di guerra, in particolare nella Repubblica democratica del Congo e in Sudan (discussione).....	160
15 - Disinformazione e falsificazione della storia da parte della Russia per giustificare la sua guerra di aggressione contro l'Ucraina (discussione).....	171
16 - La situazione a Mayotte a seguito del devastante ciclone Chido e la necessità di solidarietà (discussione).....	193
17 - Situazione delle donne politiche che subiscono molestie e violenze online nei paesi candidati all'UE e nei paesi vicini (discussione).....	204
18 - Verso una visione condivisa del turismo europeo, la sua crescita sostenibile e il marchio Europa (discussione).....	213
19 - Dichiarazioni di voto.....	228
20 - Ordine del giorno della prossima seduta.....	228
21 - Approvazione del processo verbale della presente seduta.....	228
22 - Chiusura della seduta.....	228

LVSATURA RĀDĪTĀJS

1 - Sēdes atklāšana	27
2 - Sīrijas režīma gāšana, ģeopolitiskās sekas un humanitārā situācija reģionā (debates)	27
3 - Miermīlīgu proeiropeiski noskaņotu demonstrantu apspiešana Gruzijā (debates).....	66
4 - Sēdes atsākšana.....	72
5 - Saharova balvas pasniegšana (svinīgā sēde)	73
6 - Sēdes atsākšana.....	77
7 - Darba kārtības grozījumi	78
8 - Balsošanas laiks.....	79
8.1 - Ombuda ievēlēšana (balsošana).....	79
8.2 - Eiropas SIT platformas slēgšana (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (balsošana).....	80
8.3 - Atmežošanas regula: noteikumi par piemērošanas sākuma datumu (balsošana)	80
8.4 - Reģionālais ārkārtas atbalsts: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (balsošana)	81
8.5 - Īpaši Eiropas Lauksaimniecības fonda lauku attīstībai (ELFLA) pasākumi dabas katastrofu skartajām dalībvalstīm (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (balsošana)	81
8.6 - Kategorijai	81
8.7 - Eiropas Globalizācijas pielāgošanās fonda darbu zaudējušiem darba ņēmējiem izmantošana — Beļģijas pieteikums EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (balsošana)	81
8.8 - 2023. gada ziņojums par Eiropas Ombuda darbību (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (balsošana)	81
9 - Sēdes atsākšana.....	82
10 - Iepriekšējās sēdes protokola apstiprināšana	82
11 - Kļūdaina informācija un dezinformācija sociālo mediju platformās, tādās kā Tiktok, un saistītie riski, kas skar vēlēšanu integritāti Eiropā (debates)	82
12 - Pieprasījums apspriesties ar Eiropas Ekonomikas un sociālo lietu komiteju (Reglamenta 151. pants) (apstiprināšana)	160
13 - Kļūdu labojumi (Reglamenta 251. pants) (veiktie pasākumi).....	160
14 - Izvarošanas kā kara ieroča izmantošana, jo īpaši Kongo Demokrātiskajā Republikā un Sudānā (debates)	160
15 - Krievijas īstenotā dezinformācija un vēstures falsificēšana, lai attaisnotu savu agresijas karu pret Ukrainu (debates)	171
16 - Stāvoklis Majotā pēc postošā ciklona.....	193
17 - Sieviešu politiķu stāvoklis ES kandidātvalstīs un kaimiņvalstīs un vajāšana un kibervardarbība pret viņām (debates)	204
18 - Tiekšanās pēc kopīga redzējuma Eiropas tūrisma jomā, tā ilgtspējīga izaugsme un zīmols	213
19 - Balsojumu skaidrojumi.....	228
20 - Nākamās sēdes darba kārtība.....	228
21 - Šīs sēdes protokola apstiprināšana	228
22 - Sēdes slēgšana	228

LT TURINYS

1 - Posėdžio pradžia	27
2 - Sirijos režimo nuvertimas, jo geopolitinės pasekmės ir humanitarinė padėtis regione (diskusijos)	27
3 - Represijos prieš taikius proeuropietiškus protestuotojus Sakartvele (diskusijos)	66
4 - Posėdžio atnaujinimas	72
5 - Sacharovo premijos įteikimas (iškilmingas posėdis)	73
6 - Posėdžio atnaujinimas	77
7 - Darbotvarkės keitimas	78
8 - Balsuoti skirtas laikas	79
8.1 - Ombudsmeno rinkimai (balsavimas)	79
8.2 - Europos EGS platformos veiklos nutraukimas (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (balsavimas)	80
8.3 - Kovos su miškų naikinimu reglamentas: nuostatos, susijusios su taikymo pradžios data (balsavimas)	80
8.4 - Skubi regioninė atstatymo parama: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (balsavimas)	81
8.5 - Specialios Europos žemės ūkio fondo kaimo plėtrai (EŽŪFKP) priemonės, skirtos nuo gaivalinių nelaimių nukentėjusioms valstybėms narėms (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (balsavimas)	81
8.6 - Miško dauginamoji medžiaga, kurios kategorija yra	81
8.7 - Europos prisitaikymo prie globalizacijos padarinių fondo atleistiems darbuotojams lėšų mobilizavimas: Belgijos paraiška	81
8.8 - Metinis pranešimas apie Europos ombudsmeno 2023 m. veiklą (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (balsavimas)	81
9 - Posėdžio atnaujinimas	82
10 - Ankstesnio posėdžio protokolo tvirtinimas	82
11 - Klaidinga informacija ir dezinformacija socialinių tinklų platformose, pvz.,	82
12 - Prašymas kreiptis į Europos ekonomikos ir socialinių reikalų komitetą dėl konsultacijos (Darbo tvarkos taisyklių 151 straipsnis) (patvirtinimas)	160
13 - Klaidų ištaisymai (Darbo tvarkos taisyklių 251 straipsnis) (tolesni veiksmai)	160
14 - Žaginimo kaip karo ginklo naudojimas, visų pirma Kongo Demokratinėje Respublikoje ir Sudane (diskusijos)	160
15 - Rusijos dezinformacija ir istorijos falsifikavimas siekiant pateisinti savo agresijos karą prieš Ukrainą (diskusijos)	171
16 - Padėtis Majote po jį nusiaubusio ciklono	193
17 - Politikų ES šalyse kandidatėse ir kaimyninėse valstybėse narėse, patiriančių priekabiavimą ir kibernetinį smurtą, padėtis (diskusijos)	204
18 - Bendros vizijos dėl Europos turizmo, jo tvaraus augimo ir Europos prekės ženklo siekis (diskusijos)	213
19 - Paaiškinimai dėl balsavimo	228
20 - Kito posėdžio darbotvarkė	228
21 - Šio plenarinio posėdžio protokolo tvirtinimas	228
22 - Posėdžio pabaiga	228

HU TARTALOM

1 - Az ülés megnyitása.....	27
2 - A szíriai rezsim leváltása, annak geopolitikai következményei és a térség humanitárius helyzete (vita).....	27
3 - Békés Európa-párti tüntetők elleni erőszakos fellépés Grúziában (vita).....	66
4 - Az ülés folytatása.....	72
5 - A Szaharov-díj átadása (ünnepélyes ülés).....	73
6 - Az ülés folytatása.....	77
7 - A napirend módosítása	78
8 - Szavazások órája.....	79
8.1 - Az ombudsman megválasztása (szavazás)	79
8.2 - Az európai online vitarendezési platform megszüntetése (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (szavazás).....	80
8.3 - Az erdőirtásról szóló rendelet: az alkalmazás időpontjára vonatkozó rendelkezések (szavazás).....	80
8.4 - Regionális szükséghelyzeti támogatás: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (szavazás)	81
8.5 - Az Európai Mezőgazdasági Vidékfejlesztési Alap (EMVA) keretében hozott egyedi intézkedések a természeti katasztrófák által sújtott tagállamok számára (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (szavazás).....	81
8.6 - A	81
8.7 - Az Európai Globalizációs Alkalmazkodási Alap igénybevétele: EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper kérelem – Belgium (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (szavazás).....	81
8.8 - Az európai ombudsman tevékenysége – 2023. évi éves jelentés (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (szavazás).....	81
9 - Az ülés folytatása.....	82
10 - Az előző ülés jegyzőkönyvének elfogadása	82
11 - Félretájékoztató és dezinformáció a közösségimédia-platformokon, például a TikTokon, valamint az európai választások integritását fenyegető, kapcsolódó kockázatok (vita).....	82
12 - Az Európai Gazdasági és Szociális Bizottsággal való konzultációra irányuló kérelem (az eljárási szabályzat 151. cikke) (jóváhagyás).....	160
13 - Helyesbítések (az eljárási szabályzat 251. cikke) (további intézkedések)	160
14 - A szexuális kényszerítés háborús fegyverként való alkalmazása, különösen a Kongói Demokratikus Köztársaságban és Szudánban (vita).....	160
15 - Az Oroszország által alkalmazott dezinformáció és történelemhamisítás az Ukrajna ellen folytatott agressziós háborúja igazolására (vita).....	171
16 - A Chido ciklon pusztítását követően Mayotte-on kialakult helyzet és a szolidaritás szükségessége (vita).....	193
17 - A zaklatással és online erőszakkal szembesülő női politikusok helyzete az uniós tagjelölt és szomszédos országokban (vita)	204
18 - Közös jövőkép kidolgozása az európai turizmusról, annak fenntartható növekedéséről és az európai márkáról (vita).....	213
19 - A szavazáshoz fűzött indokolások.....	228
20 - A következő ülésnap napirendje.....	228
21 - Az aktuális ülésnap jegyzőkönyvének jóváhagyása	228
22 - Az ülés berekesztése.....	228

MT WERREJ

1 - Ftuh tas-seduta.....	27
2 - Id-destituzzjoni tar-reġim Sirjan, l-implikazzjonijiet ġeopolitiċi tagħha u s-sitwazzjoni umanitarja fir-reġjun (dibattitu)	27
3 - Ir-repressjoni fil-Georgia tad-dimostranti paċifiċi favur l-Ewropa (dibattitu)	66
4 - Tkomplija tas-seduta.....	72
5 - Għoti tal-Premju Sakharov (seduta solenni).....	73
6 - Tkomplija tas-seduta.....	77
7 - Modifika fl-aġenda	78
8 - Ħin tal-votazzjonijiet	79
8.1 - L-elezzjoni tal-Ombudsman (votazzjoni).....	79
8.2 - Il-waqfien tal-Pjattaforma Ewropea tal-ODR (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (votazzjoni)	80
8.3 - Ir-Regolament dwar id-deforestazzjoni: dispożizzjonijiet relatati mad-data tal-applikazzjoni (votazzjoni).....	80
8.4 - Appoġġ Reġjonali ta' Emergenza: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (votazzjoni).....	81
8.5 - Miżuri speċifiċi skont il-Fond Agrikolu Ewropew għall-Iżvilupp Rurali (FAEŻR) għall-Istati Membri affettwati minn diżastri naturali (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (votazzjoni)	81
8.6 - Materjal riproduttiv tal-foresti tal-kategorija.....	81
8.7 - Il-mobilizzazzjoni tal-Fond Ewropew ta' Aġġustament għall-Globalizzazzjoni: applikazzjoni EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg makkinarju u karta - il-Belġju (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (votazzjoni)	81
8.8 - Attivitàjiet tal-Ombudsman Ewropew - rapport annwali 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (votazzjoni)	81
9 - Tkomplija tas-seduta.....	82
10 - Approvazzjoni tal-Minuti tas-seduta ta' qabel	82
11 - Il-mizinformazzjoni u d-dizinformazzjoni fuq il-pjattaformi tal-media soċjali, bħal TikTok, u r-riskji relatati għall-integrità tal-elezzjonijiet fl-Ewropa (dibattitu).....	82
12 - Talba għal konsultazzjoni tal-Kumitat Ekonomiku u Soċjali Ewropew (Artikolu 151 tar-Regoli ta' Proċedura) (approvazzjoni)	160
13 - Rettifiki (Artikolu 251 tar-Regoli ta' Proċedura) (azzjonijiet meħuda).....	160
14 - L-użu tal-istupru bhala arma tal-gwerra, b'mod partikolari fir-Repubblika Demokratika tal-Kongo u fis-Sudan (dibattitu).....	160
15 - Id-dizinformazzjoni u l-falsifikazzjoni tal-istorja min-naħa tar-Russja biex tiġġustifika l-gwerra ta' aggressjoni tagħha kontra l-Ukrajna (dibattitu).....	171
16 - Is-sitwazzjoni f'Mayotte wara d-devastazzjoni li halla ċ-ċiklun Chido u l-ħtieġa ta' solidarjetà (dibattitu).....	193
17 - Is-sitwazzjoni tal-politiċi nisa fil-pajjiżi kandidati u tal-viċinat tal-UE li qed jiffaċċjaw il-fastidju u l-vjolenza ċibernetika (dibattitu).....	204
18 - Lejn vizjoni kondiviża għat-turiżmu Ewropew, it-tkabbir sostenibbli tiegħu u.....	213
19 - Spjegazzjonijiet tal-vot.....	228
20 - L-aġenda tas-seduta li jmiss	228
21 - Approvazzjoni tal-minuti tas-seduta li għaddejja	228
22 - Għeluq tas-seduta	228

NL INHOUD

1 - Opening van de vergadering.....	27
2 - De val van het Syrische regime, de geopolitieke gevolgen daarvan en de humanitaire situatie in de regio (debat).....	27
3 - Onderdrukking van vreedzame pro-Europese demonstranten in Georgië (debat)	66
4 - Hervatting van de vergadering	72
5 - Uitreiking van de Sacharovprijs (plechtige vergadering).....	73
6 - Hervatting van de vergadering	77
7 - Wijziging agenda	78
8 - Stemmingen.....	79
8.1 - Verkiezing van de Ombudsman (stemming).....	79
8.2 - Het stopzetten van het Europese ODR-platform (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (stemming).....	80
8.3 - Ontbossingsverordening: bepalingen betreffende de datum van toepassing (stemming) 80	
8.4 - RESTORE – Regionale noodhulp voor wederopbouw (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (stemming).....	81
8.5 - Specifieke maatregelen in het kader van het Europees Landbouwfonds voor plattelandontwikkeling (Elfpo) om aanvullende bijstand te verlenen aan lidstaten die zijn getroffen door natuurrampen (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (stemming).....	81
8.6 - Bosbouwkundig teeltmateriaal van de categorie	81
8.7 - Beschikbaarstelling van middelen uit het Europees Fonds voor aanpassing aan de globalisering voor ontslagen werknemers (aanvraag van België – EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper) (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (stemming)	81
8.8 - Activiteiten van de Europese Ombudsman – jaarverslag 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (stemming)	81
9 - Hervatting van de vergadering	82
10 - Goedkeuring van de notulen van de vorige vergadering.....	82
11 - Mis- en desinformatie op socialemediaplatforms zoals TikTok en daarmee samenhangende risico's voor de integriteit van verkiezingen in Europa (debat)	82
12 - Verzoek om raadpleging van het Economisch en Sociaal Comité (artikel 151 van het Reglement) (aanneming).....	160
13 - Rectificaties (artikel 251 van het Reglement) (opvolging)	160
14 - Het gebruik van verkrachting als oorlogswapen, met name in de Democratische Republiek Congo en Sudan (debat)	160
15 - Desinformatie en geschiedvervalsing door Rusland om de aanvalsoorlog tegen Oekraïne te rechtvaardigen (debat).....	171
16 - De situatie in Mayotte in de nasleep van de verwoestende cycloon Chido en de behoefte aan solidariteit (debat).....	193
17 - De situatie van vrouwelijke politici in kandidaat-lidstaten en buurlanden van de EU die worden geconfronteerd met intimidatie en cybergeweld (debat)	204
18 - Naar een gezamenlijke visie op Europees toerisme, de duurzame groei ervan en het merk Europa (debat).....	213
19 - Stemverklaringen.....	228
20 - Agenda van de volgende vergadering	228
21 - Goedkeuring van de notulen van deze vergadering.....	228
22 - Sluiting van de vergadering.....	228

PL SPIS TREŚCI

1 - Otwarcie posiedzenia.....	27
2 - Obalenie reżimu syryjskiego, jego skutki geopolityczne i sytuacja humanitarna w regionie (debata)	27
3 - Represje wobec pokojowych proeuropejskich demonstrantów w Gruzji (debata)	66
4 - Wznowienie posiedzenia	72
5 - Wręczenie Nagrody im. Sacharowa (uroczyste posiedzenie)	73
6 - Wznowienie posiedzenia	77
7 - Zmiana porządku obrad	78
8 - Głosowanie	79
8.1 - Wybór Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich (głosowanie)	79
8.2 - Likwidacja europejskiej platformy internetowego rozstrzygania sporów (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (głosowanie).....	80
8.3 - Rozporządzenie o wylesianiu: przepisy dotyczące daty rozpoczęcia stosowania (głosowanie).....	80
8.4 - Regionalne wsparcie na rzecz odbudowy w sytuacjach nadzwyczajnych – RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (głosowanie).....	81
8.5 - Szczególne środki w ramach Europejskiego Funduszu Rolnego na rzecz Rozwoju Obszarów Wiejskich (EFRROW) w celu udzielenia dodatkowego wsparcia państwom członkowskim dotkniętym klęskami żywiołowymi (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (głosowanie).....	81
8.6 - Leśny materiał rozmnożeniowy kategorii	81
8.7 - Uruchomienie Europejskiego Funduszu Dostosowania do Globalizacji: wniosek złożony przez Belgię – EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (głosowanie).....	81
8.8 - Działalność Europejskiego Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich – sprawozdanie roczne za 2023 r. (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (głosowanie).....	81
9 - Wznowienie posiedzenia	82
10 - Przyjęcie protokołu poprzedniego posiedzenia	82
11 - Wprowadzanie w błąd i dezinformacja na platformach mediów społecznościowych, takich jak Tiktok, oraz powiązane zagrożenia dla uczciwości wyborów w Europie (debata) .	82
12 - Wniosek o zasięgnięcie opinii Komitetu Ekonomiczno-Społecznego (art. 151 Regulaminu) (zatwierdzenie).....	160
13 - Sprostowania (art. 251 Regulaminu) (dalsze postępowanie)	160
14 - Stosowanie gwałtu jako narzędzia wojny, w szczególności w Demokratycznej Republice Konga i Sudanie (debata).....	160
15 - Dezinformacja ze strony Rosji i fałszowanie przez nią historii w celu uzasadnienia jej wojny napastniczej przeciwko Ukrainie (debata).....	171
16 - Sytuacja na Majotcie po przejściu niszczycielskiego cyklonu Chido oraz potrzeba okazania solidarności (debata).....	193
17 - Sytuacja polityczek doświadczających nękania i cyberprzemocy w krajach kandydujących do UE i krajach sąsiadujących (debata).....	204
18 - Wspólna wizja turystyki europejskiej, jej zrównoważony wzrost i marka	213
19 - Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania.....	228
20 - Porządek obrad następnego posiedzenia	228
21 - Zatwierdzenie protokołu bieżącego posiedzenia.....	228
22 - Zamknięcie posiedzenia	228

PT ÍNDICE

1 - Abertura da sessão.....	27
2 - Queda do regime sírio, as suas implicações geopolíticas e a situação humanitária na região (debate)	27
3 - Repressão de manifestantes pacíficos pró-europeus na Geórgia (debate).....	66
4 - Reinício da sessão.....	72
5 - Entrega do Prémio Sakharov (sessão solene).....	73
6 - Reinício da sessão.....	77
7 - Modificação da ordem do dia	78
8 - Período de votação.....	79
8.1 - Eleição do provedor de Justiça (votação).....	79
8.2 - Descontinuação da Plataforma Europeia de ODR (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (votação).....	80
8.3 - Regulamento Desflorestação: disposições relativas à data de aplicação (votação).....	80
8.4 - Apoio Regional de Emergência: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (votação)	81
8.5 - Medidas específicas no âmbito do Fundo Europeu Agrícola de Desenvolvimento Rural (FEADER) para a prestação de assistência adicional aos Estados-Membros afetados por catástrofes naturais (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (votação).....	81
8.6 - Materiais florestais de reprodução da categoria	81
8.7 - Mobilização do Fundo Europeu de Ajustamento à Globalização: candidatura EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Bélgica (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (votação)	81
8.8 - Atividades do Provedor de Justiça Europeu - relatório anual de 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (votação).....	81
9 - Reinício da sessão.....	82
10 - Aprovação da acta da sessão anterior	82
11 - Manipulação da informação e desinformação nas plataformas das redes sociais, tais como o Tiktok, e riscos associados para a integridade das eleições na Europa (debate)	82
12 - Pedido de consulta do Comité Económico e Social Europeu (artigo 151.º do Regimento) (aprovação)	160
13 - Retificações (artigo 251.º do Regimento) (seguimento dado).....	160
14 - Recurso à violação como arma de guerra, em particular na República Democrática do Congo e no Sudão (debate).....	160
15 - Desinformação e falsificação histórica por parte da Rússia para justificar a sua guerra de agressão contra a Ucrânia (debate)	171
16 - A situação em Maiote após o devastador ciclone Chido e a necessidade de solidariedade (debate)	193
17 - Situação das mulheres políticas alvo de assédio e ciberviolência nos países candidatos à UE e nos países vizinhos (debate)	204
18 - Rumo a uma visão partilhada do turismo europeu, do seu crescimento sustentável e da marca Europa (debate)	213
19 - Declarações de voto.....	228
20 - Ordem do dia da próxima sessão.....	228
21 - Aprovação da ata da presente sessão.....	228
22 - Encerramento da sessão.....	228

RO CUPRINS

1 - Deschiderea ședinței	27
2 - Răsturnarea regimului din Siria, implicațiile sale geopolitice și situația umanitară în regiune (dezbateri).....	27
3 - Reprimarea brutală a demonstranților pro-europeni pașnici în Georgia (dezbateri)	66
4 - Reluarea ședinței.....	72
5 - Acordarea Premiului Saharov (ședință solemnă)	73
6 - Reluarea ședinței.....	77
7 - Modificarea ordinii de zi	78
8 - Votare	79
8.1 - Alegerea Ombudsmanului (vot)	79
8.2 - Desființarea Platformei europene SOL (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (vot)	80
8.3 - Regulamentul privind defrișările: dispozițiile referitoare la data aplicării (vot)	80
8.4 - Sprijin regional de urgență: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (vot).....	81
8.5 - Măsuri specifice din cadrul Fondului european agricol pentru dezvoltare rurală (FEADR) pentru statele membre afectate de dezastruri naturale (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vot).....	81
8.6 - Materialul forestier de reproducere din categoria.....	81
8.7 - Mobilizarea Fondului european de ajustare la globalizare: cererea EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Belgia (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (vot)	81
8.8 - Activitățile Ombudsmanului European – raportul anual pe 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (vot).....	81
9 - Reluarea ședinței.....	82
10 - Aprobarea procesului-verbal al ședinței anterioare	82
11 - Informarea greșită și dezinformarea pe platformele de comunicare socială, precum TikTok, și riscurile aferente pentru integritatea alegerilor în Europa (dezbateri).....	82
12 - Cerere de consultare a Comitetului Economic și Social European privind: (articolul 151 din Regulamentul de procedură) (aprobare)	160
13 - Rectificări (articolul 251 din Regulamentul de procedură) (cursul dat).....	160
14 - Folosirea violului ca armă de război, în special în Republica Democratică Congo și în Sudan (dezbateri).....	160
15 - Dezinformarea și falsificarea istoriei de către Rusia pentru a își justifica războiul de agresiune împotriva Ucrainei (dezbateri).....	171
16 - Situația din Mayotte în urma ciclului devastator Chido și nevoia de solidaritate (dezbateri).....	193
17 - Situația politicienilor expuși hărțuirii și violenței cibernetice în țările candidate la UE și în țările învecinate (dezbateri).....	204
18 - Către o viziune comună pentru turismul european, creșterea sa sustenabilă și	213
19 - Explicații privind votul	228
20 - Ordinea de zi a următoarei ședințe	228
21 - Aprobarea procesului-verbal al prezentei ședințe	228
22 - Ridicarea ședinței	228

SK OBSAH

1 - Otvorenie rokovania	27
2 - Zvrhnutie sýrskeho režimu, jeho geopolitické dôsledky a humanitárna situácia v regióne (rozprava)	27
3 - Zásah proti pokojným proeurópskym demonštrantom v Gruzínsku (rozprava).....	66
4 - Pokračovanie prerušeného rokovania	72
5 - Udeľovanie Sacharovovej ceny (slávnostné zasadnutie)	73
6 - Pokračovanie prerušeného rokovania	77
7 - Zmena programu schôdze	78
8 - Hlasovanie	79
8.1 - Voľba ombudsmana (hlasovanie).....	79
8.2 - Ukončenie činnosti Európskej platformy RSO (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (hlasovanie).....	80
8.3 - Nariadenie o odlesňovaní: ustanovenia týkajúce sa dátumu začatia uplatňovania (hlasovanie).....	80
8.4 - Regionálna núdzová podpora: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (hlasovanie).....	81
8.5 - Osobitné opatrenia v rámci Európskeho poľnohospodárskeho fondu pre rozvoj vidieka (EPFRV) pre členské štáty zasiahnuté prírodnými katastrofami (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (hlasovanie).....	81
8.6 - Množiteľský materiál lesných kultúr kategórie	81
8.7 - Mobilizácia Európskeho fondu na prispôsobenie sa globalizácii: žiadosť EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgicko (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (hlasovanie)	81
8.8 - Činnosť európskej ombudsmanky – výročná správa za rok 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (hlasovanie).....	81
9 - Pokračovanie prerušeného rokovania	82
10 - Schválenie zápisnice z predchádzajúceho rokovania	82
11 - Nesprávne informácie a dezinformácie na platformách sociálnych médií, ako je TikTok, a súvisiace riziká pre integritu volieb v Európe (rozprava).....	82
12 - Žiadosť o konzultáciu s Hospodárskym a sociálnym výborom (článok 151 rokovacieho poriadku) (schválenie)	160
13 - Korigendum (článok 251 rokovacieho poriadku) (ďalší postup)	160
14 - Používanie znásilňovania ako vojnovéj zbrane, najmä v Konžskej demokratickej republike a Sudáne (rozprava)	160
15 - Dezinformácie a falšovanie histórie zo strany Ruska na ospravedlnenie jeho útočnej vojny proti Ukrajine (rozprava)	171
16 - Situácia na Mayotte po ničivom cyklóne Chido a potreba solidarity (rozprava)	193
17 - Situácia političiek čeliacich obťažovaniu a kybernetickému násiliu v kandidátskych a susedných krajinách EÚ (rozprava)	204
18 - Smerom k spoločnej vízii európskeho cestovného ruchu, jeho udržateľného rastu a značky Európa (rozprava)	213
19 - Vysvetlenia hlasovania	228
20 - Program rokovania na nasledujúci deň.....	228
21 - Schválenie zápisnice z dnešného rokovania	228
22 - Skončenie rokovania.....	228

SL VSEBINA

1 - Otvoritev seje.....	27
2 - Padec sirskega režima, geopolitične posledice in humanitarne razmere v regiji (razprava)	27
3 - Zatrtje mirnih proevropskih demonstracij v Gruziji (razprava)	66
4 - Nadaljevanje seje.....	72
5 - Podelitev nagrade Saharova (slavnostna seja).....	73
6 - Nadaljevanje seje.....	77
7 - Sprememba dnevnega reda	78
8 - Čas glasovanja	79
8.1 - Izvolitev varuha človekovih pravic (glasovanje).....	79
8.2 - Ukinitve evropske platforme za spletno reševanje sporov (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (glasovanje)	80
8.3 - Uredba o krčenju gozdov: določbe v zvezi z datumom začetka uporabe (glasovanje)....	80
8.4 - Regionalna nujna pomoč: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (glasovanje).....	81
8.5 - Posebni ukrepi v okviru Evropskega kmetijskega sklada za razvoj podeželja (EKSRP) za države članice, ki so jih prizadele naravne nesreče (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (glasovanje).....	81
8.6 - Gozdni reprodukcijski material kategorije	81
8.7 - Uporaba Evropskega sklada za prilagoditev globalizaciji: vloga EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgija (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (glasovanje)	81
8.8 - Dejavnosti Evropskega varuha človekovih pravic – letno poročilo za leto 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (glasovanje).....	81
9 - Nadaljevanje seje.....	82
10 - Sprejetje zapisnika predhodne seje.....	82
11 - Napačne informacije in dezinformacije na platformah družbenih medijev, kot je TikTok, ter s tem povezana tveganja za integriteto volitev v Evropi (razprava).....	82
12 - Zahteva po posvetovanju z Ekonomsko-socialnim odborom (člen 151 Poslovnika) (odobritev).....	160
13 - Popravki (člen 251 Poslovnika) (nadaljnji ukrepi).....	160
14 - Uporaba posilstva kot vojnega orožja, zlasti v Demokratični republiki Kongo in Sudanu (razprava)	160
15 - Dezinformacije in zgodovinsko potvarjanje, s katerimi Rusija upravičuje svojo vojaško agresijo proti Ukrajini (razprava).....	171
16 - Razmere na Mayottu po uničujočem ciklonu Chido in potreba po solidarnosti (razprava)	193
17 - Položaj političark, ki se spoprijemajo z nadlegovanjem in kibernetiskim nasiljem, v državah kandidatkah za članstvo v EU in sosednjih državah (razprava).....	204
18 - Pot k skupni viziji za evropski turizem, njegovi trajnostni rasti in blagovni znamki Evropa (razprava).....	213
19 - Obrazložitev glasovanja	228
20 - Dnevni red naslednje seje	228
21 - Sprejetje zapisnika te seje.....	228
22 - Zaključek seje	228

FI SISÄLTÖ

1 - Istunnon avaaminen.....	27
2 - Syyrian hallinnon syrjäyttäminen, sen geopoliittiset vaikutukset ja alueen humanitaarinen tilanne (keskustelu).....	27
3 - Georgian rauhanomaisiin Eurooppa-myönteisiin mielenosoittajiin kohdistetut tukahduttamistoimet (keskustelu).....	66
4 - Istunnon jatkaminen.....	72
5 - Saharov-palkinnon luovuttaminen (juhlaistunto).....	73
6 - Istunnon jatkaminen.....	77
7 - Esityslistan muuttaminen.....	78
8 - Äänestykset.....	79
8.1 - Oikeusasiamiehen valitseminen (äänestys).....	79
8.2 - Eurooppalaisen verkkovälitteisen riidanratkaisuforumin (ODR) lakkauttaminen (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (äänestys).....	80
8.3 - Metsäkatoasetus: soveltamispäivää koskevat säännökset (äänestys).....	80
8.4 - Alueellinen hätätilanteen tuki (RESTORE) (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (äänestys).....	81
8.5 - Euroopan maaseudun kehittämisen maatalousrahaston (maaseuturahasto) erityistoimenpiteet luonnonkatastrofeista kärsiville jäsenvaltioille (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (äänestys).....	81
8.6 - Luokkaan.....	81
8.7 - Euroopan globalisaatorahaston varojen käyttöönotto: hakemus EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgia (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemec) (äänestys).....	81
8.8 - Euroopan oikeusasiamiehen toiminta – vuosikertomus 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (äänestys).....	81
9 - Istunnon jatkaminen.....	82
10 - Edellisen istunnon pöytäkirjan hyväksyminen.....	82
11 - Mis- ja disinformaatio sosiaalisen median alustoilla, kuten TikTokissa, ja tästä aiheutuvat vaalien häiriöttömyyteen Euroopassa liittyvät riskit (keskustelu).....	82
12 - Euroopan talous- ja sosiaalikomitean kuulemista koskeva pyyntö (työjärjestyksen 151 artikla) (hyväksyminen).....	160
13 - Oikaisu (työjärjestyksen 251 artikla) (jatkotoimenpiteet).....	160
14 - Raiskausten käyttö sodankäynnin välineenä erityisesti Kongon demokraattisessa tasavallassa ja Sudanissa (keskustelu).....	160
15 - Disinformaatio ja historian vääristely Venäjän keinoina oikeuttaa hyökkäyssotansa Ukrainaa vastaan (keskustelu).....	171
16 - Mayotten tilanne hirmumyrsky Chidon tuhojen jäljiltä ja solidaarisuuden tarve (keskustelu).....	193
17 - Häirintää ja verkkoväkivaltaa kohtaavien naispolitiikkojen tilanne EU:n ehdokasvaltioissa ja naapurimaissa (keskustelu).....	204
18 - Yhteisen vision kehittäminen Euroopan matkailusta, sen kestävästä kasvusta ja Eurooppa-brändistä (keskustelu).....	213
19 - Äänestyselitykset.....	228
20 - Seuraavan istunnon esityslista.....	228
21 - Tämän istunnon pöytäkirjan hyväksyminen.....	228
22 - Istunnon päättäminen.....	228

SV INNEHÅLL

1 - Öppnande av sammanträdet.....	27
2 - Avsättandet av den syriska regimen, de geopolitiska konsekvenserna av detta och den humanitära situationen i regionen (debatt)	27
3 - Ingripandena mot fredliga proeuropeiska demonstranter i Georgien (debatt)	66
4 - Återupptagande av sammanträdet	72
5 - Utdelning av Sacharovpriset (högtidligt möte)	73
6 - Återupptagande av sammanträdet	77
7 - Ändring av föredragningslistan	78
8 - Omröstning	79
8.1 - Val av ombudsmannen (omröstning)	79
8.2 - Stängning av den europeiska plattformen för tvistlösning online (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (omröstning)	80
8.3 - Avskogningsförordningen: bestämmelserna om den första tillämpningsdagen (omröstning).....	80
8.4 - Regionalt krisstöd för återuppbyggnad (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (omröstning).....	81
8.5 - Särskilda åtgärder inom ramen för Europeiska jordbruksfonden för landsbygdsutveckling (Ejflu) för medlemsstater som drabbats av naturkatastrofer (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (omröstning).....	81
8.6 - Skogsodlingsmaterial i kategorin	81
8.7 - Utnyttjande av Europeiska fonden för justering för globaliseringseffekter: ansökan EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Belgien (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (omröstning).....	81
8.8 - Europeiska ombudsmannens verksamhet – årsrapport 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (omröstning).....	81
9 - Återupptagande av sammanträdet	82
10 - Justering av protokollet från föregående sammanträde	82
11 - Felaktig information och desinformation på sociala medieplattformar såsom TikTok och därmed förknippade risker för integriteten i samband med val i Europa (debatt)	82
12 - Begäran om samråd med Europeiska ekonomiska och sociala kommittén (artikel 151 i arbetsordningen) (godkännande)	160
13 - Rättelser (artikel 251 i arbetsordningen) (uppföljning)	160
14 - Användningen av våldtäkt som krigsvapen, särskilt i Demokratiska republiken Kongo och Sudan (debatt)	160
15 - Rysslands desinformation och historieförfälskning för att rättfärdiga landets anfallskrig mot Ukraina (debatt).....	171
16 - Situationen i Mayotte efter den förödande cyklonen Chido och behovet av solidaritet (debatt)	193
17 - Situationen för kvinnliga politiker i EU:s kandidat- och grannländer som utsätts för trakasserier och nätvåld (debatt)	204
18 - Främjandet av en gemensam vision om den europeiska turismen och dess hållbara tillväxt samt varumärket Europa (debatt).....	213
19 - Röstförklaringar.....	228
20 - Föredragningslista för nästa sammanträde	228
21 - Justering av protokollet från detta sammanträde	228
22 - Avslutande av sammanträdet.....	228

2-0001-0000

ВТОРНИК 17 ДЕКЕМВРИ 2024 Г.
MARTES 17 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2024
ÚTERÝ 17. PROSINCE 2024
TIRSDAG DEN 17. DECEMBER 2024
DIENSTAG, 17. DEZEMBER 2024
TEISIPÄEV, 17. DETSEMBER 2024
ΤΡΙΤΗ 17 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2024
TUESDAY, 17 DECEMBER 2024
MARDI 17 DÉCEMBRE 2024
DÉ MÁIRT, 17 NOLLAIG 2024
UTORAK 17 PROSINCA 2024
MARTEDÌ 17 DICEMBRE 2024
OTRDIENA, 2024. GADA 17. DECEMBRIS
2024 M. GRUODIS 17 D., ANTRADIENIS
2024. DECEMBER 17., KEDD
IT-TLIETA, 17 TA' DIĊEMBRU 2024
DINSDAG 17 DECEMBER 2024
WTOREK, 17 GRUDNIA 2024
TERÇA-FEIRA, 17 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2024
MARȚI 17 DECEMBRIE 2024
UTOROK 17. DECEMBRA 2024
TOREK, 17. DECEMBER 2024
TIISTAI 17. JOULUKUUTA 2024
TISDAG DEN 17 DECEMBER 2024

2-0002-0000

IN THE CHAIR: ESTEBAN GONZÁLEZ PONS
Vice-President

1. Opening of the sitting

2-0004-0000

(The sitting opened at 09:01)

2. Toppling of the Syrian regime, its geopolitical implications and the humanitarian situation in the region (debate)

2-0006-0000

President. – The first 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 the toppling of the Syrian regime, its geopolitical implications and the humanitarian situation in the region (2024/2985(RSP)).

Welcome, Ms Kallas, to this House. I wish the best for the next five years and it is my pleasure to give you the floor.

2-0007-0000

Kaja Kallas, *Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – Mr President, honourable Members, it's really a pleasure to be here to see the plenary from this side. It is with a sense of cautious optimism that I address you today as we witness a historic turning point in Syria. The fall of the Assad regime marks the beginning of a new chapter for the Syrian people and the broader Middle East.

First, I would like to take a moment to reaffirm that the EU's approach to Syria all these 14 years has been both principled and firm, and has proven the right one. We remain true to our values we hold dear: freedom, human rights, inclusiveness, respect for minorities and accountability. We stood with the Syrian people in Syria and the diaspora, organising each year an international conference for the future of Syria. The EU and its Member States mobilise more than EUR 33.3 billion in humanitarian development, economic and stabilisation assistance, providing support to both Syrians inside the country and in the region, as well as outside.

Assad had proven time and again that there would never be a peaceful, united and stable Syria, nor regional stability under his rule. And his allies – especially Russia and Iran – had used Syria to advance their destabilising strategies, hurtful for our key interests. Now there is a historic window of opportunity, and we Europeans need to act decisively and cohesively, also with our key partners.

I was in Aqaba on Saturday for the international meeting convened by Jordan – important because it included the key regional actors, the neighbours of Syria, as well as the UN, United States and the European Union. We agreed on principles which are very important to the Syrian people and to all of us: stability, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Syria, Syrian-led and Syrian-owned inclusive political process, with the support of the United Nations, government respectful of all components of society, build-up of institutions, but also the fight against Daesh and the destruction of chemical weapons, and finally, accountability for the crimes committed by the Assad regime and others.

Yesterday, EU foreign ministers endorsed these key principles and supported my proposal to swiftly design a new approach to Syria. We are already stepping up humanitarian assistance to meet emerging needs. We have a key interest in the success of the Syrian transition. We need to adapt our early recovery parameters to the new political reality, with a view to eventual reconstruction; to start reflecting on a possible revision of our sanctions regime, in order to support Syria's path to recovery while keeping our leverage; and to further support accountability efforts at this crucial juncture, in order to lay the foundations for transitional justice and reconciliation. This approach is driven by two objectives: early engagement and prudence.

Finally, we must see how the EU, and especially this House, can support the democratic aspirations of Syria. Earlier this year, in May, over 600 Syrian civil society representatives met in the European Parliament in Brussels for the Syria conference. For the eighth year in a row, Brussels was the only place in the world where Syrians from across the country and the diaspora were able to come together, and reflect on concrete issues and how to build a better future.

Now, six months later, this future of peace, freedom and dignity is closer than ever for all communities, for all people – men, women and children. It is for the Syrians to build, but the EU has much more it can do for its aspirations. This Parliament has very much to offer. I have instructed my services to start thinking about what the ninth Brussels Conference on the future of

Syria and the region could look like – this time in a new Syria. I look forward also to the European Parliament's contribution.

In conclusion, this is a critical moment for Syria and for the international community. The European Union has been consistent in its tireless efforts in supporting the Syrian people, and we must continue to do so. Together, we can help shape a future for peace, security and justice to prevail for Syria and its people.

2-0008-0000

Michael Gahler, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, liebe Vizepräsidentin und Hohe Vertreterin! Zunächst auch von meiner Seite, auch im Namen der EVP, alles Gute für die neue Funktion! Sie werden bei den großen Fragen, wo wir hier einen breiten Konsens haben, auch unsere Unterstützung haben.

Ich denke, wir haben hier eine Situation, wo wir wirklich gemeinsam mit den Syrern erleichtert sein können, dass das Ende eines der brutalsten Regime, die die Welt gesehen hat, erreicht worden ist. Es ist auch festzustellen, dass es eine strategische Niederlage für Russland und den Iran ist: diese spezifische Terrorachse in Syrien, wo wir gesehen haben, dass die russische Luftwaffe in den vergangenen Jahren dort die Städte zusammengebombt hat, so als Auftakt und Test für das, was später in der Ukraine gefolgt ist.

Ich stimme Ihnen zu, was Sie als Aufgaben jetzt dargestellt haben. Es ist auch gut, dass heute zum Beispiel die Kommissionspräsidentin in Ankara ist, um mit einem der *major players* in der Region – mit der Türkei – zu vereinbaren, wie es jetzt in der Zusammenarbeit weitergehen soll. Ich erwarte von der Türkei, dass sie auf diese neue Entwicklung nicht mit Bomben antwortet. Ich glaube, dass die syrischen Kurden nicht die Absicht haben, als Rückzugsraum für die PKK zu arbeiten, sondern die haben sich dort sehr gut organisiert, und das sollten wir anerkennen und den syrischen Kurden auch ermöglichen, ihren Beitrag zur Stabilisierung dort zu leisten.

Jetzt ist die Zeit schon vorbei, es gäbe noch viel mehr zu sagen.

2-0009-0000

Γιάννης Μανιάτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας S&D.* – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, την περασμένη εβδομάδα η ξαφνική πτώση του Άσαντ, ενός δικτάτορα που αιματοκύλισε τη Συρία, ξάφνιασε τους πάντες και γέμισε ελπίδα τους Σύριους πολίτες. Σε λιγότερο από δύο εβδομάδες η Χαγιάτ Ταχρίρ και ο ηγέτης της Αλ Γκολάνι βρέθηκαν να ελέγχουν τη Δαμασκό και την πλειοψηφία της χώρας.

Όμως κανείς αυτή τη στιγμή δεν μπορεί να είναι σίγουρος ότι η αλλαγή αυτού του καθεστώτος θα οδηγήσει πράγματι σε μια δημοκρατική, συμπεριληπτική και ανοικτή Συρία και όχι στην αντικατάσταση ενός αιμοσταγούς καθεστώτος από ένα καινούργιο. Το τζιχαντιστικό παρελθόν της Χαγιάτ Ταχρίρ και οι προηγούμενες σχέσεις της με την Αλ Κάιντα και το Ισλαμικό Κράτος, που οδήγησαν στην καταχώρισή τους στη λίστα των τρομοκρατικών οργανώσεων, δεν αφήνουν κανένα περιθώριο εφησυχασμού.

Ήδη τα πρώτα δείγματα είναι πολύ ανησυχητικά, με τη νέα μεταβατική κυβέρνηση να απέχει πολύ από το να είναι συμπεριληπτική. Δεν πρέπει να αφήσουμε τη Συρία να μετεξελιχθεί σε ένα δεύτερο Αφγανιστάν στα παράλια της Μεσογείου, ούτε να επιτρέψουμε την επανεμφάνιση του Ισλαμικού Κράτους. Πρέπει να προστατεύσουμε την πλούσια θρησκευτική παράδοση της Συρίας, συμπεριλαμβανομένων ασφαλώς και των χριστιανικών πληθυσμών.

Επίσης, πρέπει να διασφαλίσουμε ότι όλες οι εθνικές μειονότητες, όπως οι Κούρδοι, θα συμμετέχουν ισότιμα στην προετοιμασία της επόμενης μέρας. Οι επιθέσεις του Εθνικού Συριακού Στρατού που

στηρίζεται από την Τουρκία, κατά των Κούρδων της Συρίας, που συνέβαλαν αποφασιστικά στην καταπολέμηση του Ισλαμικού Κράτους είναι απαράδεκτες και πρέπει να σταματήσουν άμεσα.

Είναι ορατός ο κίνδυνος οι εμφύλιες διαμάχες να ξαναξεκινήσουν με απρόβλεπτες συνέπειες. Ο πολυετής εμφύλιος έχει αφήσει μια κατεστραμμένη χώρα. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση όχι μόνο έχει συμφέρον αλλά και καθήκον να είναι ουσιαστικά παρούσα στην περιοχή, να διαμορφώσει τις εξελίξεις και να συμμετάσχει στους σχεδιασμούς για την υλοποίηση της επόμενης μέρας. Η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος είναι η γειτονιά μας, είναι το σπίτι μας και δεν μπορούμε να το αφήσουμε σε άλλες δυνάμεις.

2-0010-0000

Jordan Bardella, *au nom du groupe PSE.* – Monsieur le Président, un dictateur sanguinaire est tombé; les héritiers de Daech et d'Al-Qaïda l'ont emporté. Si la chute de la dynastie Assad ouvre un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire du pays, la Syrie d'Al-Joulani risque d'être aussi sombre. Ces djihadistes seraient devenus des combattants de la liberté, si l'on en croit les commentaires ébahis de certaines chancelleries occidentales, mais le sort du peuple syrien semble hélas s'inscrire dans le chaos, la terreur, la répression des minorités religieuses, à commencer par celle des chrétiens, avec, bien sûr, une instabilité qui persiste, encore et toujours, aux portes de l'Europe.

L'islamisme, si tant est qu'il faille le rappeler dans cet hémicycle, est un monstre qui n'a de cesse de prospérer en Afrique, au Moyen-Orient et en Europe, où, de la Seine-Saint-Denis à Molenbeek en passant par Rotterdam, il installe chaque jour davantage ses réseaux, ses militants et ses relais. L'Europe, coupable d'aveuglement et de naïveté face aux assauts islamistes des dernières décennies, ne peut rester les bras croisés face à un conflit aux conséquences directes sur son destin.

Si un régime islamiste parvenait durablement au pouvoir en Syrie, une nouvelle crise migratoire pourrait surgir et, avec elle, le risque d'attentats sur le sol européen, qui n'en serait que décuplé. Face au péril djihadiste, la priorité de l'Europe, celle de nos États, reste la protection de nos compatriotes. La suspension du traitement des demandes d'asile, la liberté accordée aux États concernant le retour des ressortissants syriens et le renforcement des frontières extérieures de l'Europe sont des leviers d'action parfaitement vitaux pour y parvenir. Il en va de notre sécurité, de celle de nos compatriotes et de celle de nos États-nations.

2-0011-0000

Adam Bielan, *on behalf of the ECR Group.* – Mr President, first of all, let me express deepest condolences to the Syrian people, who lost hundreds of thousands of lives during the 13 years of destructive tyranny and bloody retaliation that followed the Arab Spring, orchestrated by Putin's puppet, Bashar al-Assad.

It is a euphemism to say that the change of regime is already having massive repercussions in the region. Russia's and Iran's failed states are suffering a strategic defeat, and other regional and global players are already playing their next hands.

Europe must stand prepared to support Syrians in their pursuit of political transition. This includes robust humanitarian assistance, the promotion of inclusive dialogue among all legitimate stakeholders, and the reinforcement of accountability measures for war crimes.

In parallel, we must support the new Syrian Government capacity building, ensuring that the population can safely remain in their homeland and preventing any further destabilisation in the country.

Last but not least, we cannot forget about Christians who can be in danger right now.

2-0012-0000

Nathalie Loiseau, *au nom du groupe Renew.* – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute-Représentante, Bachar el-Assad est tombé. Le message est fort et il vaut pour tous les dictateurs: aucun n'est éternel. Il vaut aussi pour tous les régimes qui s'appuient sur une alliance avec la Russie. Vladimir Poutine n'est pas un allié fiable. Bachar el-Assad est tombé, et on est saisis d'effroi à la vue des prisonniers libérés de ces mouvoirs. Nous savions, mais aujourd'hui, nous voyons ce qu'était la barbarie du régime de Bachar el-Assad. Tous ceux – y compris ici, y compris du Rassemblement national – qui ont serré la main du boucher de Damas, nous font honte.

Une nouvelle Syrie est en train de naître. L'espérance se mêle à l'incertitude. Que des rebelles islamistes aient pris Damas inquiète légitimement, notamment les chrétiens de Syrie. Toutes les composantes de la nation syrienne doivent trouver leur place dans la nouvelle Syrie. Que la Turquie s'arroge des pans entiers du pays et bombarde les Kurdes menace la lutte que ces derniers mènent avec nous contre Daech. La lutte contre le terrorisme doit impérativement se poursuivre.

Nous devons engager cette nouvelle Syrie, être prêts à revoir les sanctions et à aider à sa reconstruction en rappelant nos priorités: lutte contre le terrorisme, destruction des armes chimiques, respect des pays voisins, fin de l'alliance avec la Russie, protection des minorités, place des femmes. À ces conditions, la naissance d'une nouvelle Syrie peut être une bonne nouvelle pour le Proche-Orient.

2-0013-0000

Hannah Neumann, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.* – *(The speaker starts her speech in a non-UE language)*

'Get out, Bashar!' That's what Syrians shouted in 2014 and now he is a refugee in Moscow. No one knows exactly what this new time will bring for Syria, but for the first time in decades, my Syrian friends have hope – hope to rebuild their country – and I want the European Union to support them with humanitarian aid, with their fight against impunity and with crystal clear political signals that Europe will support all those committed to a Syrian aid process in the spirit of Resolution 2254.

And when we talk to HTS, the message needs to be crystal clear. It's not about protecting women and minorities. It's about building a government where they sit at the table like everyone else. And to get there, dear colleagues, we also need to revisit our debates on asylum, Mr Bardella.

While Syrians celebrated the end of Assad's reign, while families were searching in Syria's ruins for their loved ones, some in here had no other thought than how fast can we get rid of Syrians? But, colleagues, can we please remember that Syrians are human beings like you and me? Would you uproot your family right now to bring them to an unstable, violent country? Or would you want to go first and just assess the situation? That's exactly what Syrians want to do and it's in our interest to let them.

To build a democratic Syria, we need those that fled Assad on the ground. To rebuild Syria, we need entrepreneurs to invest and travel to the countries and forced returns, dear colleagues, will not happen for another year or two at least. So why don't we let Syrians travel to Syria to sort things out and upon return, decide with their families on the best way to go ahead?

Our current asylum rules prevent them to do exactly this. This is why we need temporary exceptions in our interests and in theirs.

Dear colleagues, I refuse to give up the hope for a democratic Syria just because some in here fuel toxic asylum debates. Let's stand with Syrians to rebuild the country that heals its wounds and is a free country for everyone.

2-0014-0000

Martin Schirdewan, im Namen der Fraktion *The Left*. – Herr Präsident, Hohe Vertreterin! Die Freude über den Sturz Assads und seine feige Flucht in den Schoß seines Kriegskumpels Putin haben wir in den letzten Tagen millionenfach auf den Straßen in Syrien, aber auch in Europa gespürt, doch die Zukunft Syriens ist offen. Der neue Anführer al-Dschaulari ist ein mit 10 Millionen Dollar Kopfgeld gesuchter Islamist. Seine Miliz, die HTS, wird als Terrororganisation von der UNO gelistet. Und es ist pure rassistische Heuchelei, jetzt darüber zu reden, wie man schnellstmöglich die vor 14 endlosen Jahren Bürgerkrieg geflohenen Syrer zurück ins Ungewisse verschickt. Deutschland hat eine Million syrische Kriegsflüchtlinge aufgenommen. Viele arbeiten in systemrelevanten Jobs wie dem Gesundheits- und dem Verkehrssektor. Deutschland braucht diese Arbeitskräfte. Es braucht aber auch diese Menschen, die für viele zu Nachbarn und Freunden geworden sind.

Die Zeiten, in denen die EU im Nahen Osten eine politische Rolle spielte, sind längst vorbei. Und auch heute ist wieder eine unerträgliche Doppelmoral zum Vorschein gekommen: Das Schweigen der Kommission gegenüber dem seit Jahren anhaltenden völkerrechtswidrigen Krieg der Türkei gegen Kurdistan ist ohrenbetäubend, und ebenso bei der Verletzung des Waffenstillstandsabkommens und der völkerrechtswidrigen Besetzung weiterer syrischer Gebiete durch Israel. Diktator Erdoğan, der ungeniert von seinem großosmanischen Reich träumt, arbeitet mit islamistischen Milizen zusammen, die Frauen und Kinder versklaven und in ihrem Vernichtungswunsch gegenüber Kurden und Jesiden in nichts dem IS nachstehen. Und so oft, wie man Sie in den letzten Jahren „*Slawa Ukrajini*“ hat hören sagen, so oft habe ich mir gewünscht, Sie hätten nur einmal „*Bijî Rojava*“ gesagt. Die Kurden haben den IS besiegt – ihnen sollte unsere Dankbarkeit gehören. Die Türkei muss ihren Krieg gegen Kurdistan sofort einstellen.

Die EU muss jetzt die demokratisch-autonome Administration in Nord- und Ostsyrien anerkennen und bilaterale diplomatische Beziehungen zu ihr aufnehmen – das wäre glaubwürdige europäische Außenpolitik. Und wir brauchen jetzt das geschlossene Signal der EU zur Anerkennung eines palästinensischen Staates. Denn der Schlüssel zur Befriedung des Nahen Ostens liegt in der Lösung der Palästinenserfrage.

Israel muss den Krieg in Gaza und das Sterben und Leiden der palästinensischen Zivilbevölkerung sofort beenden und das humanitäre Völkerrecht einhalten. Die israelischen Geiseln müssen von der Hamas freigelassen werden. Ein sicheres und souveränes Israel braucht ein sicheres und souveränes Palästina an seiner Seite, sonst wird diese Region niemals zur Ruhe kommen.

2-0015-0000

Milan Uhrík, za skupinu ESN. – Vážený pán predsedajúci, pred malou chvíľou som videl šokujúce zábery z Nemecka, kde tisíce sýrskych imigrantov pochodovali cez vianočné trhy a vykrikovali tam Allah Akbar. Ešte raz. Tisíce sýrskych migrantov cez vianočné trhy plné pekných stánkov, vianočných stromčekov, rodičov a detí tešiacich sa na Vianoce. A ja sa vás pýtam, či je toto tá Európa, ktorú chcete, aby sa proste ľudia báli ísť na vianočné trhy? Ale teraz je šanca na zmenu. Hovoríte, že v Sýrii nastupuje demokratická vláda. V poriadku, skúsme to. Je najvyšší čas. Tak ako Európska únia pomáhala tým imigrantom vstupovať na územie Európskej únie, pomôcť im zabezpečiť návrat domov. Všetkým tým mládencom, ktorí vykrikujú v európskych mestách.

Všetkým tým imigrantom, ktorí nechali svoje ženy a deti vo vojne a ušli do Európy. Pomôcť vrátiť sa naspäť. Urobme ešte raz dobrý skutok a pomôžme ich odpratať preč z Európy.

2-0016-0000

Ingeborg Ter Laak (PPE). – Voorzitter, collega's, commissaris, wij kunnen ons geen voorstelling maken van de gruwelijkheden die in Syrië hebben plaatsgevonden. Meer dan vijftig jaar dictatorschap en er blijft een zwaar getraumatiseerd land achter, dat nog steeds zeer verdeeld is. De minderheid heeft jarenlang over de meerderheid geregeerd. Dit brengt veel onzekerheid en onvoorspelbaarheid met zich mee.

Wij weten niet hoe het nieuwe regime zich zal gaan ontwikkelen, maar we moeten hoopvol zijn en het een kans geven om deze rechtvaardige staat te ontwikkelen. Voor het nieuwe Syrië moet er een grondwet komen die de verschillende Syriërs rechten geeft: vrouwen en etnische en religieuze minderheden.

De Europese Unie moet zich inzetten om op basis van een rechtsstaat deze steun te bieden. Onderdeel hiervan zou moeten zijn om de diplomatieke banden aan te halen, zoals Frankrijk op dit moment doet om de ambassades in Syrië op termijn te heropenen. Dit is het moment waarop Europa er bovenop moet zitten. Zeker nu al die verschillende landen met minder goede intenties zich in het conflict mengen. Nu is de tijd voor verandering. Wij moeten als Europa diplomatieke banden aanhalen, zorgen voor stabiliteit in de regio en daar waar dat nodig is ondersteuning bieden.

2-0017-0000

Marco Tarquinio (S&D). – Signor Presidente, signora Alta rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, il brutale regime di Assad è passato e questo già basta per sperare.

Tuttavia il cammino verso la pacificazione, la sicurezza e la democrazia in Siria è ancora ripido, incerto e lungo, come Lei ha detto. Per questo, qui e ora serve un forte impegno politico e diplomatico dell'UE: vanno esercitate pressioni con tutti gli strumenti a nostra disposizione sul governo di transizione, affinché venga avviato, garantito e rispettato un processo democratico basato sul rispetto dello Stato di diritto, sull'eguaglianza tra donne e uomini e sull'affermazione dei diritti fondamentali di tutto quel popolo mosaico – arabi, curdi, turcomanni, circassi, armeni, musulmani, sunniti, sciiti, alawiti, drusi e cristiani.

E, se veramente crediamo nell'importanza del coinvolgimento di tutto il popolo nel processo di transizione in una Siria che non resti a pezzi, non possiamo che rimanere attoniti per le dichiarazioni e le azioni di alcuni Stati membri. Rigettare le richieste di asilo siriane è oggi follia: la Siria non è un paese sicuro e in pace.

C'è piuttosto la necessità urgente di un aumento degli aiuti umanitari, perché la situazione di persone e comunità è drammatica e dovremmo saggiamente darci quadri normativi innovativi e flessibili in materia di asilo, che permettano ai siriani oggi accolti nell'UE di poter tornare nella terra d'origine per contribuire al processo di transizione, senza però rischiare di perdere lo status di rifugiati.

Infine, giustamente, si parla tanto dell'influenza russa e iraniana sulla Siria di Assad. Sì, certe catene devono sparire. Conto che Lei sarà in grado di ricordare anche agli alleati d'Occidente, Turchia e Israele, che il diritto internazionale non può mai fare eccezioni.

Che l'UE sia all'altezza di queste sfide!

2-0018-0000

António Tânger Corrêa (PFE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária e Vice-Presidente da Comissão, uma mensagem que eu gostava de lhe passar, Senhora Comissária, é que não vai ter um trabalho fácil nesta fase da Síria.

Um terrorista será sempre um terrorista. Alguém que esteve em Abu Ghraib nunca mais se esquece na vida. O que é que eu quero dizer com isto? Quero dizer que quem tomou o poder na Síria, neste momento, foram movimentos terroristas e mercenários a soldo de vários países.

Em termos de geoestratégia, temos uma Turquia que, neste momento, já atua no terreno, temos Israel que ocupou uma *buffer zone* para a proteger, temos outras forças — não pensem que o Irão perdeu nesta troca, porque isto foi o resultado de um acordo —, temos a Irmandade Muçulmana por trás das forças terroristas que fizeram um deal em Doha. Portanto, vamos ter um assunto extremamente complicado e vai ser muito difícil levar a ajuda humanitária a quem precisa. Pode ter a certeza disso, porque eles não vão deixar.

E, já agora, gostava de dizer o seguinte: se a União Europeia, de uma vez por todas, neste assunto, não pegar nas rédeas do problema e se não avançar, nunca mais avançará, porque perderá, completamente, a sua face e vai ser uma União Europeia enfraquecida que, daqui para a frente, vai tentar lidar com os assuntos que se lhe põem.

Portanto, Senhora Comissária, eu gostava que, em vez de ficarmos como aquela música sempre *paroles, paroles*, passássemos à ação e transformássemos a União Europeia num parceiro de confiança, num parceiro atuante.

2-0019-0000

Alberico Gambino (ECR). – Signor Presidente, signora Vicepresidente – auguri per il Suo nuovo incarico – onorevoli colleghi, la caduta del regime di Assad rappresenta un momento storico cruciale non solo per la Siria, ma per l'intero scenario geopolitico del Medio Oriente.

L'Europa ha la responsabilità di guidare questa transizione, evitando gli errori compiuti in passato sia in Iraq che in Libia, dove la mancanza di una strategia chiara ha lasciato quei paesi nel caos.

Oggi è fondamentale ricordare che la stabilità della Siria dipende anche dalla regione circostante, in particolare dalla Giordania, che sta già affrontando le conseguenze di questa crisi.

La recente dichiarazione della Presidente von der Leyen, che ha espresso il pieno sostegno dell'Unione europea alla Giordania, è un segno tangibile di come l'Europa intende lavorare a stretto contatto con i paesi limitrofi alla Siria per garantire una transizione politica ordinata, in linea con i principi della risoluzione 2254 del Consiglio di sicurezza delle Nazioni Unite.

Una Siria instabile è una bomba a orologeria non soltanto per il rischio concreto di esplosione della migrazione, ma soprattutto per le infiltrazioni di gruppi terroristici in Europa e non solo.

L'Unione europea deve garantire, con fermezza, la fornitura di supporto umanitario e la ricostruzione di infrastrutture vitali attraverso la Giordania. Sono convinto che con questa Commissione e con questo Parlamento si potrà lavorare affinché questa transizione possa avvenire nel modo più democratico possibile.

2-0020-0000

Hilde Vautmans (Renew). – Mr President, colleagues, the West has failed to prevent the Syrian tragedy. The West has failed to protect itself and create security for the Europeans. Since the outbreak of the Arab Spring, neither we nor the Americans have done anything substantial to support the Syrian people or to oust Bashar al-Assad. The horrifying images of the Sednaya prison will remain etched in everyone's memory. We must not make the same mistake again and show some backbone. What we do or fail to do can make an enormous difference – the difference between stability or chaos; the difference between Syrian refugees returning home or even more Syrian refugees coming to Europe.

My proposal is that you do two very concrete actions. One, engage in dialogue with the new power brokers, no hesitation, at the highest level, Kaja. Not like the Council said. Do it at your level. Only political pressure can prevent them to radicalise. And secondly, organise a global donor conference for the reconstruction of Syria. Take the lead. Because, let's be honest, we did nothing when the Syrian revolution broke out on 15 March 2011. We did nothing to support the democratic opposition. We left the field to ISIS, Iran and Russia, to murderers and terrorists. Do the opposite of what the Orbán regime is asking you, and you will be on the right side of history.

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

2-0021-0000

Petras Gražulis (ESN), *pakėlus mėlynąją kortelę pateiktas klausimas.* – Gerbiama pranešėja, ką tik jūs pasakėte, kad Europa mažai padarė, kad būtų nuverstas Assadas. Bet dabar, kada Assadą nuvertė, kažkodėl Izraelis, Amerikos pajėgos ir Europos pajėgos pradėjo bombarduoti kiekvieną dieną Izraelį. Ar čia pagalba dabar tiems, kurie atėjo naujai į valdžią ir nuvertė Izraelį... Assadą? Žūsta žmonės, vaikai, infrastruktūra griauinama ir Europa tyli. Kaip vertinate šitą situaciją?

2-0022-0000

Hilde Vautmans (Renew), *blue-card answer.* – Well, honestly, I think you didn't listen to my speech – because that was exactly what I'm saying. Europe cannot wait. We have to take the lead. We have to engage with the new people who are in power there and talk to them at the highest political level.

2-0023-0000

Mounir Satouri (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute-Représentante, un envoyé spécial et 160 millions d'euros d'aides européennes, c'est bien, mais cela reste insuffisant vis-à-vis de la situation de chaos qui règne en Syrie. On parle d'un pays meurtri par un demi-siècle d'oppression. On parle d'un peuple contraint à l'exil pour échapper à l'arbitraire, à la torture et à la mort. On parle de crimes contre l'humanité qu'il est impératif de documenter pour établir la vérité et savoir à qui en incombe la responsabilité.

J'invite le pouvoir syrien à faire appel à la justice internationale pour collecter et préserver les preuves. La justice est un prérequis à la paix. C'est aujourd'hui qu'il faut lui garantir les conditions de s'exercer demain, dans une Syrie libre et démocratique. Il faut donner toutes ses chances à la transition démocratique et rétablir les relations diplomatiques dès que possible. Notre soutien doit être exigeant en matière de respect des droits de l'homme, et en particulier en matière de respect des droits des femmes et des minorités.

J'ai une pensée particulière pour la communauté kurde, dont le rôle a été déterminant dans la lutte contre l'État islamique. Nous devons protéger le peuple kurde des vellétés turques. Nous devons

également protéger la souveraineté syrienne des velléités israéliennes. Enfin, nous devons protéger les Syriennes et les Syriens qui sont réfugiés sur nos territoires des velléités de l'extrême droite.

2-0024-0000

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Monsieur le Président, Madame Kallas, vous qui, après la chute du régime d'Assad et en tant que nouvelle ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Union européenne, condamnez – à raison – la présence russe en Syrie, vous ne condamnez en revanche pas la présence américaine ou la présence israélienne – bizarrement. Vous parlez de Syrie libre, mais vous acceptez que vos alliés israéliens, américains, etc. occupent illégalement une partie du pays. Comment construire un pays libre sous occupation? Vous parlez de Syrie indépendante, mais vous acceptez que les Américains contrôlent le pétrole et que les Israéliens détruisent l'armée. Comment construire un pays indépendant sans armée ni pétrole? Vous dites vouloir aider les Syriens, mais, depuis une décennie, l'Union européenne détruit l'économie de la Syrie par des sanctions.

Alors, Madame Kallas, aujourd'hui les actes parlent plus clairement que les paroles. Il faut le dire: l'Europe, à l'heure actuelle, n'est pas en train d'œuvrer pour une Syrie forte et indépendante, mais pour un pays faible, divisé, prêt à être exploité sans merci par nos multinationales – comme tant d'autres pays dans la région, d'ailleurs.

Pétrole, gaz, géopolitique: l'Europe, aujourd'hui, ne défend que les intérêts de ses multinationales, et tout le reste – le discours concernant le droit international, etc. – est clairement pour la galerie.

2-0025-0000

Alexander Sell (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Deutschlands Innenministerin ist besorgt, nach dem Sturz von Assad könnten Islamisten einreisen. Aber: Nancy Faeser sorgt sich nicht um die Einreise von Islamisten nach Deutschland – ihre Sorge gilt der Sicherheit in Syrien. Denn über eine Million Syrer sind nach Deutschland geflüchtet, darunter zahlreiche Islamisten und Kriegsverbrecher.

Im September begann in München der Prozess gegen drei Syrer, Kämpfer für den Islamischen Staat. In Hamburg steht ein Syrer wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit vor Gericht und in Frankfurt einer, der Jesidinnen vergewaltigt und versklavt hat. Dazu kommen über 100 000 Straftaten im vergangenen Jahr, von Syrern begangen, in Deutschland, von Menschen, die von uns ein Haus, eine ärztliche Versorgung und Bürgergeld bekommen.

Die deutsche Innenministerin sorgt sich jetzt, dass diese Kriminellen nach Syrien zurückkehren könnten. Mich besorgt eher, dass noch mehr von denen zu uns kommen nach Deutschland, ins All-inclusive-Resort für Terroristen und Kriegsverbrecher aus aller Welt.

Deshalb müssen wir jetzt realistisch sein: Erstens: Grenzen schließen; zweitens: abschieben; drittens: keinen Cent für das neue Regime in Damaskus.

2-0026-0000

Grzegorz Braun (NI). – Mr President, *Laudetur Jesus Christus*. God bless everybody, Syrians and all the others. The question is: who's next? Who's next that you are going to nominate for a bad guy? Somebody to be erased, delegitimised. Somebody that you want to help rob, kill. Who's next?

Because as long as I'm listening to your debates here, each and every time you nominate somebody. You nominate Russia, obviously, China, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania. These are the countries that you don't like.

You want to take Europe to war. All along you were being grotesque with your war mongering. Now you are being more and more dangerous: more and more dangerous to the people of Europe and to the people of the world.

So who's next, Madam Commissioner, that you are going to nominate?

2-0027-0000

David McAllister (PPE). – Mr President, thank you for giving me the floor. Madam High Representative / Vice-President, great to see you here sitting in the plenary.

As we have heard this morning, the reaction to the fall of Bashar al-Assad has been relief, also at yesterday's Foreign Affairs Council, and rightly so.

This dictator and his regime are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, far more than ISIS and all other so-called rebels combined. And indeed, the fall of Mr Assad represents a significant loss for Iran. Assad Syria was, alongside Hezbollah, a key component of Iran's so-called axis of resistance. Through Assad, it was the Mullah regime that was able to project its power across the Middle East.

And the same far-reaching consequences apply for Mr Putin. Beyond the blow to this 'axis of terror', as my colleague Michael Gahler just named it, let us not underestimate the enormous new challenges the transition carries within Syria. The rebels are led by the jihadist militia HTS, which is an extremist group that has its origins in the Islamic State and was allied with al-Qaeda.

Mr al-Jolani is now confronted with the enormous task of bringing peace to Syria in an inclusive process that respects the voices of all religious and ethnic minorities, whether it be Alawites, Christians, Druze, Shiites or Kurds.

Relief and concern are not a contradiction, but rather the foundation for a reasonable policy towards the realities and uncertainties of the entire region. There is also room for hope. The European Union should not allow a vacuum in Syria. Let us engage and try to stabilise the country and constructively reach out to other powers which have sway in the country. Madam Kallas, I am glad to see you are already working exactly to this end.

2-0028-0000

Leire Pajín (S&D). – Señor presidente, bienvenida, señora Kallas. «Queremos volver, pero tenemos miedo. Y la cuestión es volver a dónde». Estas son las palabras de Shadia, una mujer siria que, junto a su esposo y dos hijas con discapacidad, huyó de Homs hace cinco años debido a la brutal dictadura en su país. Hoy Shadia y su familia se encuentran en un campamento de refugiados del Líbano, al igual que millones de sirios en la región. En la región: conviene subrayarlo también hoy aquí ante quienes, una vez más, aprovechan este debate para intentar sembrar el odio en nuestras sociedades. ¿Dónde queda su humanidad?

Porque la situación humanitaria que vive la población siria es una de las crisis más graves de nuestro tiempo. Más de trece millones de personas han sido desplazadas. Más del 90 % de la población siria necesita asistencia humanitaria urgente. Y, en un contexto de crisis como el que vivimos, la Unión Europea debe actuar de manera decidida con un aumento urgente de la ayuda humanitaria, sin tener tentaciones de reducir cuantitativamente esa ayuda.

Es positivo el compromiso que hemos visto hoy aquí, así como el anuncio de la Unión Europea de estos días. Pero no es suficiente. Tenemos que mantenerlo y sostenerlo en el tiempo. No podemos permitir que la Unión Europea y la comunidad internacional se olviden otra vez del pueblo sirio dentro de unas semanas o de unos meses. La Unión debe trabajar con todas las partes y garantizar un Estado y garantizar un futuro, también el acceso a ayuda humanitaria, al pueblo sirio.

Es verdad, como decía la presidenta de la Comisión, que se abre un tiempo de esperanza, pero eso dependerá de si nosotros estamos a la altura. Debemos poner al pueblo sirio en el centro de nuestra acción y humanizar esta crisis: dejar de hablar de números y empezar a hablar de personas.

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

2-0029-0000

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR), *sinisen kortin kysymys*. – Arvoisa edustaja, kun sota alkoi ja ihmisiä lähti pakenemaan, niin puhuttiin siitä, että heille pitää tarjota suojaa niin kauan kuin nämä olosuhteet vallitsevat. Ja nyt sen jälkeen kun tämä al-Assadin hallinto on kaatunut, niin varmasti moni ajattelee perustellusti niin, että nyt nimenomaan olisi oikea aika sitten palata kotiin.

Te sen sijaan puhuitte siitä, että täällä käytetään tilannetta hyväksi vihapuheen edistämiseen. Minun mielestäni tämä on ihan realistista puhetta. Oletteko sitä mieltä, että Syyriaa voidaan rakentaa Syyrian ulkopuolelta? Itse ajattelen niin, että syyrialaiset, jotka palaavat Syyriaan, he voivat lähteä rakentamaan maata sisäpuolelta, että heitä tarvitaan rakentamaan Syyriaa.

2-0030-0000

Leire Pajín (S&D), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»*. – Lo que yo defiendo, señoría, hoy, entonces y siempre, es el acceso a la ayuda humanitaria en igualdad de condiciones de todos los seres humanos. Lo que yo defiendo es la necesidad de dejar de sembrar el odio cada vez que existe un conflicto y de dejar de utilizar las tragedias humanas para sembrar el odio en nuestras sociedades, como ustedes hacen una y otra vez. Dejen ya de aprovecharse de las situaciones realmente devastadoras de los demás. Debemos ser solidarios. Debemos construir una nueva esperanza para el pueblo sirio. Debemos garantizar la ayuda humanitaria y, lo que es más importante, debemos garantizar un futuro de esperanza para el pueblo sirio.

2-0031-0000

Jean-Paul Garraud (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute-Représentante, la chute de la dictature de Bachar el-Assad aurait pu incarner un formidable espoir pour le peuple syrien, mais elle risque de l'entraîner dans un chaos encore plus profond. La fin du régime brutal qui a opprimé les Syriens pendant des années a laissé la place aux milices djihadistes, synonymes de terreur et d'obscurantisme. Comment ne pas être horrifié face à une telle situation? Ces hommes, ces femmes, ces enfants, ces minorités religieuses – notamment chrétiennes – voient leur avenir terriblement s'assombrir. La Syrie, terre de richesses culturelles et historiques, devient un champ de ruines, où l'instabilité et le désordre règnent.

Mais il faut voir avec quelle légèreté, avec quel aveuglement certaines chancelleries occidentales – dont le Quai d'Orsay, en France – se sont empressées de saluer la victoire des rebelles – ainsi nommés –, alors qu'il s'agit d'islamistes, et que l'islamisme modéré n'existe pas. Les exemples passés de l'Iran, de l'Iraq ou encore de la Libye auraient dû inviter à plus de retenue et à moins de naïveté.

Attention, par ailleurs, aux conséquences pour l'Europe! De tels bouleversements provoquent des flux migratoires de masse. La violence et le chaos ne doivent pas être importés sur notre sol. L'Union européenne se doit de réagir avec lucidité et fermeté, tout d'abord en protégeant nos frontières extérieures, et ensuite en revenant sur le pacte migratoire européen, qui veut obliger à une répartition automatique d'une immigration de masse. C'est un devoir envers nos peuples, une garantie de sécurité face aux menaces, mais c'est aussi un appel à agir, à soutenir les forces qui combattent l'islamisme et à protéger les communautés persécutées. Il faut enfin que toute demande d'asile soit traitée à l'extérieur de l'Union européenne. C'est là une obligation sécuritaire minimale dans le contexte international de grande instabilité que le monde connaît.

2-0032-0000

Γεάδης Γεάδης (ECR). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η κατάσταση στη Συρία είναι χαοτική, αφού μοιάζει με ένα κατακερματισμένο τοπίο. Ως εκ τούτου, κυρία Επίτροπε, δεν σηκώνει ούτε αισιοδοξία ούτε εφησυχασμό. Μην ξεχνάτε ότι μπορεί να έπεσε ένα δικτατορικό καθεστώς και στη θέση του να έχουμε ένα άλλο δικτατορικό καθεστώς που είναι βαθιά εξτρεμιστικό, ακραία ισλαμικό.

Η σημερινή, όπως αποκαλείται, μεταβατική κυβέρνηση του HTS, να θυμίσω ότι βρίσκεται από το 2014 στη λίστα των τρομοκρατικών οργανώσεων του State Department. Το γεγονός όμως ότι είδαμε σε πολλές ευρωπαϊκές χώρες από την πρώτη στιγμή να ανεμίζουν σημαίες του Ελεύθερου Συριακού Στρατού, που έχει άρρηκτους δεσμούς με το Ισλαμικό Κράτος, είναι κάτι που προκαλεί ανησυχίες. Πόσο μάλλον για την Κύπρο, αφού πίσω από το νέο καθεστώς βρίσκεται η Τουρκία, που αποδεδειγμένα εργαλειοποιεί το μεταναστευτικό με σκοπό να αλλοιώσει πληθυσμιακά το νησί μας.

Κρούω τον κώδωνα του κινδύνου. Αφού οι ανησυχίες τόσων Σύριων που βρίσκονται στην Ευρώπη έπαψαν να υπάρχουν, έφτασε η ώρα να επιστρέψουν στη χώρα τους. Ας είμαστε προμηθείς και όχι επιμηθείς. Ας αποτρέψουμε την παράνομη μετανάστευση να λειτουργήσει ως πέμπτη φάλαγγα μέσα στις ευρωπαϊκές μας πατρίδες.

2-0033-0000

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Hohe Vertreterin, es ist mir eine Freude, Sie heute hier zu sehen. Es gibt auch noch einen Moment des Glücks, als wir gehört haben, dass Assad endlich verschwunden ist. Möge er in Moskau sein Glück finden. Meine Damen und Herren, es gehört aber auch zur Wahrheit dazu, zu reflektieren, was Europa in den letzten Jahren gemacht hat, dass überhaupt ein solches Vakuum entstehen konnte und Russland dort eindringen und so brutal Assad unterstützen konnte – wir kennen ja das Schema Russlands auch in der Ukraine.

Es ist eine Chance, die Europa jetzt hat, nämlich auch in Syrien mit Stabilität zu schaffen, weil Stabilität in Syrien auch ein Schutz für Europa ist. Und wir werden sehen, ob die Islamisten wirklich die Zukunft Syriens sind und nicht wie in Afghanistan hohle Worte – und dann unterdrücken sie die Menschen dort weiterhin.

Ja, Europa kann präsent sein, wirtschaftlich, humanitär, auch diplomatisch. Und es können auch die Syrer, die in Europa bereits ihre Heimat und ihre Existenz aufgebaut haben, Brücke und Unterstützer sein. Wichtig aber ist: Europa, die europäische Fahne muss präsent sein, und ich bin sicher, Hohe Vertreterin, dass Sie die Richtige sind, die eben das Bild Europas letztlich auch zeichnen kann.

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

2-0034-0000

Özlem Demirel (The Left), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Danke schön, Frau Strack-Zimmermann, dass Sie die Nachfrage erlauben.

Ich würde sagen, die vom Krieg gebeutelten Völker Syriens haben die Sehnsucht nach Freiheit, Gleichheit, Demokratie, Frieden und Gerechtigkeit. Es ist so, dass in Syrien seit Jahrzehnten nicht nur Großmächte wie Russland oder die USA wüten, sondern akut auch Israel bombardiert und die Türkei die Dschihadisten vorschickt gegen die progressiven Kräfte in Rojava, gegen die Kurden.

Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist das Land in Europa – vor allen Dingen auch mit einer Beteiligung Ihrer Partei in der Regierung –, das seit Monaten ausnahmslos Waffen liefert an Israel und auch stolz darauf ist; und sie ist das Land, das im Oktober noch mal Waffenlieferungen in Höhe von 250 Millionen Euro hingelegt hat.

Frau Strack-Zimmermann, wie wollen Sie so zu einem nachhaltigen Frieden beitragen? Mit Waffen in die Region bestimmt nicht, oder?

2-0035-0000

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Vielen Dank, Herr Präsident! Sie redet immer lange, ohne eine Frage zu stellen – das kennen wir schon. Insofern kann ich Ihnen nur sagen: Die Lage ist extrem komplex und deswegen muss Europa genau die Rolle finden, die es eben jahrelang nicht ausgefüllt hat. Und dazu gehören alle Beteiligten, die an einen Tisch gesetzt werden müssen.

Und einen letzten Satz, weil Sie es ja gerade wieder nicht lassen konnten, den Bogen zu Israel zu schlagen: Israel wurde jahrzehntelang bombardiert von Syrien, und Israel hat jetzt dafür gesorgt, dass die Giftgasdepots zerstört worden sind und die Luftwaffe dort, damit eben nicht Islamisten in die Hände dessen kommen, was Assad gemacht hat, nämlich Menschen umzubringen.

Ich bin optimistisch, dass Frau Kallas die Richtige ist, um sich mit denen an einen Tisch zu setzen, die wir brauchen, und um eben dort für Frieden zu sorgen. Und da sind wir einer Meinung: Die Menschen brauchen Sicherheit, sie brauchen Frieden und sie brauchen die Chance, die wir hier in Europa haben, in Frieden und Freiheit zu leben – egal welche Religion, egal welche Ethnie.

2-0036-0000

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, High Representative, welcome.

After 50 years of repression, escalated in a 13-year-long brutal war, the Assad regime has fallen.

Finally, Syrian citizens have a chance at building a safe and free country. The EU must do everything in its power to help make that really happen and also to hold the Assad regime accountable.

But we are still far from true celebration. Look at the unstable situation, the unlawful attacks by regional actors and the level of destruction. Yet, EU countries who often take years to decide on asylum claims now rush to premature decisions, freezing asylum examinations and even announcing deportations of Syrians.

This is harming Syrian people, who cannot return in safety now and are still entitled to protection. But it also sends a dangerous signal to neighbouring countries like Türkiye and Lebanon. A sudden, massive return now can only further destabilise the country.

So, what the Syrians need is full support, safety and protection wherever they are. They have suffered enough.

2-0037-0000

Γιώργος Γεωργίου (The Left). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύρια Kallas, έπεσε λοιπόν ο Άσαντ, ο δικτάτορας, και άρχισαν τα πανηγύρια, σαν εκείνα που γίνονταν για το Ιράκ και τη Λιβύη. Είδαμε βέβαια τι άνοιξη έφερε για τους λαούς της.

Και τώρα ήρθαν ποιοι; Οι μέχρι χτες τρομοκράτες, επικηρυγμένοι τζιχαντιστές, αιμοσταγείς δολοφόνοι, που τώρα και εσείς τους βαφτίζετε ως απελευθερωτές και αξιότιμους συνομιλητές. Πόση υποκρισία! Για χρόνια καταλυόταν η εδαφική κυριαρχία της Συρίας και η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν μιλούσε. Δεν ήταν βέβαια, βλέπετε, Ουκρανία.

Το σενάριο είναι εφιαλτικό. Η Συρία απειλείται με διαμελισμό. Μοιράζουν τα ιμάτιά της, τα κομμάτια της οι Ρώσοι και οι Αμερικάνοι. Εισβάλλουν και καταλαμβάνουν περιοχές οι Τούρκοι, που χτυπούν ανελέητα τους Κούρδους. Ο ποινικός υπόδικος Νετανιάχου προβαίνει σε παράνομους εποικισμούς στο Γκολάν για να φτιάξει το μεγάλο Ισραήλ. Σας υπενθυμίζω, μήπως και το ξεχάσατε, ότι συνεχίζεται η γενοκτονία στη Γάζα.

Η Ευρώπη ως συνήθως απούσα. Κάντε το ελάχιστο. Διασφαλίστε την εδαφική ακεραιότητα και ενότητα της Συρίας. Αφήστε τον βασανισμένο συριακό λαό να αποφασίσει ελεύθερα για το μέλλον του.

2-0038-0000

Petar Volgin (ESN). – Господин Председател, уважаеми колеги, не знам дали сте забелязали, ама държавата Сирия умря. На нейно място има врящ казан, където бълбукат войнствени джихадисти, кюрди, друзи и всякакви агенти на чужди интереси. Тази взривоопасна смес бе забъркана от Съединените щати, Турция, Израел, Великобритания.

Изобщо всеки път, когато някоя цивилизована държава реши да оправя нецивилизовани според нея държави, настава тотален разпад и загиват много хора. Преди 20 години Съединените щати обещаха да демократизират Ирак, а вместо това акушираха създаването на Ислямска държава. После Западът реши да демократизира Либия, а вместо това отвори пътя към Европа на стотици хиляди нелегални имигранти.

Днес същите тези западни цивилизатори взеха един джихадист Мохамед ал Джолани, свалиха му чаршафосаните дрехи, подстригаха му брадата и го обявиха за либералната Майка Тереза. И ни убеждават колко цивилизован бил станал.

Някога Съединените щати по същия бащински начин се държаха с Осама бин Ладен, защото бяха сигурни, че той винаги ще изпълнява техните нареждания. Всички знаем до какво доведе това тогава. Едва ли днес ще бъде по различно.

2-0039-0000

Massimiliano Salini (PPE). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la voce che si alza da questo Parlamento è una voce legittimamente desiderosa e sognante dello Stato di diritto anche in Siria, ma la marcia – lo sappiamo – è estremamente complessa.

Abbiamo di fronte a noi divisioni enormi all'interno di quel paese e un'enorme divisione anche tra tutti coloro che al di fuori di quel paese hanno scelto i propri interlocutori, dentro l'enorme spaccatura sociale.

Anche questo dibattito ha dimostrato divisioni – ognuno si sceglie il proprio alleato preferito. Sarà una marcia molto difficile, cara Vicepresidente.

Vi è un particolare tipo di rischio: due attori, nello scenario siriano, si sono confrontati dividendosi, ovvero Russia e Turchia. Tra questi due attori c'è una differenza: la Russia non è nostro alleato e ha invaso recentemente un paese non europeo; la Turchia è nostro alleato nella NATO e ha invaso un paese europeo, come Cipro.

Allora dobbiamo decidere con chi stare per trovare la pace in Siria, capendo che Russia e Turchia, divise su tutto, hanno spesso un argomento su cui si uniscono: fare danni all'Europa. Questo sarà il punto di lavoro più rischioso per noi.

2-0040-0000

Francisco Assis (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária e Vice-Presidente, Caras e Caros colegas, as imagens que nos chegaram da prisão de Saydnaya são a representação do mal absoluto de que os seres humanos são por vezes capazes.

Infelizmente, ao mal absoluto não sucede necessariamente o bem. E a realidade síria é demasiado complexa e dolorosa para que possamos olhar para o futuro com otimismo. Olhemos, contudo, com alguma esperança.

Há, agora, um caminho que claramente se bifurca. Num caminho que nós desejaríamos — altamente improvável —, que seria o que levaria a um regime tolerante e multiétnico. E naquele que nós não queremos — mas que, infelizmente, é possível —, que conduziria à instauração de uma violenta teocracia repressiva.

A primeira questão é a de sabermos até que ponto o povo sírio poderá escolher livremente o seu caminho e até que ponto, infelizmente, não serão outros povos e outros Estados a escolher em vez do povo sírio, e este a ser um mero juguete no tabuleiro geopolítico da região.

Neste momento, conhecemos algumas declarações dos rebeldes que tomaram o poder. Essas declarações apontam para uma pacificação da Síria, para uma transição organizada, mas devem ser questionadas. E nós temos a obrigação de o fazer. Devemos perguntar-lhes se vão, ou não, respeitar as minorias étnicas e religiosas e procurar uma coexistência harmoniosa. Se vão, ou não, responsabilizar penalmente os criminosos de guerra, nomeadamente aqueles que usaram armas químicas contra civis indefesos.

Ao mesmo tempo, a União Europeia deve negociar, desde já, corredores humanitários para ajudar a população necessitada.

E não nos esqueçamos de uma coisa: a Síria está destruída e uma das nossas primeiras funções é apoiar fortemente a Síria no seu processo de reconstrução.

2-0041-0000

Tom Vandendriessche (Pfe). – Voorzitter, collega's, Syrië heeft dringend nood aan zijn dokters en ingenieurs die de voorbije jaren naar Europa kwamen. Asielrecht mag immers nooit een migratiekanaal zijn dat leidt naar een permanent verblijf. Het is en blijft een tijdelijke maatregel

voor mensen in nood. Daarbij hoort de duidelijke afspraak terug te keren naar huis zodra de situatie opgeklaard is.

Voor de Syrische asielzoekers is dat moment nu aangebroken. De nieuwe Syrische regering vraagt zelf ook dat die asielzoekers terugkeren. Ze zijn immers noodzakelijk om hun land weer op te bouwen. Tienduizenden vluchtelingen die opgevangen werden in de regio van herkomst doen dat ook en keren nu al spontaan terug. Zij die naar Europa kwamen, blijken echter door onze sociale systemen minder geneigd hetzelfde te doen. Deze asielzoekers moeten goed begrijpen wat hun rol is in de heropbouw van Syrië. Die is essentieel. Terugkeer is niet alleen onze verwachting. Het is vooral hun morele plicht.

Daarom moeten we alle lopende asielaanvragen, gezinsherenigingen en naturalisatieprocedures onmiddellijk opschorten. De bestaande asielzoekers moeten we voorbereiden op en ondersteunen bij hun terugkeer. Remigratie is verplicht, verwacht en noodzakelijk. Geen discussies, geen excuses, geen uitzonderingen.

2-0042-0000

Sebastian Tynkynen (ECR). – Mr President, after years of war in Syria, Assad's criminal regime collapsed in just 11 days.

The years have been devastating. Since the start of the civil war, around 4.5 million Syrians have fled to Europe. We have witnessed a massive wave of people making their way to this continent, but now we are in a new situation. Many European countries have already ceased processing asylum applications from Syrians. Some are offering money to Syrian refugees to encourage voluntary returns.

Times are changing. Syria might not be any more a country to flee from. When this is confirmed, what's next? It is time for returns. I encourage you, Syrians in Europe: return with pride and build a brighter tomorrow for your own country.

2-0043-0000

Dan Barna (Renew). – Domnule președinte, căderea regimului Assad în Siria reprezintă un moment extrem de important pentru țară și regiune. Victimelor dictaturii sale brutale le recunoaștem suferința imensă pe care au îndurat-o. Eu însumi sunt născut în vremurile unei dictaturi și respect și admir îndârjirea poporului sirian în fața unor greutăți imposibil de imaginat pentru toți aceia care au avut norocul să trăiască doar în democrație.

Cu toate acestea, în timp ce ne aflăm la această răscruce, trebuie să recunoaștem că astăzi viitorul Siriei rămâne foarte fragil, mai ales că exemplele oarecum similare din regiune nu sunt tocmai încurajatoare. Sfârșitul tiraniei este doar primul pas pe un drum lung către o pace și o stabilitate atât de dorite și așteptate. Uniunea Europeană are astăzi un rol crucial de jucat în acest proces. Trebuie să ne angajăm într-o diplomatie regională inteligentă, promovând dialogul și cooperarea între statele vecine pentru a sprijini reconstrucția Siriei.

Angajamentul nostru de a oferi ajutor umanitar și de a reconstrui infrastructura țării este obligatoriu. Sunt nu puține exemple din istoria recentă care ne arată cât de important este să prevenim o alunecare a Siriei înapoi în haos. Împreună putem ajuta la construirea unei societăți fondate pe justiție, democrație și drepturile omului, chiar dacă aceste cuvinte par astăzi utopice. Este primul test al noii diplomații europene și am încredere că împreună putem fi uniți în eforturile noastre pentru a sprijini poporul sirian.

2-0044-0000

Isabella Lövin (Verts/ALE). – Herr talman! Efter familjen al-Assads järngrepp i 50 år har regimen äntligen fallit. En stor glädje för världens syrier, men också en stor oro. Sedan inbördeskriget bröt ut har syrier tagit skydd i Europa. Många är nu etablerade här sedan nästan 15 år. Man har jobb, barn som går i skolan, vänner, en trygg vardag.

Att lämna det livet för en osäker framtid i ett land där islamister kan ta över makten är för många otänkbart. Samtidigt finns det de som vill tillbaka för att bygga upp landet och demokratin, som under många år bott i Europa och förstått och upplevt vad det innebär att leva i frihet och som skulle kunna bidra till detsamma i Syrien.

Vi Gröna vill därför att de syriska flyktingar som nu åker tillbaka till Syrien inte ska bli av med sina uppehållstillstånd i Europa, så att de törs ta steget att bidra, även om läget i dag är osäkert. EU har chansen att bidra till en stark demokratirörelse i Syrien nu. Pengar kan också stärka landet, men det är människor som bygger demokrati. Ge människor den trygghet de behöver.

2-0045-0000

Li Andersson (The Left). – Arvoisa puhemies, diktaattori al-Assadin kaatuminen on iloinen ja helpottava uutinen kaikille syyrialaisille ja koko maailmalle. Syyrian tulevaisuus herättää kuitenkin edelleen suurta huolta. Hayat Tahrir al-Shamin sitoutuminen esimerkiksi naisten oikeuksiin ja moniääniseen demokratiaan ovat vielä isoja kysymysmerkkejä.

Turkki ja Israel käyttävät nyt tilannetta hyväkseen laittomiin aluevalloituksiin. Turkki iskee kurdeja vastaan Rojavan itsehallinnollisella alueella ja aseistaa islamistiryhmittymiä tähän tarkoitukseen. EU:n tulee painostaa näitä maita välittömästi lopettamaan laittomuudet Syyriassa. Kun EU nyt ilmeisesti on muodostamassa virallisia yhteyksiä Syyrian uuteen hallintoon, on ehdoksi asetettava Rojavan itsehallinnon tunnustaminen. Kun Syyrian tulevaisuudesta keskustellaan, tulee kurdien olla mukana osapuolena niin kansallisesti kuin kansainvälisesti. Kansainvälinen yhteisö ei saa eikä voi kääntää selkäänsä kurdeille, jotka ovat sinnikkäästi ja suurin uhrauksin taistelleet alueella tasa-arvon puolesta Isisin terrorismia vastaan.

2-0046-0000

Tomasz Froelich (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Die Ära Assad ist beendet. Ein Grund zur Freude? Das wird sich erst zeigen – Zweifel sind angebracht. Neuer starker Mann in Damaskus ist Muhammad al-Dschaulani, islamistischer Terrorist und Hoffnungsträger progressiver Globalisten zugleich. Schon hierin zeigt sich der moralische Bankrott westlicher Eliten. Man jubelt dem neuen Herrscher zu, auf den man zuvor noch 10 Millionen US-Dollar Kopfgeld ausgesetzt hat.

Was erwartet uns in Syrien? Im besten Fall ein streng religiöses, sunnitisches, aber stabiles Regime. Im schlimmsten Fall ein zweites Libyen mit endlosem Bürgerkrieg – ich befürchte Letzteres. Ein Albtraum, insbesondere für unsere christlichen Glaubensbrüder in der Levante. Was das für uns bedeutet? Noch mehr Massenmigration. Das alte Spiel: Europa hat nichts zu melden, Europa ist geopolitisch impotent, Europa darf aber die Folgen fremder Konflikte ausbaden – das ist eine Katastrophe.

Deshalb: Wer wegen Assad zu uns geflohen ist – abschieben. Eure Heimat braucht euch beim Wiederaufbau. Wer nun aus Syrien zu uns kommen möchte – abweisen. Unser Boot ist voll, wir schaffen das nicht! Ansonsten haben wir bald syrischen Bürgerkrieg – nur eben mitten in Europa.

2-0047-0000

Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η ιμπεριαλιστική επέμβαση και ο προωθούμενος διαμελισμός ενός ανεξάρτητου κράτους, της Συρίας, έχουν δρομολογηθεί στη Μέση Ανατολή από τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες, την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, το ΝΑΤΟ, την Τουρκία και το Ισραήλ. Αποτελούν συνέχεια της γενοκτονίας του παλαιστινιακού λαού από το κράτος-κατακτητή Ισραήλ, των επιθέσεων κατά του λαού του Λιβάνου, των απειλών σε βάρος του Ιράν.

Οι ΗΠΑ, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, όπως και η ελληνική κυβέρνηση, μαζί και όλα τα αστικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα, χαιρέτισαν την κατάληψη της Συρίας από τους τζιχαντιστές, βαφτίζοντάς τους αντάρτες και εγγυητές της δημοκρατικής μετάβασης. Εμείς, παρά τις χρώδεις διαφορές μας με το αντιλαϊκό καπιταλιστικό καθεστώς του Άσαντ, καταδικάσαμε από την πρώτη στιγμή και την επέμβαση και τον αναθεωρητισμό.

Εσείς σκίζετε τα μάτια σας μόνο για τον αναθεωρητισμό της καπιταλιστικής Ρωσίας, ενώ κάνετε τα στραβά μάτια όταν πρόκειται για τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες, την Τουρκία και το Ισραήλ που έχουν εισβάλει στη Συρία, και όχι μια φορά. Αλληλεγγύη στον λαό της Συρίας και τους λαούς της Μέσης Ανατολής. Απεμπλοκή και πάλη ενάντια στο σύστημα των ιμπεριαλιστικών επεμβάσεων, των πολέμων και της εκμετάλλευσης.

2-0048-0000

Nicolás Pascual de la Parte (PPE). – Señor presidente, señora alta representante, solamente podemos felicitarlos por la caída de un autócrata y de un dictador como Bashar al-Asad, que sometió a su pueblo a una tiranía con crímenes, con torturas, con desplazados y, por tanto, la primera idea sería la de felicitarlos todos los demócratas europeos. La segunda es que, precisamente ahora, estamos asistiendo a una redefinición del mapa geopolítico y geoestratégico de Oriente Medio.

En Oriente Medio nada de lo que parece es verdad y nada de lo que es verdad es lo que parece. Las alianzas de amigos de hoy son alianzas de enemigos mañana. Por tanto, la situación es fluida porque, además, muchas potencias mundiales tienen intereses claros en la zona.

La Unión Europea, ante este signo de interrogación y de incertidumbre que se nos abre después de la caída de Bashar al-Asad, con unos líderes que proceden del islamismo salafista con récords de violación de los derechos humanos, hemos de tener mucho cuidado y extremar la prudencia a la hora de acercarnos ahora mismo a la situación. Hemos de exigir, como ha dicho la alta representante, la integridad territorial de Siria y el respeto de los derechos humanos, así como garantizar la independencia y la soberanía territorial e intentar ayudar a los desplazados y a los que más sufren, aumentando por parte de la Unión Europea nuestra ayuda humanitaria. Lo que no podemos hacer es abrir un debate a las veinticuatro horas de que caiga Asad sobre cómo retornar los refugiados a Siria. Eso no es precisamente lo que debemos hacer los europeos. Por tanto, debemos ayudar a una transición hacia un régimen democrático que integre a las minorías religiosas y raciales y ayudar en lo que se pueda de momento, a la espera de ulteriores acontecimientos.

2-0049-0000

Cecilia Strada (S&D). – Signor Presidente, signora Alta rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, non sappiamo ancora cosa succederà in Siria dopo la caduta del sanguinario Assad, ma conosciamo già la portata della crisi che era in corso.

Un paese devastato che deve essere ricostruito. 16 milioni di persone – per due terzi bambini – che hanno bisogno di assistenza umanitaria. Un mosaico di minoranze etniche e religiose che

chiedono autonomia e rispetto, come i curdi che, dopo averci aiutato a combattere lo Stato Islamico, adesso rischiano di diventare il nuovo bersaglio incrociato della Turchia e delle formazioni radicali.

Dall'inizio della guerra civile metà della popolazione siriana è stata sradicata dalla propria casa, con 7 milioni di sfollati interni e 6 milioni di persone rifugiate o richiedenti asilo all'estero. Tutte in Europa? Decisamente no.

Tre quarti dei rifugiati sono nei paesi confinanti con la Siria, 3 milioni solo in Turchia. Negli ultimi mesi mezzo milione di siriani sono stati costretti a rientrare dal Libano in fuga dalle bombe, una crisi nella crisi.

In Europa, stando all'Agenzia dell'Unione europea per l'asilo, a settembre di quest'anno le domande di asilo dei siriani non arrivavano a 180 000.

Ora, non sappiamo cosa succederà ma alcuni paesi europei hanno già deciso cosa fare: Italia, Germania, Norvegia e Svezia sospendono la valutazione delle richieste di asilo, l'Austria già pensa ai rimpatri.

D'altronde la sospensione del diritto di asilo pare essere una tendenza popolare presso le capitali europee, a partire da Varsavia che si appresta ad assumere la presidenza del Consiglio, e con l'avallo neanche troppo nascosto della Commissione europea, stando a quanto scritto nell'ultima, preoccupante comunicazione che sdogana il ricorso a "misure che possono comportare gravi interferenze con i diritti fondamentali".

Non sappiamo come evolverà la situazione in Siria, ma questo sappiamo: che, oggi come ieri, è il momento di proteggere la popolazione siriana, non quello di cacciarla o di lasciarla sola.

2-0050-0000

Petra Steger (PfE). – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Damen und Herren! Das Assad-Regime ist gefallen und damit ist die Zeit reif – die Zeit ist reif für rund 100 000 syrische Asylanten in Österreich und rund eine Million in ganz Europa, die Koffer zu packen und wieder nach Hause zu fahren, und zwar jetzt.

Denn wenn ich mir anschau, wie innerhalb kürzester Zeit in Wien vor dem Parlament 30 000 Syrer aufmarschiert sind oder am Stuttgarter Weihnachtsmarkt zigtausende Syrer islamistische Parolen gebrüllt und zu Gewalt aufgerufen haben, dann sollten sie besser früher als später das Land wieder verlassen. Das ist ein gewaltiges Sicherheitsrisiko, vor dem Sie nicht länger in Europa die Augen verschließen dürfen.

Asyl ist individueller Schutz auf Zeit vor Verfolgung. Assad ist Geschichte – und damit auch jegliche Grundlage für einen Schutzstatus. Es ist den Bürgern in Europa keinen Tag länger zuzumuten, diese Menschen mit ihrem Steuergeld weiter zu finanzieren. Ich kann es als Österreicherin nur als absolute Schande bezeichnen, dass ausgerechnet ein Österreicher, der neue EU-Kommissar Brunner, von einer Abschiebung abratet. Noch dazu, wo seine eigene Partei, die ÖVP, diese Abschiebungen sogar verlangt hat und nicht nur einmal einen restriktiven Asylkurs versprochen hat. Doppelzüngigkeit, Heuchelei und EVP-Showpolitik, wie wir sie nur allzu gut kennen.

Wir Patrioten sagen klar: Es ist an der Zeit zu handeln. Das Gebot der Stunde heißt jetzt Rückführungen und Remigration. Schützen Sie endlich Europa!

2-0051-0000

Jaak Madison (ECR). – Austatud istungi juhataja! Õnneks proua Kallasega saab eesti keeles rääkida, nii et saate kõik kuulata meie ilusamat emakeelt. Esiteks, meil on ju kõigil hea meel, et Assadi režiim on kukkunud ja selles pole kahtlustki. Probleem on muidugi selles, et uus režiim ei pruugi olla inimsõbralikum, demokraatlikum, armsam, toredam ja lillelisem. Ja nii nagu proua Kallas ütles väliskomisjoni istungil, et ajalooliselt pole see äärmusislamistlik liikumine olnud *the most peaceful one*. No see oli veel hästi öeldud. Aga okei, vaatame tulevikku. Ma saan aru, et te räägite demokraatiast, ehitame üles Süüria. Sõnades me teeme suuri tegusid, kuigi iga ühiskond ju valib ise oma tee. Ja lõpuks see progress võtab aega ja see on nende tee valida, kuidas oma elu elada. Aga mind huvitavad pigem konkreetset sammud. Et kuigi me räägime sellest, et tuleb Süüria üles ehitada, toetada, aidata ja nii edasi, siis mida me teeme juhul, näiteks, kui uus äärmusislamistlik režiim hakkab tapma kristlasi? Mis me päriselt teeme? Me räägime küll sõnades, et me toetame ja oleme solidaarsed, aga mida me teeme? Teine asi, mis me teeme siis, kui näiteks miljon süürlast hakkab põgenema Süüriast, kuna see uus režiim ei ole väga ilus ja tore. Kas me kaitseme välispiiri rohkem? Kas me allume Türgi väljapressimistele nagu 2016, makstes kuus miljardit eurot selleks, et ta oma piiri kinni hoiaks? Ehk mis oleks päris plaan B-C-D, kui asi ei lähe nii ilusti nagu me siin saalis mugavalt täna räägime?

2-0052-0000

Malik Azmani (Renew). – Voorzitter, de val van het Assad-regime brengt zowel opluchting als onzekerheid voor Syriërs. De grote vraag is: komt Syrië opnieuw in een periode van instabiliteit of is dit het begin van wederopbouw en stabiliteit en met perspectief voor gevluchte Syriërs om ook veilig terug te keren?

Het nieuwe Syrië heeft één voordeel: het kan zich losmaken van de invloed van Iran en Rusland, die alles deden om Assad aan de macht te houden en hun invloed in de regio te versterken. Vorige week riep de Europese Unie op tot een vreedzame machtsoverdracht. Terecht, maar ondertussen zitten landen als Turkije, Israël, het VK en de VS niet stil en voert ook Rusland weer gesprekken met de rebellen die het regime omverwierpen. Landen als Rusland of Iran mogen de toekomst van Syrië niet bepalen.

De EU moet daarom ook haar verantwoordelijkheid nemen om ook zelf in gesprek te gaan en dialoog te voeren met Syrië, zodat de periode van wederopbouw kan beginnen. Niet alleen voor de veiligheid en stabiliteit van Syrië, niet alleen voor de veiligheid en stabiliteit van de regio, maar ook voor de veiligheid en stabiliteit van Europa.

2-0053-0000

Leoluca Orlando (Verts/ALE). – Signor Presidente, signora Alta rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, l'improvviso e pacifico crollo di un regime dittatoriale pluridecennale in Siria è ancora una volta effetto dell'intervento di potenze straniere.

Occorre che l'Unione europea presti finalmente attenzione alla società civile in Siria e alla società civile della diaspora per sollecitare Ahmad al-Sharaa verso una transizione democratica, che garantisca i diritti di donne e minoranze, chiedendo in particolare alla Turchia, che ha assunto un ruolo rilevante in questa fase, di cessare gli attacchi alla comunità curda in terra siriana.

A questo punto è urgente un'azione congiunta di Commissione e Parlamento europeo, di ascolto e di presenza sul territorio, per mettere in sicurezza e coinvolgere la società civile come unica garanzia di un percorso democratico.

È necessaria anche la massima attenzione per i diritti dei rifugiati siriani in Europa, evitando una sospensione di garanzia. Si dia esecuzione alla tabella di marcia indicata dalla risoluzione 2254 delle Nazioni Unite affinché, finalmente, il popolo siriano possa essere chiamato a decidere il proprio destino.

La Siria cessi di essere uno spazio di contrasti e di prove muscolari che nulla hanno a che vedere con i diritti del popolo siriano.

2-0054-0000

Rima Hassan (The Left). – Monsieur le Président, le 8 décembre 2024 a marqué la fin du règne de la famille des Assad. Du rapport César aux récentes images de réfugiés syriens qui, pour la première fois, songent à rentrer, nous continuons à être témoins de l'ampleur des tortures et autres traitements inhumains et dégradants perpétrés sous Bachar el-Assad.

La révolution syrienne a été confisquée à son peuple tant par les puissances régionales que par les puissances occidentales. Le territoire syrien a été le terrain d'affrontements, de velléités hégémoniques et d'interventionnisme. Nous nous devons de soutenir aujourd'hui le peuple syrien dans son aspiration à la liberté, à la dignité et à la justice. Avec la diversité des identités et des confessions qui le composent, il saura s'unir pour son avenir, là où beaucoup cherchent à le diviser.

Mais comment cet avenir peut-il se dessiner sereinement avec un voisin israélien qui a déjà bombardé le sol syrien à 600 reprises et qui continue son expansion du «Grand Israël»? Comment cet avenir peut-il voir le jour quand les États parties au conflit songent d'abord à leurs intérêts? Comment songer à cet avenir quand plusieurs pays occidentaux se sont empressés de mettre sur pied ce qui est leur priorité: préparer le rapatriement des réfugiés syriens?

Tous œuvrent dans l'indignité, un seul héros demeure: le peuple. C'est à lui que reviennent nos amours et nos honneurs.

2-0055-0000

Ruth Firmenich (NI). – Herr Präsident! Die Berichte aus Syrien sind alarmierend. Der Al-Qaida-Ableger HTS hat mit anderen islamistischen Terrorgruppen die Macht übernommen. Minderheiten werden schon jetzt drangsaliert, die Scharia droht. Doch Brüssel betrachtet die Neuaufteilung des Nahen Ostens, die auch mithilfe von Islamisten durchgesetzt werden soll, mit Sympathie. Das ist unerträglich und entlarvend zugleich. Schließlich hören wir auch ständig von der Hohen Vertreterin, wie wichtig das Völkerrecht sei. Aber das gilt nie für NATO-Staaten oder Verbündete des Westens.

Denn gleichzeitig bombardiert die in Teilen rechtsextreme Regierung Israels Syrien und besetzt syrische Gebiete entlang der Grenze zum Libanon und zu Jordanien. Und NATO-Mitglied Türkei greift mit islamistischen SNA-Milizen die Kurden an, ohne dass dies auch nur Konsequenzen für den EU-Beitrittsstatus der Türkei hat. Die EU, die ständig von der europäischen Wertegemeinschaft spricht, ist einfach nur unglaubwürdig. Die Außenpolitik der EU verkommt so zur blutigen Farce.

2-0056-0000

Sebastião Bugalho (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Vice-Presidente, este Parlamento e esta União são muitas vezes acusados de não valerem mais do que palavras.

Desde o minuto em que Bashar al-Assad caiu que provámos o oposto, nos contactos com os parceiros da região, na procura de estabilidade, com ideais de um multilateralismo realista que não abdica de defender direitos.

A Europa é o maior doador humanitário do mundo do povo sírio e, hoje, o povo sírio tem direito a mais do que esperança. Tem direito a um futuro que não signifique continuar à espera. Estar ao seu lado não é apenas a opção correta do ponto de vista moral ou geopolítico. É a opção correta para a nossa segurança também enquanto europeus.

Uma escalada de instabilidade na região sacrificaria mais uma geração que não encontrou paz na sua terra e também colocaria em causa a nossa segurança enquanto europeus. Como o primeiro Conselho presidido pela Alta Representante concluiu ontem: a crise no Médio Oriente aumenta a radicalização e a ameaça global do terrorismo.

A violência que cruza a região tem vítimas todos os dias e este Parlamento está ao lado delas, todos os dias. Mas seria um ato de ingenuidade pensar que essa violência não tem o potencial para voltar a ser uma ameaça de escala global, incluindo a vidas europeias. E este Parlamento também tem de estar atento a isso.

Na política internacional, a resposta certa não se encontra na letra de uma conhecida música:

To speak words of wisdom is not to let it be.

2-0058-0000

Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute Représentante, chers collègues, à Alep, Hama, Homs ou Damas, les Syriens célèbrent la fin d'une longue nuit de sang et de larmes, une nuit de cendres et de mort. Alors oui, l'avenir est incertain, et je partage certaines des inquiétudes qui se sont exprimées ici. Mais soyons honnêtes, chers collègues, qui écoutait les Syriens lorsqu'ils crevaient sous les bombes de Poutine ou dans les geôles d'Assad? Nous étions à peine quelques centaines, voire quelques dizaines, même, dans des manifestations de plus en plus clairsemées, à essayer de les soutenir.

Dans nos chancelleries, les tenants de la normalisation avec le régime gagnaient du terrain. Dans notre débat public, l'extrême droite niait méthodiquement la parole des victimes et se prenait en selfie avec leurs bourreaux. Elle était rejointe dans l'abjection par une certaine gauche, relayant servilement la propagande du tyran par antiaméricanisme forcené. Tout fut fait pour invisibiliser les révolutionnaires syriens.

Alors moi, j'aimerais ici faire entendre leur voix à travers les mots que vous adresse Firas Kontar, inlassable militant de la révolution syrienne: «Depuis 2011, devant l'immensité des crimes commis par Assad, Poutine et les milices iraniennes, nous avons été abandonnés. Les démocraties, malgré leurs discours, n'ont offert qu'un soutien symbolique face à une barbarie sans limite. Aujourd'hui, après la chute du régime, ne nous laissez pas seuls. Le pays est dévasté. Nos orphelins se comptent par centaines de milliers, et nous ne cessons de découvrir des fosses communes. Nous allons passer nos prochaines années à exhumer les corps des 100 000 Syriens disparus dans les geôles d'Assad. Vous ne pouvez pas, une fois de plus, nous abandonner face aux défis qui nous attendent. Les Syriens ont besoin d'un soutien massif pour reconstruire leur pays et panser les plaies immenses laissées parmi nous. Soyez là cette fois!»

Chers collègues, cet appel doit être entendu. Nous n'avons pas été là pour aider les Syriens dans la guerre qui était menée contre eux, nous avons le devoir de l'être dans la paix qu'ils doivent désormais construire.

2-0059-0000

Pierre-Romain Thionnet (PSE). – Monsieur le Président, l'horreur et la noirceur du régime el-Assad laissent place à la joie de foules syriennes bigarrées. Sur le visage des enfants, le sourire est large, là où, treize ans plus tôt, la répression débutait par leur affreuse mutilation. Comment ne pas souhaiter à ce pays, à ces minorités ethniques et religieuses, à ces populations qui composent la longue mémoire méditerranéenne, l'harmonie et une paix durable?

Écartés du grand jeu syrien, les Européens ne peuvent, il est vrai, compter que sur leurs espérances. Mais, pour se donner l'impression d'exister, certains ont cru que la chute du régime honni était un peu aussi la victoire de leurs idéaux. Je m'inquiète sincèrement de la résilience de notre continent face aux menaces qui nous entourent et qui nous pénètrent lorsque je vois que, pour vous rassurer, il suffit qu'un djihadiste se coupe quelques poils de barbe et prononce le mot «inclusivité».

Il est possible, bien sûr, que la Syrie nouvelle donne des signes d'ouverture, et peut-être même faut-il l'encourager. Mais, de grâce, que votre émotion n'entame pas votre lucidité. Vers l'Orient compliqué beaucoup volent avec des idées généreuses, mais, une fois leurs désirs assouvis, c'est un Orient dévasté qu'ils laissent derrière eux. Et bien souvent, pour pleurer, il ne reste alors plus que les yeux des autres.

2-0060-0000

Assita Kanko (ECR). – Mr President, Madam High Representative, we all agree that Assad was bad news. Bad news for Europe, and certainly bad news for the people in Syria and in the region.

We should all know that the HTS is no better news. Not for us and not for them.

The fall of Assad means less fuel for Hamas and Hezbollah, less power for Iran, a new balance with Russia in the region and an opportunity for something else.

That good news is only one side of the coin, because the tyrant is replaced by Islamist jihadists. That remains a threat. So, while we can indeed rejoice in the fall of Assad, we cannot see any promising future for Syria, and even less so for women, Christians, religious minorities and Kurds today. We must be vigilant.

How will you navigate between optimism and realism in this situation? How will you work with our transatlantic allies?

The danger of European jihadists who went to fight us always try to come back to Europe. For that, we must protect our borders and be clear: they must stay there.

Madam Kallas, your Christmas menu doesn't look very good. When we look at the situation in Ukraine, the crisis in the Middle East and the situation in Africa, you really have a lot on your plate. But in this Parliament, we stand ready to work for you, for security and for a better future.

2-0061-0000

Bernard Guetta (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, ce n'est malheureusement pas impossible: peut-être les nouveaux dirigeants syriens finiront-ils par établir des geôles et par tenter d'imposer

le voile, mais en quoi serait-ce une certitude? Pourquoi devrions-nous exclure qu'ils veuillent reconstruire leur pays plutôt que de le replonger dans le sang? Pourquoi devrions-nous supposer qu'ils aspireraient à imposer à Damas la théocratie qui s'effondre à Téhéran?

Ce nouveau pouvoir, qui ouvre les portes des prisons, les Syriens et les Syriennes le soutiennent car sa victoire a sonné la fin de l'état de barbarie. Rien n'est exclu, mais, pour l'heure, c'est de joie que la Syrie pleure. Nous constatons que Vladimir Poutine n'est pas invincible, et la suspicion que suscite cette libération vise avant tout à faire oublier l'alliance qui avait uni le Kremlin, la théocratie iranienne et les extrêmes droites européennes à ce clan d'assassins, de voleurs et de tortionnaires.

2-0062-0000

Jaume Asens Llodrà (Verts/ALE). – Señor presidente, en Siria con la caída de la tiranía se ha hecho realidad aquel sueño que latía en los corazones de quienes se movilizaron en nombre de la libertad durante la Primavera Árabe, una ola democrática que llegó a Túnez, Egipto, Libia..., pero también a Europa, a España, cuando muchos de nosotros nos movilizamos en el mismo año durante el 15M. Veinticuatro años después, tras miles de desplazados, de muertos, de torturados o desaparecidos, se abre —es cierto, señora Kallas— una etapa de esperanza, pero también de incertidumbre, llena de riesgos.

¿Qué podemos hacer desde Europa? En primer lugar, no dar la espalda a los refugiados sirios, como propone la derecha o la extrema derecha. En segundo lugar, exigir a los islamistas respeto por los derechos de las mujeres y las minorías, pero, también, a Turquía respeto por el pueblo kurdo. Y en último lugar, dejar de colaborar con los delirios expansionistas de Netanyahu: «Hay que expandirse hasta Damasco», han dicho en su Gobierno, tras seiscientos bombardeos y un plan atroz para llenar de colonos el sur del país.

El futuro de Siria lo debe escribir su pueblo. No podemos ahogar los sueños de libertad de toda una generación y, por tanto, debemos respetar su integridad territorial, y eso también es responsabilidad nuestra, porque este continente, Europa, está dando apoyo a Netanyahu.

2-0063-0000

Christophe Gomart (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Haute Représentante, chers collègues, les conséquences de la chute du régime de Bachar el-Assad sont géopolitiques, mais elles sont aussi humaines, avec un vrai risque de voir ce pays continuer de se fragmenter: les Alaouites à l'Ouest avec les Russes, l'Armée syrienne libre au Nord, les Kurdes au Nord-Est, les Druzes au sud, le HTC au centre, les chrétiens dans les grandes villes, sans oublier les combattants de Daech répartis dans ce pays.

Derrière une apparence de transition calme, le pays reste plongé dans le chaos. Les tensions sont omniprésentes, Israël poursuit ses raids sur les bases militaires de l'ancienne armée syrienne, les milices kurdes et pro-turques se combattent dans le Nord, les assassinats se poursuivent, les pillages sont en cours, sans oublier les Américains qui frappent les bases de Daech.

Je le répète: ne soyons pas naïfs et, surtout, restons prudents: le HTC ne nous a donné aucune preuve de son éloignement du terrorisme islamiste, dont il est issu. La Turquie étend son influence, et on voit où peut mener cette résurgence impérialiste – il suffit d'en parler à nos amis chypriotes. Dans ce pays divisé, les Kurdes, les chrétiens et les femmes seront, croyez-moi, les principales victimes d'un régime qui ne dit pas encore son nom. Au-delà de l'envoi d'un représentant de l'Union européenne, il est indispensable de déployer une mission d'observateurs et, surtout, de maintenir les sanctions contre ce pays tant que l'on n'a pas une vision plus juste de ce qui s'y passe.

2-0064-0000

IN THE CHAIR: JAVI LÓPEZ*Vice-President*

2-0065-0000

Evin Incir (S&D). – Mr President, Madam High Representative, colleagues, at last, the brutal regime of Assad has been consigned to the dustbin of history, and the dream of democracy that sparked the 2011 revolution is emerging. For a democratic Syria to thrive, it must embrace diversity and equality, accommodating the hope of all its people – whether it is Arabs, Kurds, Christians, Sunni, Shia, women or men.

And foreign powers like Turkey and Israel must cease their unlawful actions that violate Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity. International law must apply equally to all. I urge the EU to raise its voice against this violation, particularly as the upcoming US under Trump may disregard established global rules in this process.

As we speak right now, Turkey, alongside its SNA terrorist allies, is attempting to invade the Kurdish city of Kobane – a site pivotal in defeating ISIS. The international community's understanding of the situation in Syria is being tested right now. It is unacceptable for a NATO member and an EU candidate to engage in such behaviour. A united front from the EU and NATO can send a clear message to Turkey about the limits of tolerance.

To avoid missteps, the EU must support democratic allies, particularly the Kurdish-led Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, which has fought for freedom and played a crucial role in combating ISIS.

High Representative Kallas, Syria stands at a crossroads. Dialogue among all factions – especially democratic ones – is essential, and Turkey and Israel must halt any violation of Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

2-0066-0000

György Hölvényi (PFE). – Mr President, dear High Representative, dear colleagues, something great has happened in Syria. However, many experiences, personal meetings on the spot with Syrians warn me: caution.

What is next? We must have a clear picture. Any decision influences millions – whether they return or leave the country. No room for false promises.

Return of Syrians to their homeland is essential for all. But the country is in ruins and the leadership – we will say – is more than uncertain. The EU needs to be aware what is its own capacity to do and what not to do. Concrete. It is essential to have a dedicated summit to take a general overview of realistic possibilities.

Currently, we have pressing humanitarian appeals to answer. The EU sanctions on Syria cannot any more be the barrier of delivering aid. Guarantees are needed for the Christians as well as Kurds, and others will enjoy the full freedom of existence.

Dear colleagues, we have to stand up for the rights of Christians, Kurds and other minorities. It is not a religious but a humanitarian rights question. Respect of the rights of all parts of the Syrian society is absolutely key. As soon as the conditions are there, dialogue is needed together with the regional actors for reconstruction. There is no return otherwise.

2-0067-0000

Charlie Weimers (ECR). – Mr President, High Representative Kallas, a million came from Syria to Europe. Now the regime has fallen and countries want to return migrants there. But their hands are tied by the EU court, which is legislating from the bench, overruling democracy. The EU court makes it virtually impossible to send back migrants. They require the entire country to be safe: no degrading treatment, no risk of suffering serious harm. Colleagues, do we meet these conditions ourselves? Sweden, with its bombings, shootings and humiliation crime by migrant gangs sure doesn't. Take back control! Member States must change the legal framework. If left-wing governments block reform don't be surprised if Member States start ignoring the EU court.

2-0068-0000

Lucia Yar (Renew). – Mr President, Madam Vice-President, dear colleagues, the fall of Assad's regime not only shows that the oppressed do not give in to the lack of freedom – in Syria, in Ukraine, anywhere. It has also delivered a significant blow to Russia and Iran and, within two weeks, reshaped the dynamics in the region.

However, this is no guarantee of stability. As we know, the direction of HTS remains uncertain and the EU needs to stay vigilant. Madam Kallas certainly knows. It must lead with principles, values, but also pragmatism – including insisting on closing Russian bases.

The EU should explore diplomatic channels, but must urge the new leadership to prioritise security, the base of all negotiations, and then build upon it – upholding the minority rights, gender equality and freedom of belief.

Because this is more than geopolitics. Syrians deserve freedom. They deserve stability and a chance to rebuild their own country without fear and oppression. A stable and free Syria is the goal for Europe as well.

2-0069-0000

Željana Zovko (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Vice-President, despite the joy that can be expressed in celebrating the toppling of barbaric and cruel regime, the current situation in Syria gives us no reason to rejoice. Indeed, we should refrain from giving benefits of doubt to the individuals that have overthrown the Assad regime. A lot of them are war criminals and represent a major threat to minorities, especially Christians, Jews and Yazidis.

There should be no whitewashing, and we should not suddenly change our stance only because the Assad regime fell. Radicalism will not be solved with radicalism. The current promises made by the rebels towards minorities will not be kept for long. The meeting of the new minister for religious affairs in Syria with Christian leaders to promise them protection should not divert our attention.

Many years ago in Bosnia, Ottomans came and gave them the same permit. And then in the meantime, they were burning churches, expelling people. And this is what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina with Christians, let alone in Syria. So don't be naive.

Finally, appoint somebody in the External Action Service and in the Commission, who will be a fully-fledged Commissioner or a representative who will go and protect Christian minorities wherever they live and not make just some symbolic role in the External Action Service. We have to take care of the religious minorities, or we cannot be fully responsible for what is going on in the Middle East.

2-0070-0000

Tobias Cremer (S&D). – Mr President, dear colleagues, dear High Representative Kaja Kallas, the fall of Bashar al-Assad was one of those rare occasions of unexpected good news these days. Good news because nobody will miss this bloody dictator, and good news because his fate sends a clear message to despots all around the world that suppressing your own people while relying on Vladimir Putin will lend you nowhere but in Russian exile.

But there is a problem with this unexpected good news, namely, that it was exactly that: unexpected. Once again, like in Afghanistan, we found ourselves fully taken by surprise, fully unprepared to deal with the situation. We are lacking the presence on the ground, we are lacking the local expertise, we are lacking diplomatic contacts. And yet what do we hear from the Commission? Rumours about cutting down funding to the European External Action Service, cutting down on our diplomatic muscle. I am sorry, but that is like a milk farmer selling all his cows to make space for more milk. What we need is more diplomatic muscle, more diplomatic presence on the ground, not less. We need more EEAS also to support you in your task over the next years. I am a big fan of good news, but I do not want it to come unexpectedly ever again.

2-0071-0000

Anna Maria Cisint (Pfe). – Signor Presidente, signora Alta rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, la sovversione da parte dei gruppi jihadisti del regime brutale e dittatoriale di Assad rappresenta un ulteriore aggravamento delle già precarie condizioni della polveriera mediorientale.

E, ancora, l'Europa rischia di perdere la propria anima. Gli jihadisti hanno conquistato la Siria imponendo il loro progetto di dominio islamista, ma non illudiamoci che questo rimanga confinato laggiù: l'obiettivo che ha l'Islam è espandersi, infiltrarsi, colpire e sottomettere.

L'islamizzazione non è un rischio lontano, purtroppo. È già tra noi e si sta importando – si è già importato – un modello culturale che non solo è incompatibile con le nostre radici cristiane, ma minaccia anche la nostra sicurezza e la nostra identità.

Vogliamo un'Europa libera o sottomessa alla sharia? Dobbiamo scegliere ora, con forza e coraggio.

Stop all'immigrazione incontrollata; sì alla difesa dei confini e alla tutela della nostra civiltà, perché non c'è futuro senza identità.

2-0072-0000

Alexandr Vondra (ECR). – Mr President, let me start by commending the High Representative's statement calling for stability and territorial integrity in Syria. Indeed, it is in our interest to see a stable Syrian Government that brings an end to the civil war and halts the migration wave to Europe.

While the EU – I would say rightly – is not engaged militarily in Syria, our diplomacy must work to prevent the new government from forming alliances with the Iranian regime. Iran, along with its proxies, is becoming notably weaker, which is a positive development for the region. And for the Syrian Government to distance itself from any collaboration with terrorist organisations would be a critical test to achieving a stable Middle East.

Finally, religious and ethnic minorities in the region, like Yazidis, Kurds and Syriacs, have faced terrible persecution in the past. The EU must therefore ensure that any serious recognition of the

new Syrian Government is contingent upon rigorous respect for the rights and protection of those minorities.

2-0073-0000

Engin Eroglu (Renew). – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau Vizepräsidentin und Außenbeauftragte der Europäischen Union! Eine gute Nachricht für die Europäische Union, dass Syrien befreit worden ist von einem mörderischen Diktator und wahrscheinlich dem größten Drogenproduzenten und Drogenhändler, den die Region da unten jemals gesehen hat.

Nun gilt es aber, die guten Nachrichten auch weiterzuführen. Heute Morgen haben wir gehört, dass die Milizen aufgelöst werden sollen und in die syrische Armee übertragen werden sollen. Ein richtiges und wichtiges Zeichen der Milizenführer, dass sie zeigen, dass sie das, was sie sagen, auch machen wollen. In unserer Sprache sollten wir uns aber nicht in diesen Links-Rechts-Koordinaten bewegen, sondern sollten ganz klar festsetzen, was wir in Europa möchten.

Wir Europäer müssen den Syrern jetzt helfen – ganz klar –, die medizinische Versorgung vor Ort wiederaufzubauen, die Schulen vor Ort wiederaufzubauen, die Landwirtschaft vor Ort wiederaufzubauen, und aber auch Syrien dabei helfen, seine eigene Armee wiederaufzubauen, damit sie ihre eigenen Grenzen verteidigen können. Dann können wir noch unsere Polizeibeamten runterschicken zum Aufbau eines Rechtsstaates.

Das muss unsere Sprache sein, und wir müssen aufhören mit dieser Schwarz-Weiß-Malerei, die wir im Parlament heute gehört haben.

2-0074-0000

Antonio López-Istúriz White (PPE). – Señor presidente, trece años de guerra civil y cincuenta de un régimen sangriento tocan a su fin, pero todavía no. Vamos a ver qué es lo que pasa en Siria con el nuevo Gobierno y la nueva situación creada. Comprenderán que tenga mis sospechas y mis dudas sobre los grupos rebeldes que forman parte de este nuevo Gobierno.

También el origen de este problema somos los europeos y nadie ha hablado de ello. A principios del siglo XX nosotros trazamos las líneas que separaron a los kurdos y a muchas minorías. El gran problema de esta zona sensible del planeta lo creamos nosotros. Por eso, la verdad es que me reconfortó ver a la alta representante sentada con los ministros de los países árabes, mandando representación diplomática a Damasco. Por primera vez, yo creo que estamos presentes en las decisiones. Parece que por fin estamos a la altura de los acontecimientos y que los europeos asumimos la responsabilidad que tenemos desde hace casi dos siglos sobre todo esto.

Mientras tanto, en este Parlamento, lamentablemente, tenemos a los de siempre: a la extrema derecha hablando de la inmigración, tal y cual, desde el minuto uno y a la extrema izquierda hablando de Israel. Oigan, ¿pueden dejar ya sus obsesiones? ¿No ven que Israel se está defendiendo, igual que está defendiendo a Europa de estos grupos rebeldes, que aquello es el lejano Oeste y que alguien tiene que poner orden en el sur de Siria? Es que son una cosa incomprensible estas obsesiones. Son ridículas, de verdad.

Vamos a hablar de soluciones. Necesitan soluciones. Siria las necesita y los europeos tenemos que estar ahí por ellos, por esos millones de personas de los que ni la extrema izquierda ni la derecha hablan, que están sufriendo tortura y persecución.

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

2-0075-0000

Γεώργιος Γεώργιος (ECR), ερώτηση με γαλάζια κάρτα. – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε συνάδελφε, δεν είναι «εμμονές» για παράνομους μετανάστες. Άλλωστε μία βόλτα από την Κύπρο θα σας πείσει για το τι συμβαίνει πραγματικά στο νησί. Υπάρχει ένα τεράστιο πρόβλημα. Ο ξεσηκωμός εκατοντάδων Σύριων με σημαίες του Ελεύθερου Συριακού Στρατού σε όλες τις πόλεις της Κύπρου θα πείσει και τον πιο δύσπιστο. Άρα μία βόλτα στην Κύπρο μπορεί να σας πείσει για το πραγματικό πρόβλημα.

2-0076-0000

Antonio López-Istúriz White (PPE), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»*. – Sin quitarle ni un ápice de importancia al problema que usted está mencionando. Lo que yo digo es que la prioridad es solucionar el problema en Siria para que eso no vuelva a ocurrir y para que usted no tenga que malgastar el tiempo con estos asuntos, y para solucionar el problema de la emigración. Y lo que tiene que hacer es hablar de lo que está sucediendo en Siria y de lo que está sufriendo la población. Por eso tuvieron que salir, por esos trece años de guerra civil, por esas torturas y esas persecuciones.

Y de eso es de lo que deberíamos estar hablando. Y así no deberíamos estar hablando del problema de la emigración.

2-0077-0000

Elio Di Rupo (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame Kallas, vous avez certainement vu les images bouleversantes de CNN où la journaliste Clarissa Ward pénètre dans une prison de Bachar el-Assad. Elle libère un prisonnier enfermé dans l'obscurité totale depuis trois mois. Cet homme, d'abord visiblement effrayé, finit par comprendre, en redécouvrant la lumière du jour, qu'il recouvrait en réalité la liberté.

Malgré la fuite du tyran, on l'a dit, rien n'est encore réglé en Syrie. Mais une chose est certaine: nous, les Européens, avons grand intérêt à accompagner la transition. Il est crucial de neutraliser Daech, de garantir une inclusion juste et stable pour tous – en ce compris, bien sûr, les minorités ethniques et religieuses –, d'accorder les vraies libertés aux femmes et, quoi qu'en disent les sceptiques, d'ouvrir un dialogue constructif avec Ahmed el-Charaa et son Premier ministre. C'est notre intérêt, c'est celui du monde libre; c'est un nouveau défi pour la paix; c'est une obligation pour nous et une lourde mission pour vous, Madame la Haute Représentante.

2-0078-0000

András László (PSE). – In Syria, the forces of the Assad regime have been defeated. He himself fled the country. Nonetheless, the situation is fragile. The outcome of the power struggle is unpredictable and we must be prepared for every scenario.

In this situation, the EU has three main interests and responsibilities. First, I ask the European Commission and the External Action Service to keep a very close and direct line of communication with the leaders of the Christian community. They may become a target very quickly and very easily. If they are targeted, they can only count on Western help and we need to stand ready.

Second, aid sent to Syria should not end up in the hands of radical groups. It would be indefensible towards European citizens if we helped the consolidation of yet another oppressive regime.

And third, our aid should aim to create the circumstances that make the swift and safe return of refugees possible.

2-0079-0000

Bert-Jan Ruissen (ECR). – Voorzitter, collega's, wat gunnen we het veelgeplaagde volk van Syrië een hoopvolle toekomst. De grote vraag is echter: gaan de nieuwe machthebbers daarvoor zorgen?

De rebellen van HTS beloven dan wel de rechten van minderheden te zullen beschermen, maar tegelijkertijd willen ze ook de sharia invoeren. Zeer tegenstrijdig allemaal en moeilijk met elkaar te verzoenen. De sharia kent doorgaans immers weinig genade voor andersdenkenden.

De christenen in Syrië zijn daarom bang, heel erg bang. De situatie is zeker voor hen uiterst onzeker. De zorg voor minderheden moet dan ook de hoogste prioriteit krijgen in onze bejegening van de machthebbers. Ik ben blij dat de hoge vertegenwoordiger daar inderdaad ook oog voor heeft. Hoop voor Syrië is er alleen als er ruimte blijft voor de kerk om de blijde boodschap te blijven uitdragen. De boodschap van kerst, namelijk dat God zijn zoon zond naar de aarde tot vergeving van de zonden.

2-0080-0000

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Mr President, Madam Kallas and colleagues, I am just so pleased that Assad is gone.

I campaigned against the policy of normalisation. Just last July, eight EU Member States proposed that we would reopen the Syrian embassy in Brussels. That initiative now looks embarrassing. But at its core was the mistake of trying to put EU migration management policy ahead of what might be in the interests of the wider Syrian people.

The reality is that we turned our back on the Syrian opposition. We turned our back on those who fought for justice and against impunity. We turned our back on those who are haunted by the gulags and the prisons and the torture centres.

Now, for once, we have an opportunity to invest in reconciliation, in reconstruction of this wonderful country. For the first time, we have an opportunity to really prioritise the interests of the people of Syria in all their diversity.

A lot of analysis has focused on Iraq and Syria, but the better example is Sudan. There was a change of leadership there in 2019 and we failed to invest in reconciliation, the growth of democracy, in development. We turned our back on Syrians before. Let us not repeat that mistake.

2-0081-0000

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Mr President, it is positive to see the end of this brutal terror regime in Syria. Now we must support Syrians in an orderly transition to a stable, functioning and democratic state. We must maintain continuous dialogue and keep the channels of communication open with the provisional government. Therefore, it was absolutely the right step of the new High Representative, Kaja Kallas, to send a high-ranking diplomat immediately to Damascus. We can assist in the rebuilding of institutions and democratic state structures, and we need there an inclusive government and a peaceful transition in order to support the rebuilding of society and the economy, and to reunite families and communities. We must encourage and assist Syrians in Europe to return to their homeland. 98 000 of them are in Austria. The majority are young men – they are needed in their country to rebuild the society and the economy.

2-0082-0000

Marta Temido (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Caros Colegas, Senhora Alta Representante, depois de mais de 50 anos de controlo pela família Assad, a Síria inundou-se de esperança com o fim de um regime que usou armas químicas contra o seu próprio povo.

Gostaria de dizer que não existe qualquer «mas» para o fim de uma ditadura cruel. Contudo, o colapso do regime às mãos do movimento HTS, proscrito pelas Nações Unidas, também causa preocupações.

A Síria tem um novo governo de transição, mas sabemos que os riscos de violência permanecem: os movimentos oposicionistas estão desunidos, as minorias étnicas e religiosas são vulneráveis e Israel reforçou a sua presença militar nos montes Golã, a Turquia procura vantagens no Curdistão.

Os sírios deslocados no país ou na diáspora aspiram pelo regresso em paz. Mas não é possível pensar que tal aconteça no curto prazo ou por via da suspensão do direito de asilo. Há mais de um milhão de sírios na União Europeia. No meu país também há alguns, designadamente aqueles que o Presidente da República Sampaio levou através da Plataforma Global para Estudantes Sírios, em 2014.

Todos sabemos que o povo sírio viveu sob o terror durante décadas, mas a queda do regime de Assad não o libertou por si só. Os que ficaram no país, como os que se refugiaram pelo mundo aspiram por justiça pelos crimes cometidos, por proteção de direitos humanos, pela reforma do governo e das instituições, em suma, por um processo de paz inclusivo. E, sem eles, este tempo não será senão uma falsa esperança.

2-0083-0000

Alexandre Varaut (PSE). – Monsieur le Président, le renversement du régime syrien a plongé la région dans le chaos. Une milice dirigée par un ancien de Daech et d'Al-Qaïda s'est imposée dans le vide. Les minorités religieuses, et particulièrement les chrétiens, pourraient être victimes d'un véritable nettoyage sous l'œil, je le crains, indifférent de la communauté internationale. Ce chaos ne s'arrête pas là. Il annonce une nouvelle vague migratoire, que l'Europe, déjà fragilisée, ne pourra pas supporter.

Tout à l'heure, vous nous avez accusés, chers collègues, d'être obsédés par l'immigration plutôt que de nous occuper des Syriens. L'immigration, en effet, obsède les peuples, et doit donc nous obséder. Le sort des Syriens me touche, l'avenir de la Syrie me concerne, mais je suis élu pour défendre les Français et les Européens. Ankara est prêt à manipuler ce nouveau pouvoir, que les Turcs ont largement contribué à mettre en place, et à instrumentaliser une fois de plus les flux migratoires, avec leur cortège de menaces et de violences.

Nous devons protéger nos populations, renforcer nos frontières et sauver les minorités persécutées avant qu'il ne soit trop tard. Alors, en conclusion, j'aimerais savoir quel est le plan de l'Union européenne, puisqu'elle s'arroge désormais des compétences élargies en matière de politique étrangère? Vous nous avez entendus, nous vous écoutons.

2-0084-0000

Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR). – Pani Komisarz! Szanowni Państwo! Zdecydowana większość moich przedmówców wyrażała swoje zadowolenie i radość z upadku reżimu Asada w Syrii. Oczywiście każdy upadek krwawego dyktatora powinien przynieść ulgę i radość. Ale czy w tym wypadku tego, co obserwujemy dzisiaj w Damaszku, w Aleppo, w innych miastach i regionach Syrii, rzeczywiście Syryjczycy i my w Europie powinniśmy czuć ulgę i radość?

Posłużę się tutaj słowami jednego z kapłanów kościołów chrześcijańskich, księdza melchickiego, który mówił, że uczucia towarzyszące dzisiaj chrześcijanom w Syrii to radość i strach. Radość, że nadchodzi coś nowego. Strach przed chaosem. Przed wojną chrześcijanie, którzy – przypomnijmy – są tam od czasów świętego Pawła, stanowili 7% ogółu mieszkańców. Ogółem było ich około półtora miliona. Dziś pozostało ich raptem 300 tysięcy. Oby upadek Asada nie był początkiem końca chrześcijaństwa w Syrii.

I oby ta naiwność, która również wybrzmiewa tutaj w wystąpieniach przedstawicieli lewej strony, naiwność, która towarzyszyła tym wszystkim, kiedy była arabska wiosna, że oto zawita demokracja do państw Bliskiego Wschodu i północnej Afryki, nie skutkowała tym, że chrześcijaństwo zniknie z Syrii, a my będziemy mieli islamistów, którzy maszerują na bożonarodzeniowych jarmarkach i krzyczą o prawie do szariatatu tutaj w Europie.

2-0085-0000

Wouter Beke (PPE). – Voorzitter, mevrouw de hoge commissaris, u was één week in functie en alvast één autoritair regime is gevallen. We kunnen alleen maar blij zijn met de val van Assad. Wie twijfelt of dat we daar blij mee moeten zijn, moet maar eens kijken naar de beelden van de Sednayagevangenis of luisteren naar de getuigenissen. Een menselijke gevangenis, een menselijk slachthuis, het slachthuis van Assad.

Dit is een nieuwe kans. Ja, het is misschien ook een nieuwe bedreiging want we moeten zorgen dat het niet wordt zoals Irak na de val van Saddam Hussein. Of Libië na de val van Kadhafi, of het nieuwe Afghanistan.

Dat wil zeggen dat Europa en dat u, mevrouw, in eerste instantie, de leiding moet nemen. Zorgen dat regimes zoals Turkije, Iran en Rusland niet van het vacuüm gebruik maken om hun invloed uit te breiden. We hebben nood aan een plan voor Syrië, maar ook met Syrië. Er zijn 13 tot 15 miljoen Syriërs in de diaspora. Zij kijken ook met grote bekommernis naar dat land. Europa moet zorgen voor stabiliteit en moet met hen in dialoog gaan. Niet door hen vandaag terug te sturen, maar wel door samen een toekomstplan uit te denken. Daarvoor rekenen we op u, mevrouw!

2-0086-0000

Costas Mavrides (S&D). – Mr President, the toppling of the brutal Assad regime is a historical opportunity for peace and stability in Syria and beyond. But what are our clear priorities with overwhelming consensus of this House? First, the protection of minorities, ethnic and religious, particularly Christians and Kurds. Second, jihadists cannot be our partners: to nominate a wanted terrorist as a moderate political opposition can not fool EU citizens, neither this House.

Regarding Turkey – High Representative, after meeting recently with the Turkish Foreign Minister, you nominated Turkey as a strategic partner. This is wrong, but fortunately there is time to reconsider. In our campaign against the Islamic State and jihadists, Kurds were our brave partner while Turkish intelligence and Fidan's orders supplied arms and logistics to the jihadists. The Erdoğan regime – the occupier of EU territory in Cyprus – is connected with terrorist organisations in the areas: from Hamas to Muslim Brotherhood, from Libya to Syria, while now the attack on Kurds in Kobani is imminent.

High Representative – silence is not just morally wrong, but a tragic geopolitical mistake.

2-0087-0000

Alessandro Ciriani (ECR). – Signor Presidente, signora Alta rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, il regime di Assad in Siria è crollato cogliendo di sorpresa tutte le principali potenze mondiali. Lo stesso può dirsi per l'attacco terroristico di Hamas.

Questo pone il grave interrogativo, in quadranti globali instabili, sull'efficienza dei servizi di intelligence e di quelli diplomatici.

Assad era un dittatore spietato – su questo non c'è dubbio – ma ritengo che l'Europa debba guardare con maggior distacco a quanto sta accadendo, prima di celebrare una sorta di svolta pluralista: prudenza per i ruoli e l'atteggiamento spregiudicato della Turchia; prudenza perché l'indebolimento di Putin e il suo ritiro dalla Siria potrebbero comportare un ripiegamento verso la Libia, trovandoci la flotta russa davanti al canale di Sicilia; prudenza perché l'anima di al-Jolani è impastata di pensiero jihadista e perché le fazioni in campo potrebbero portare a una lotta di tutti contro tutti e a un conseguente terremoto migratorio.

La sospensione temporanea delle richieste di asilo per i cittadini siriani, adottata da molti paesi, riflette l'urgenza di affrontare le sfide in modo responsabile e coordinato. Se la speranza è che la volontà di iniziare un percorso virtuoso in Siria sia sincera, la sua ricostruzione richiede il rispetto della sua integrità territoriale, della sua sovranità e della sua indipendenza.

Ma il nostro aiuto deve pretendere il rifiuto di ogni estremismo, il rispetto del diritto internazionale e delle rappresentanze diplomatiche e la tutela delle minoranze.

2-0088-0000

Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, pad Asadovog režima je u geopolitičkom smislu snažan udarac Iranu. Naravno da je Rusija također strateški oslabljena. Hoće li ona ostati prisutna u Siriji? To prvenstveno ovisi o razgovorima s novim vlastima, ali i o razgovorima između Putina i Erdoğana. Turska je u ovoj situaciji očito najveći dobitnik i vidimo, kao što je bilo i na Južnom Kavkazu, sada i u Siriji, povlačenje Rusije ostavlja jedan vakuum koji onda popunjava Erdoğanova Turska.

Trump je najavio da se Amerika neće snažnije angažirati. U tom kontekstu Izrael poduzima sve što smatra potrebnim da bi zaštitio svoju sigurnost. Europska unija također mora voditi računa i pozdravljam novi pristup Europske unije koji predvodi Visoka predstavnica, koji je i pragmatičan, ali vodi računa o našim vrijednostima i interesima. To mora biti, naravno, i zaštita kršćana, ali prvenstveno i zaštita sigurnosti europskih građana i Europske unije.

2-0089-0000

Hana Jalloul Muro (S&D). – Señor presidente, estamos siendo testigos de un acontecimiento histórico: la cruel dictadura de los Al-Asad, especialmente ahora de Bashar al-Asad, que ha reprimido a los sirios durante cincuenta y cuatro años, ha llegado a su fin. La autocracia de Bashar al-Asad ha dejado un dolor irreparable en miles de personas torturadas, aisladas, huidas y maltratadas, cuyo único delito fue creer que una Siria era diferente era posible. La expresión de cientos de personas liberadas de las cárceles debe ser el recuerdo intolerable para cualquier país del mundo: Siria merece ver nacer las flores que se sembraron durante la Primavera Árabe y que fueron oprimidas.

Nos enfrentamos a la primera resolución sobre la región desde que comenzó esta legislatura y les pido, señorías, que estemos a la altura de este proceso: les pido unidad, responsabilidad y precisión en los datos y los hechos. Debemos reivindicar la integridad territorial en Siria: la ocupación de los

Altos del Golán por parte de Israel es de nuevo una vulneración del derecho internacional que pone en peligro la situación en la región, pero entendemos que se retirarán más adelante, que es una cuestión de seguridad, y creemos que cuando haya estabilidad todo va a mejorar. Debemos reivindicar la voz y el papel del pueblo sirio en esta transición y su derecho a decidir: hay que respetar su independencia para alcanzar un sistema democrático que va a tomar su tiempo. Debemos reivindicar la vida digna de las personas desde la empatía, y no desde los decretos exprés para las solicitudes de asilo que se han hecho en algunos países europeos, porque este es un mal mensaje.

Quiero reivindicar que es de justicia recordar que la represión no distinguió entre etnias, minorías o religiones, por eso hay que proteger a las minorías, a las mayorías y a las mujeres, tema muy importante. Este Parlamento no debe ser selectivo y no hay que invisibilizar a gran parte de la oposición que también son fuerzas seculares: no todos son islamistas radicales, y hay que conocer cómo funciona la oposición. Esperamos que haya un Gobierno inclusivo, que es lo más importante, y que cuente también con las mujeres.

Tenemos una oportunidad única para el cambio de la nación: Kaja Kallas está haciendo muchos movimientos diplomáticos que son positivos para el papel que el Parlamento Europeo y la Unión Europea deben desempeñar en Oriente Próximo.

2-0090-0000

Mika Aaltola (PPE). – Arvoisa puhemies, korkea edustaja Kallas, Syyrian kansa on kärsinyt al-Assadin hirmuhallinnosta jo vuosikymmeniä. Miljoonat ovat paenneet, satojatuhausia on tapettu. Nyt meidän on aika antaa syyrialaista ratkaista asiansa ja samalla vaikuttaa aktiivisesti siihen, että maahan syntyy mahdollisimman laaja hallinto.

Haaste on suuri. Valta jaetaan uusiksi, syntyy helposti reviiiriin ja valta-asemaan liittyviä verisiä selvittelyjä. Selkeää on, että ulkopuoliset tahot, jotka tukivat al-Assadin hallintoa, kuten Venäjä ja Iran, ovat paljastuneet heikoiksi. Niillä on intresseissä sotkea tulevia tapahtumia. Turkilla on tapahtumissa iso rooli, samoin Israelilla, joka tuhosi Hizbollahin.

Tapahtumien ei olisi pitänyt tulla yllätyksenä. Toivoa on EU:n syytä tukea. Mutta mikä on varmaa, on se, että Syyria säilyy geostrategisen paineen alla vielä vuosia.

2-0091-0000

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, η κατάσταση που έχει δημιουργηθεί στη Συρία δεν είναι απλώς ένα ζήτημα γεωπολιτικής αναταραχής, αλλά πρόκειται για μια ανθρωπιστική τραγωδία με ανυπολόγιστες συνέπειες. Εκατομμύρια άνθρωποι έχουν εκτοπιστεί, χιλιάδες έχουν χάσει τη ζωή τους, ενώ εικόνες καταυλισμών προσφύγων και εκτελέσεων μέσα στη μέση του δρόμου αποτελούν ντροπή για όλους μας.

Τα παράλια της Συρίας απέχουν μόνο 100 ναυτικά μίλια από τη χώρα μου, την Κύπρο, το εγγύτερο ευρωπαϊκό σημείο στη φλεγόμενη περιοχή. Χαιρετίσαμε την πτώση του Άσαντ ως Ευρώπη. Δεν είπαμε όμως πώς προστατεύουμε τις χιλιάδες των χριστιανών, αλλά και άλλων θρησκευτικών ομάδων, που όπως βλέπουμε από τις εικόνες που φτάνουν από την περιοχή, όχι μόνο κινδυνεύουν, αλλά γίνονται και στόχος.

Οι Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες, η Ρωσία, η Τουρκία, το Ισραήλ, το Ιράν είναι οι παίκτες σε ένα τεράστιο και επικίνδυνο γεωπολιτικό παιχνίδι, στο οποίο η Ευρώπη οφείλει να είναι παρούσα. Οφείλουμε, κυρία Επίτροπε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, να αναλάβουμε ηγετικό ρόλο. Επιβάλλεται να υπάρξει ενιαία και ριζική αντιμετώπιση της κρίσης από ευρωπαϊκής πλευράς. Σε αυτή την προσπάθεια σας, κυρία Επίτροπε, θα μας

βρείτε όλους δίπλα σας. Και μια συμβουλή, αν μου επιτρέπετε. Μην εμπιστεύεστε πολύ τον Ερντογάν και την Τουρκία. Κατέχουν ευρωπαϊκό έδαφος.

2-0092-0000

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtaráin*, dear Commissioner, the Assad dictatorship was one of the most vicious and most brutal regimes the world has experienced over the last 50 years. Now, as the country is still reeling from the events that have taken place there, the stories of the cruelty that Assad and his father imposed on their own people, come to light.

The international community should reflect on their actions in Sudan, where limited support for the civilian government played a role in the country's descent into civil war. A vacuum of power now exists in Syria, where the different rebel factions may want to grab as much land and power as they can.

It is the time for the UN, the EU and the Arab League to step up and assist the Syrian state in actualising a peaceful transition with fair and free elections, where all minorities and religions can be equal.

I urge our European partners to demonstrate dignity and compassion towards Syrian refugees. There is still a long journey ahead for Syria, but a great step forward has been taken by the ending of the Russian-backed Assad's reign of terror.

2-0093-0000

Lukas Mandl (PPE). – Herr Präsident! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, Hohe Außenbeauftragte und Außenkommissarin Kaja Kallas, herzlich willkommen im Europäischen Parlament! Ich freue mich auf die Zusammenarbeit, und die ist dringend und wichtig.

Die innenpolitische Dimension Europas mit den vielen Flüchtlingen in europäischen Städten und in allen Mitgliedstaaten und die geopolitische Situation mit Syrien hängen zusammen. Ich war in Syrien vor zwei Jahren; ich habe mehrere Teile des Landes besucht. Es war damals schon klar: Die weit überwiegende Anzahl an Flüchtlingen in aller Welt will nach Hause zurückkehren, hat aber Angst, weil so viele verschiedene bewaffnete Gruppen aufeinander losgehen, weil man nicht sicher sein kann, ob der eine Nachbar oder der andere Nachbar möglicherweise aggressiv wird. Noch weniger weiß man das über die Nachbarsiedlung, und so weiter und so fort.

Aber eine Neubewertung der Flüchtlingssituation ist selbstverständlich wichtig. Der österreichische Regierungschef, der österreichische Innenminister haben das angeregt. Andere Mitgliedstaaten sind gefolgt. Was Syrien betrifft, ist jetzt ein Islamismus an der Macht, der einen Diktator, einen brutalen Diktator ersetzt. Aber ob dieser Islamismus übergeht in eine Demokratie, das bleibt offen, und das müssen wir nach Kräften unterstützen, um den Boden aufzubereiten für die Rückkehr von Flüchtlingen.

Erst in der Vorwoche sagte ein Vertreter des Kofi-Annan-Instituts im Europäischen Parlament: Es ist auch eine Verantwortung, jene heimkehren zu lassen, die am Wiederaufbau Syriens demokratisch und rechtsstaatlich mitwirken könnten.

2-0094-0000

Hildegard Bentele (PPE). – Mr President, dear Vice-President Kallas, many important and true things have already been said by my colleagues, and I would like, therefore, to concentrate on a topic which was maybe not yet highlighted that much in the debate.

I was very pleased to hear that you proposed to the Council to convene an Association Council meeting with Israel. This shows that you are focusing rather on dialogue with Israel and not on ousting Israel, which was lately the very wrong policy of your predecessor.

For me, it is shocking to see that the relations between an EU Member State, like Ireland, and Israel can deteriorate to such a point that an ambassador is being recalled.

It is high time that the EU sets straight its position towards the only stable democracy in the region, and to motivate Israel to play a constructive role in the upcoming process, helping to establish the new political authorities in Syria. In this regard, I also very much welcome your announcement to restart the high-level dialogue with the Palestinian Authority.

There is currently a big opportunity for the EU in the Middle East to become more than just a donor of humanitarian aid, for example, an enabler for institution and democracy-building.

I am strongly convinced that parliamentary engagement and diplomacy can be beneficial to your efforts. Also, as a former German diplomat, I am very much looking forward to a close cooperation with you in the next five years.

2-0095-0000

Matej Tonin (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, no dictator is eternal. A dictator who killed and gassed his own people ran away like a big coward. This is the true face of dictators, they take care only of themselves and they destroy the country. Islamists are clearly taking over Syria – the experience of Afghanistan teaches that we should never, ever trust the words of the Islamists. We will judge them by their actions.

So there are three possibilities. First, further fighting and fragmentation as in Libya. Second, one dictator is replaced by another as in Iraq. Or, we finally get a new and inclusive Syria. I expect from the EU to tie all our financial and diplomatic assistance to the new Syrian authorities strictly to the fulfilment of our core values. This is: to resolve conflicts through dialogue, to establish institutions of state, and to protect religious minorities, especially Christians. The real strength of authorities is not in the number of guns, but in the sincere support of the people.

2-0096-0000

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, sirijski režim urušio se brže nego što je bilo tko očekivao. Međutim, sama činjenica da se netko borio protiv Asada ne znači da je taj netko demokrat, uključiv i zaštitnik ljudskih prava. Najjača grupa koja je preuzela vlast u Damasku je HTS, koji se prije svega može opisati kao ekstremno islamistički, a predvodi je čovjek koji je zbog terorizma pet godina proveo u zatvoru. Ako tome dodamo činjenicu da je od milijun i pol prijeratnih kršćana u Siriji danas ostalo njih manje od 300 000, da su progonima bili izvrgnuti upravo od strane islamističkih pobunjeničkih grupacija, jasno je da nije vrijeme za euforiju.

EU se treba što aktivnije uključiti u sirijsku krizu i iskoristiti sve metode pritiska na novu vlast, ali i njene zaštitnike u Ankari, da se zaštite životi pravih kršćana, kao i svih drugih manjina u Siriji. Naravno, ukoliko nova vlada na djelima pokaže da se želi ponašati normalno i civilizirano, treba se osigurati što brži povratak sirijskih izbjeglica koje su trenutno u Europi kako bi mogli ponovno izgraditi svoju zemlju.

2-0097-0000

Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0098-0000

Milan Zver (PPE). – Gospod predsednik! S padcem Al Asada se je zgodil pozitivni geostrateški premik v regiji. Konec koncev je s tem konec represije nad Sirijci, konec organske navezave med iranskim režimom in Hezbolahom, na neki način poraz Rusije in Irana v regiji, in načrt uničenja Izraela je sedaj manj verjeten.

Torej, kaj pa je potrebno storiti s strani Evropske unije? Najprej je potrebno izključiti iz obnove vpliv držav, ki so Sirijo pripeljale v to pozicijo, v kateri je sedaj, in vključiti v tranzicijo vse demokratične sile, vključno z Evropsko unijo in pa ZDA.

In seveda, drugič, moramo narediti vse, da preprečimo tako imenovani afganistanski vzorec, in zaradi tega se mora Evropska unija bistveno širše vključiti v obnovo te države. Gospa Kallas, v vas polagamo velike upe, da boste Evropsko unijo na vašem področju ponovno umestili v prvo ligo svetovnih odločevalcev.

2-0099-0000

Thijs Reuten (S&D). – Mr President, High Representative Kallas, welcome.

Listening to the whole debate, I must say one thing: I am disgusted by the way some people here talk about people. It is dehumanising. I want to have it noted that from the far right the word deportations has been used several times, and I do not want to normalise that.

We will only get one chance to get this right. The fall of the Assad regime is not a guarantee for stability, in particular because Türkiye and Israel are vigorously pushing their own agendas.

So, how to convert this situation into an opportunity? Adding to the useful ideas that have been raised by my colleagues, I want to say to the High Representative to consider investing in our very diverse and knowledgeable Syrian communities in our societies. They are very knowledgeable and they can be of help. Also promote and support initiatives to transitional justice, offer direct and indirect peacebuilding and dialogue, and work on the protection of minorities, in particular the Kurds in the north.

2-0100-0000

Katrin Langensiepen (Verts/ALE). – Herr Präsident! Ich werfe eine Zahl in den Raum: 54. Und ich werfe eine weitere Zahl in den Raum: 48.

54 Jahre Assad-Diktatur: der Vater Assad und Baschar al-Assad, sein Sohn. Keine 48 Stunden nach dem Sturz, den die syrische Bevölkerung selbst hervorgerufen hat – ohne Blutvergießen, möchte ich mal erwähnen –, ist es nicht möglich gewesen, sofort nach Abschiebungen zu schreien.

Ich habe diese Debatte verfolgt, mir geht es genauso wie meinem S&D-Kollegen Thijs: Es widert mich an, wie unmenschlich man über die Menschen spricht. Angeblich, als hätten sie keinen eigenen freien Willen, als sei es schon gottgegeben, dass sie natürlich automatisch ins Chaos stürzen müssen, als ob es in der Vergangenheit keine Bürgerrechtsbewegungen gegeben hätte, keine Oppositionsbewegung gegeben hätte in Washington, in Paris, in Berlin.

Die Menschen sind da! Es gibt einen Demokratieplan, und da rufe ich Sie auf, Frau Kallas: Nehmen Sie Kontakt zu den neuen Bewegungen, den alten, erfahrenen Aktivistinnen auf und sprechen Sie

mit den Menschen! Sie sind es nämlich leid, dass über ihre Köpfe entschieden wird. Sie sind es nämlich leid, dass man weiß, was gut oder was schlecht für sie ist, für die Männer, für die Frauen, für die *minorities*. Das ist mein Appell an Sie, Frau Kallas.

2-0101-0000

Ondřej Dostál (NI). – Pane předsedající, vážení kolegové, jako občan země, která od časů Československa podporovala Sýrii v jejím rozvoji, musím vyjádřit lítost nad jejím osudem. Syrský režim za obou Asadů určitě nebyl ideální, ale byl alespoň sekulární, zajišťoval určitou stabilitu a fungování země. Ještě v roce 2009 chválil Mezinárodní měnový fond Sýrii za růst HDP, klesající vládní dluh a snahu o reformy. Vměšování ze strany velmocí, podpora džihádistů, snaha o převraty a drtivé sankce uvedly zemi do katastrofy. Státisíce lidí zemřely, miliony musely uprchnout. Hospodářství bylo zničeno. A nyní si mocnosti jako Izrael nebo Turecko udělaly ze syrské suverenity a státních hranic trhací kalendář. Co jsme to Sýrii udělali? Když říkám my, myslím tím jak Evropskou unii, tak členské státy NATO. I my máme podíl na válce, bídě a úpadku Sýrie, ale i rozvrácení dalších států v regionu. Nebude divu, pokud nás tam lidé budou nenávidět. Paní Kallasová, pojďme raději pomáhat, pojďme méně škodit! Nepodporujeme převraty, nepodporujeme terorismus! Podporujeme mír!

2-0102-0000

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0103-0000

Kaja Kallas, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Dear President, honourable Members, thank you for this debate. I think it was very, very useful.

And it is true, and I agree with you, that we cannot leave a vacuum in Syria and we have to avoid the mistakes that we did with Libya, with Afghanistan, and we have to be also there.

The future of the country must be Syrian-led and Syrian-owned and reflect the Syrian people in all their diversity. Yes, we know that Syria is very diverse and I agree with those that we don't talk about protection of minorities, but we talk about inclusivity of the government that, you know, all the groups that you also mentioned in the plenary would be sitting around that table.

I agree with those who said that the European Union must be present, and we have already started to have a process to engage cautiously with Damascus, pushing for an inclusive and tolerant approach. I see we have a chance here to really impact the region and we need to follow closely the next steps in the short term.

And I have asked the head of delegation to go to Damascus yesterday to have a constructive first contact with the new leadership and various other groups, also civil society. And we are ready to reopen our delegation, which is the European Embassy, and we want this to be fully operational again. I think this is a very important step that we will reopen the delegation in Syria to have – like many of you said – really constructive engagement and to have the input and information on the ground as well.

In parallel, the EU remains the biggest donor of humanitarian aid to the Syrian people and we stand with the Syrian people through this transition, as we did during Assad's brutal rule. Like I've said, Syria faces a positive but uncertain future and we have to work together with regional actors. That's why meeting with the Arab countries, the United Nations, the United States, but also

Türkiye, and having the same principles in mind, is extremely important to deliver the same messages also to the new leadership what we want to see.

So, thank you very much for this debate and we will continue to cooperate also with the European Parliament.

2-0104-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

The motions for resolutions will be tabled later.

The vote will take place at a later part-session.

Written Statements (Rule 178)

2-0104-5000

Maria Grapini (S&D), în scris. – Pacea trebuie să fie cuvântul care construiește relațiile între state și care stă la baza diplomatiei. După conflictul din Ucraina, Fâșia Gaza și, iată, și în Siria, apare o răsturnare de guvern. Din păcate, fuga dictatorului din Siria nu garantează instalarea unei conduceri democratice în țară, iar pericolul ca populația siriană să fie afectată de deciziile noii puteri încă persistă. Pentru UE este important să încerce să se implice diplomatic în gestionarea crizei și să acorde sprijin umanitar.

Responsabilitatea liderilor mondiali – ONU, SUA, UE – este de a găsi soluții pentru înghețarea conflictelor și războaielor, pentru a preveni uciderea oamenilor nevinovați.

Doamnă Înalt Reprezentant al Uniunii Europene, ați preluat acest mandat într-o perioadă geopolitică dificilă, dar sper că UE se va poziționa de parte Pacii.

3. Crackdown on peaceful pro-European demonstrators in Georgia (debate)

2-0106-0000

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 the crackdown on peaceful pro-European demonstrators in Georgia (2024/2986(RSP)).

2-0107-0000

Dubravka Šuica, Member of the Commission, on behalf of the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Mr President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, for almost three weeks, the Georgian people have been protesting across the country to defend their democratic and European future. The unprecedented protests followed the announcement by the Georgian authorities of their decision not to seek the opening of accession negotiations until 2028.

This step is a clear shift from the policies of previous Georgian governments and the aspirations of the vast majority of the population. It is also the first time ever we see a country that was granted candidate status immediately and markedly shifting away from its European path.

The situation in Georgia keeps deteriorating. Over the past two weeks, more than 450 individuals have been detained. Around 300 have reportedly suffered violence and ill treatment, many requiring urgent medical care. The police charged over 400 individuals with administrative and over 30 with criminal offences, while no one from the law enforcement or informal violent groups has been held accountable for the excessive use of force.

These events are not isolated incidents, but part of a broader pattern of Georgia's democratic decline. Prior to the parliamentary elections on 26 October, that were marked by serious irregularities, the authorities adopted the foreign influence law and so-called family values legislative package. Both these legislative initiatives go against European norms and values.

In June, we responded by adopting a number of measures, including downgrading political contacts and suspension of assistance: EUR 30 million under European Peace Facility assistance and EUR 121 million in direct assistance to the government. Georgia's accession process has been effectively halted. The authorities have not reversed their course of action.

Honourable Members, it was time for the European Union to react in a decisive and unified manner. This is what the Georgian people expect us to do. Those responsible for the violence need to be held accountable, and the authorities need to take urgent steps to stop the repression, release the protesters arbitrarily detained and re-engage in the accession process.

Yesterday, at the Foreign Affairs Council, we agreed to halt the visa-free regime for diplomatic and service passport holders. We also discussed sanctioning under the European Union Global Human Rights Sanctions Regime those Georgian officials responsible for, involved in or associated with serious human rights violations.

At the same time, we will continue to stand with the Georgian people, including by redirecting funding away from the authorities towards the civil society and towards independent media so they can continue their work during this crucial period.

2-0108-0000

Rasa Juknevičienė, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, *Sakartvelo's* President Salome Zurbishvili, the leader of European Georgia, is now on her way to Strasbourg to address us at the heart of the EU democracy.

'Is there any hope?' is the most frequent question about Georgia for me in Lithuania. Yes, there is. When I was in Tbilisi last week, I saw hopeful people with European Union flags. They are raising those flags not just in the capital, but all over the country, in small villages, including 500 detained, hundreds beaten, tortured, including journalists. But more and more people are coming to the demonstrations.

Georgia is becoming a textbook case of how Russian influence can transform a democratic system into an authoritarian regime without firing a shot. But Georgia is an EU candidate. The EU institutions cannot therefore be left behind.

The position of my group, the EPP, is clear: the parliamentary elections were stolen. We see no other way to help Georgia than new elections. Salome Zurbishvili is the only president

legitimately elected by the people until the new elections are held. We call on Member States to implement sanctions on individuals responsible for rigged elections and violence against peaceful protesters. We urge Heads of States and ministers of Member States not to wait to go to Tbilisi on a European Georgia mission, our Commission included.

I urge the EU to take the lead and not let Putin and his proxies win the battle against freedom and democracy on the European continent. It is the same battle for real peace and freedom that the Ukrainians are fighting for.

2-0109-0000

Tobias Cremer, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, dear colleagues, I, too, just got back from Tbilisi, and what I saw there was honestly bone-chilling: a government that, after rigging the elections, is cracking down on its own population and trying to turn a European democracy into a Belarusian-style authoritarian regime under the shadow of the Kremlin. It is a Russian playbook, all too familiar by now – a playbook of disinformation, manipulation, intimidation, violence and even torture.

But, colleagues, what I saw in Georgia also gave me hope. Hope because tens – perhaps hundreds – of thousands of Georgians are taking to the streets every day and every night right now, across the country, in the cities, in the villages. Georgians are fighting for their country. They are fighting for their democracy. They are fighting for their freedom.

These people are fighting in Georgia. But they do so under a blue banner with golden stars. The banner of Europe is for Georgians the banner of freedom, and Georgians are risking their lives for this blue banner. Wherever we went as MEPs, people came up to us waving this European banner, cheering us, but also asking us, 'Where is Europe in this hour of truth?'

Colleagues, the eyes of the Georgians are on us right now, and not just of the Georgians – also Ukrainians, Moldovans and so many others who yearn for freedom. They are looking to us here in Strasbourg right now. So let us show to them that in the hour of need, Europe is capable of acting.

Let us impose impose real sanctions on those suppressing their own population. Let us welcome here on this floor President Salome Zourabichvili to address the Plenary. And let us support the Georgian people in their wish for new and fair elections on their path to Europe, on their path to freedom.

Georgians are acting right now to defend the values that this banner represents. So let us do the same.

2-0110-0000

Thierry Mariani, *au nom du groupe PfE*. – Monsieur le Président, en Géorgie, comme d'ailleurs en Roumanie, l'Union européenne refuse le choix des peuples. La Géorgie est devenue le théâtre d'une insurrection rampante, qui respire un parfum d'opération de déstabilisation téléguidée depuis l'étranger contre le pouvoir légitime géorgien. En attestent ces manifestations, la nuit, dans les rues de Tbilissi, où l'opposition – que vous encouragez – jette ses supporters contre l'État géorgien, cherchant sans doute le dérapage et multipliant les provocations, sur le modèle de Maïdan.

Pourtant, la Géorgie et ses institutions tiennent bon. Elles résistent face à la violence de ceux qui, ayant perdu les élections, tentent aujourd'hui, avec votre soutien, un coup de force. La victoire de Rêve géorgien a été reconnue par la Commission électorale centrale, et le président Kavelachvili a été élu conformément à la loi. Les peuples ne veulent plus voir confisquer leur souveraineté, ni en

Géorgie, ni en Roumanie. L'Union européenne veut se faire passer pour garante de la prospérité et de la démocratie, mais, en Géorgie, elle encourage un coup d'État qui risque d'entraîner ce pays dans le chaos.

2-0111-0000

Małgorzata Gosiewska, w imieniu grupy ECR. – Panie Przewodniczący! Od tygodni tysiące Gruzinów wychodzą na ulice w sprzeciwie wobec polityki Gruzińskiego Marzenia – prorosyjskiej partii, która wpycha kraj w objęcia Rosji. Aresztowania, przemoc oraz zamrożenie relacji z Unią to odpowiedź rządzących wymierzona w gruzińskie społeczeństwo. Gruzińskie demonstracje odbywają się pod hasłem „Obudź się, Gruzjo!”. A ja mówię: obudź się, Europo, i stań po stronie protestujących!

Pani Kallas, co to znaczy, że do 29 grudnia jeszcze wiele może się wydarzyć? Na co czekacie? Aż poleje się krew? Aż zamkną w więzieniu prezydent Zurabiszwili, jak to uczyniono z prezydentem Saakaszwilim? Powiedziała Pani, że lista osób objętych sankcjami jest już gotowa. To zróbcie chociaż to!

Wojnę w 2008 roku Unia przespała. Niepodległość Gruzji i honor Europy uratował wtedy prezydent Polski Lech Kaczyński. Trzeba wyciągnąć wnioski z historii, a decyzje podejmować zdecydowanie i bez zbędnej zwłoki. Gruzini wierzą w siłę Unii Europejskiej i walczą o swoją przyszłość. Pomóżmy im!

(Mówczyni zakończyła wystąpienie w języku innym niż unijny)

2-0112-0000

Nathalie Loiseau, au nom du groupe Renew. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, sommes-nous devenus sourds? N'entendons-nous pas ce que crient chaque soir les manifestants à Tbilissi et partout en Géorgie? Je vais vous le dire, ce qu'ils crient! Je suis allée à leur rencontre. On leur a volé les élections. Elles ont été truquées. On est en train de leur voler leur avenir. Ils rêvent d'Europe, et le parti au pouvoir, le bien mal nommé Rêve géorgien, n'a d'yeux que pour la Russie. Ils le répètent sans se lasser: la Géorgie est européenne, la Géorgie n'est pas la Russie.

Chers collègues, sommes-nous devenus aveugles? Ne voyons-nous pas la répression qui s'abat sur des manifestants pacifiques, les arrestations, les coups, les journalistes et les opposants emprisonnés? Ne voyons-nous pas que le pouvoir géorgien veut faire tomber une chape de plomb sur le pays et s'aligner sur Moscou?

Sommes-nous devenus impuissants? Qu'attendons-nous pour sanctionner la poignée de donneurs d'ordres de Rêve géorgien, qui veulent mettre le pays à leur botte et à celle de Vladimir Poutine? Roberta Metsola a invité la présidente de la Géorgie, Salomé Zourabichvili, comme nous avons été nombreux à le lui avoir demandé. Salomé Zourabichvili défend de toutes ses forces l'avenir démocratique et européen de son pays. Elle a toute sa place dans notre maison de la démocratie européenne. Elle doit s'exprimer en plénière. Les manifestants de Roustavéli croient au pouvoir de l'Europe. Pour eux, comme pour nous, prouvons-leur qu'ils ont raison!

2-0113-0000

Reinier Van Lanschot, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group. – Mr President, the party Georgian Dream has turned it into a Russian nightmare. The leaders of this nightmare stole the people's voice in an election that was not free nor fair. And by blocking the roads to the EU, they stole the people's hope. They are illegitimate, unconstitutional, but the masks are off and they reveal their true face –

a face the Georgian people know too well, a face of Russian oppression. Peaceful protesters arrested; hundreds assaulted by the police; civil society intimidated; journalists hunted and beaten; political opponents imprisoned, like Nika Gvaramia, who we met here in the European Parliament just three weeks ago.

Yet the Georgian people don't flinch: 7% of the population protests daily in the freezing cold. Students, civil servants, winemakers, lawyers, ravers, mothers, grandparents gathering from Tbilisi Square to the mountains of Svaneti and farmlands of Kakheti. I walked with these protesters last Thursday. They demand new elections. A year ago, Georgia received EU candidate status not because of its government, but because of its people. And those people look at us for action. So how can we help?

The sanctioned leaders of Georgian dreams – all they care about is their wealth. Fund independent media and other defenders for democracy, and support Salome Zurbishvili, the people's president, the only legitimate leader, also after 29 December.

As one of the protesters told me, the real dream of Georgia is European.

2-0114-0000

Danilo Della Valle, *a nome del gruppo The Left*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mentre il mondo scivola nella terza guerra mondiale a pezzi, noi verremo ricordati per aver scelto di parlare ben quattro volte consecutive delle elezioni in Georgia, che hanno diversi limiti, e delle proteste dell'opposizione.

Noi intanto, però, qui non votiamo una risoluzione che condanni l'infame genocidio che Netanyahu e il suo governo stanno portando avanti ai danni della popolazione palestinese, ma troviamo il tempo di discutere di Georgia perché non vogliamo riconoscere che i cittadini georgiani votano secondo i propri interessi e non come piacerebbe a Kallas o a von der Leyen.

Il pretesto di oggi sono le proteste di piazza contro il governo. Chi però invoca queste proteste di piazza sono le stesse persone che plaudono alla repressione contro lavoratori e studenti che scendono in piazza in Europa per rivendicare maggiori diritti o contro le migliaia di giovani scesi in piazza in difesa del diritto dei palestinesi a esistere, in Italia, in Francia o negli Stati Uniti.

La verità che non volete raccontare ai cittadini europei è che state cercando di forzare sulla Georgia, perché il governo appena eletto non ha intenzione di entrare in uno scontro diretto con la Russia per favorire gli interessi della NATO o degli USA.

L'adesione dei paesi terzi all'UE dovrebbe basarsi su un rapporto paritario, rispettando la dignità reciproca, senza ricorrere a minacce di sanzioni come strumento di pressione.

2-0115-0000

Hans Neuhoﬀ, *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion*. – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident! Wenn im georgischen Parlament wie im Deutschen Bundestag der Opposition alle Parlamentsämter verweigert würden, wenn Oppositionspolitiker tätlich angegriffen, ihre Wohnhäuser beschmiert und ihre Autos beschädigt würden, wenn es in Georgien wie in Deutschland ein staatliches Programm mit dem Namen „Kampf gegen das Böse“ gäbe, das Freiwilligenverbände zur Bekämpfung der Opposition finanziert, wenn Staatsmedien die Opposition diskreditieren würden, wenn die Opposition von der Teilnahme an der politischen Debatte ferngehalten würde, wenn Wirte bedroht und ihre Lokale beschädigt würden, sobald sie diese an die Opposition vermieten, wenn es in Georgien wie in Deutschland einen Inlandsgeheimdienst mit dem Namen „Verfassungsschutz“ gäbe, der die

Opposition ausspioniert und sie zur Gefahr für den Staat erklärt – dann, meine Damen und Herren, würde dieses Parlament hier zu Recht zu der Auffassung gelangen, dass Georgien nicht Mitglied der EU sein kann.

2-0116-0000

Dubravka Šuica, *Member of the Commission, on behalf of the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* – Mr President, honourable Members, I was listening carefully to all your remarks.

For months, the people of Georgia have been demonstrating their undeniable attachment to democratic values and European future. The European Union will not abandon them on their journey. We will further step up our support to civil society and independent media so they can continue their work during this crucial period. We will also further improve our communication.

What we are doing today is sending a message from this plenary. To the Georgian people, we must send a strong message of support and of the European Union's continued commitment. To the Georgian Dream, we need to highlight the cost of these actions.

2-0117-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

Written Statements (Rule 178)

2-0117-5000

Vasile Dîncu (S&D), *în scris.* – Ne aflăm în fața unei situații alarmante care pune sub semnul întrebării valorile democratice fundamentale și dreptul la libertatea de exprimare. Reprimarea brutală a demonstrațiilor pașnici pro-europeni din Georgia reprezintă o încălcare gravă a drepturilor omului, o amenințare directă la adresa poporului georgian de a adera la valorile europene, precum și o amenințare la adresa stabilității regiunii.

Oamenii au ieșit în stradă nu cu arme, ci cu speranță, cerând libertate, transparență, apropierea de UE și visând la un viitor mai bun pentru țara lor. Însă răspunsul autorităților a fost unul brutal marcat de violență, arestări și încercări de intimidare. Aceste acțiuni nu doar că încalcă principiile democratice, dar îndepărtează Georgia de la calea europeană pe care poporul o dorește.

Avem datoria morală să fim alături de poporul georgian în aceste momente dificile și să-i oferim tot sprijinul nostru. În fața represiunii trebuie să dăm dovadă de solidaritate. Tăcerea în astfel de momente reprezintă o complicitate.

Solicităm autorităților georgiene să oprească imediat violențele și să respecte drepturile fundamentale ale cetățenilor.

Doar împreună putem construi o Europă unită și bazată pe valori comune.

Să rămânem uniți în susținerea libertății, dreptății și să apărăm valorile democratice!

2-0117-7500

Rihards Kols (ECR), *in writing.* – The recent violent crackdown on peaceful pro-European demonstrators in Georgia is deeply troubling and runs counter to the democratic values that the

Georgian people have consistently fought for. These individuals were exercising their fundamental right to assemble and express their aspirations for a European future—a path that the majority of Georgians strongly support.

This is not the behavior of a government serious about its European ambitions. The surge in anti-Ukrainian propaganda, attacks on civil society, and violent crackdowns betray the will of the Georgian people, who overwhelmingly support a future in Europe.

The EU cannot turn a blind eye. Those responsible for these actions must be held to account, and our support for Georgia's democratic forces strengthened. Let us be clear: the Georgian government has already set itself on an authoritarian course, one that is difficult to reverse. This path risks isolating Georgia from its rightful place in the European family and betrays the aspirations of its people.

2-0117-8750

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR), kirjallinen. – EU on epäonnistunut surullisella tavalla Georgian suhteen.

Nyt kansa on kaduilla vaaliepäselvyyksien jäljiltä.

EU oli uskoton omia periaatteitaan kohtaan ja pelkässä laajentumisahneudessaan ei toiminut riittävästi, ei pistänyt kova kovaa vasten, vaan antoi tilanteiden eskaloitua tähän pisteeseen.

Sen sijaan, että olisi puututtu ajoissa demokratian rapautumiseen, EU on käyttäytynyt lepsusti Georgian valtuustoon kanssa.

Georgiassa on junnattu läpi venäläistyypinen agenttilaki ja maassa on menty jopa niin pitkälle, että oppositiota on uhkailtu kieltämisellä. Kun EU-ehdokasmaa kulkee tähän suuntaan, on se EU:ltakin epäonnistuminen.

Georgian tapaus toimii EU:lle varoittavana löysäilyesimerkkinä, miten sen ei missään nimessä tule toimia muiden ehdokasmaiden kohdalla.

2-0118-0000

(The sitting was suspended at 11:53)

2-0120-0000

IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

4. Resumption of the sitting

2-0122-0000

(The sitting resumed at 12:07)

5. Award of the Sakharov Prize (formal sitting)

2-0124-0000

President. – Welcome, dear laureates of the 2024 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, dear Ms María Corina Machado, represented here by her daughter, Ms Ana Corina Sosa, dear President-elect Edmundo González Urrutia.

(Applause)

Dear 2024 Sakharov Prize finalists, dear colleagues, it is my privilege to welcome you all to the European Parliament for the 2024 Sakharov Prize award ceremony.

For over 35 years, the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought has paid tribute to persons and organisations that stand up for the values of freedom and democracy around the world, speaking up for what is right at any cost, even putting their lives at risk. Andrei Sakharov firmly believed in a world of open, free and democratic societies. Despite constant threats, and even in exile, he never stopped fighting for human rights and democracy.

Over the years, this prize has honoured many heroic champions of freedom of thought, who have continued their struggle around the world, including Jina Mahsa Amini and the Woman, Life, Freedom Movement of Iran, the brave people of Ukraine, Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny and the Belarusian democratic opposition, whose fight for the soul of their nation's democracy whilst in exile is echoed in the work of this year's laureates.

This Parliament continues to stand with all laureates in their struggle against injustice. Today, more champions will join this illustrious list. The 2024 Sakharov Prize will be awarded to María Corina Machado and President-elect Edmundo González Urrutia for their brave fight to restore freedom and democracy in Venezuela. I warmly welcome you, and I also warmly welcome the finalists and their representatives who sit in the diplomatic gallery. The House thanks you all for your brave efforts.

(Applause)

We will have a moment to also salute all of you in the gallery in a few moments. I first invite you all to watch a short video on the laureates of the 2024 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought.

(A video was played in the Chamber)

Dear colleagues, today we honour the laureates of the 2024 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, María Corina Machado and President-elect Edmundo González Urrutia. This prize is for you, in recognition of your tireless efforts to restore freedom and democracy in Venezuela and ensure a fair, free and peaceful transition of power, risking everything for the values that millions of Venezuelans and this Parliament hold so dear: justice, democracy and the rule of law. My heartfelt congratulations to you both. Thank you for being with us today.

I know there are also many Venezuelans joining us today in the visitors' gallery. Let me speak directly to you: this Parliament stands with you, the Venezuelan people, in your struggle for democracy. Thank you for being here.

Mr González Urrutia, this House supports you as the democratic leader of Venezuela. We condemn the Maduro regime for the many brutal and cruel attempts to silence the democratic voices of millions of Venezuelans. We condemn the issuing of an arrest warrant for the President-

elect. We condemn the illegal imprisonment of thousands of political prisoners in inhumane conditions and we call for these prisoners to be released.

The iron fist of Maduro cannot crush the spirit and the voices of the Venezuelan people, who are marching on the streets to demand justice and democracy. This is the very essence of freedom of thought, and we see this freedom also in this year's other Sakharov Prize finalists and their representatives who join us today in the visitors' gallery.

I would like to welcome Pascale Chen and Reem Al Hajajra from the Israeli and Palestinian peace organisations.

(Applause)

The women's organisations called Women Wage Peace and Women of the Sun, these feminist, pacifist, non-partisan movements unite Israeli and Palestinian women to call for peace and spread hope. This Parliament shares your noble goals.

I also welcome Zhala Bayramova, the daughter of Azerbaijani anti-corruption activist Dr Gubad Ibadoghlu.

(Applause)

Dr Ibadoghlu's health is deteriorating following his arbitrary and unjust detainment under house arrest. I take this opportunity to call on Azerbaijani authorities to drop all charges against Dr Ibadoghlu, lift the travel ban and give him the care that he urgently needs. The European Parliament thanks you and stands with you in solidarity for a world where freedom and equality are not just ideals, but realities for us all.

María Corina Machado and President-elect Edmundo González Urrutia, your courage and your dedication to the cause of Venezuelan democracy is in equal parts inspiring and galvanising. Your efforts remind us that it is up to every one of us to fight for democracy, because freedom must, and will, prevail everywhere, always.

It is now a true pleasure and an honour to hand over to you, dear President-elect and 2024 Sakharov Prize laureate, Edmundo González Urrutia.

2-0125-0000

Edmundo González Urrutia, *presidente electo de Venezuela*. – Señora presidenta del Parlamento Europeo, señorías, acepto con gratitud, pero sobre todo con inmensa responsabilidad, la decisión del Parlamento Europeo de entregarnos el Premio Sájarov a la incansable dirigente María Corina Machado y a mí.

Este premio comporta un rico legado histórico. Personalmente siento que esta distinción me compromete de forma muy especial ante la memoria de quienes me han precedido al recibirlo. Me refiero a líderes notables como Nelson Mandela, Alexander Dubček, Alexéi Navalni o los disidentes cubanos Oswaldo Payá y Guillermo Fariñas, y en especial a muchos de nuestros compañeros de lucha en Venezuela. Y por supuesto, a quien inspira y da nombre a este galardón: el físico y premio Nobel de la Paz Andréi Sájarov.

Permítanme, no obstante, aceptarlo con humildad en nombre del pueblo de Venezuela. Ese pueblo es quien verdaderamente encarna el espíritu de este premio, en reconocimiento a la valiente lucha que libra por restaurar la libertad y la democracia en Venezuela.

Pese a la claridad del mandato soberano y popular que los venezolanos emitimos en las elecciones del 28 de julio pasado, quienes todavía ocupan las más altas posiciones del Estado han resuelto ignorarlo abiertamente.

Eso no nos ha tomado por sorpresa. Los venezolanos sabemos bien a qué nos enfrentamos. Estamos ante un régimen que menoscaba gravemente los derechos humanos, las instituciones democráticas y el régimen de libertades. Se trata, en definitiva, de un Estado autocrático que pretende que obremos contra lo que dicta nuestra conciencia.

Quienes pretenden secuestrar lo que les pertenece a todos los venezolanos saben que, más temprano que tarde, nuestro país retomará el rumbo y dirección que ya marcó nuestro pueblo. El abuso y la violencia son hoy, sencillamente, un torpe instrumento para postergar lo inevitable.

We are fully aware of the cost that the path we have chosen has claimed. Our political prisoners, whose numbers have tragically exponentially increased at the hands of dictatorship in recent months, understand this better than anyone.

As the experience of those who have received this award in previous years have shown, the long road to freedom has always been fraught with challenge. Therefore, I wish to highlight two important insights.

First, this is not the first time that Venezuelans have faced similar hardships. Decades ago, our country have already overcome great antagonism, reaching the necessary maturity for a healthy coexistence among political adversaries. Although the difficult moments presented throughout our history have been numerous, we have emerged strengthened from each, more resilient, wiser and more patient.

Deuxièmement, notre propre histoire nous enseigne qu'aucun gouvernement fondé sur la violence ne peut prétendre gouverner dans un climat d'instabilité. C'est pour cela que nous, les Vénézuéliens, nous souhaitons par-dessus tout avancer sur la voie de la liberté, de la démocratie et de l'entente entre nous tous.

Ceux qui usurpent aujourd'hui les institutions de l'État savent que nombre de leurs partisans, actuels ou anciens, partagent la volonté d'avancer sur une nouvelle voie. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons remporté les élections du 28 juillet dernier, avec un résultat retentissant, qui montre que le Venezuela n'est pas aussi divisé que certains voudraient le faire croire. Bien au contraire, nous sommes unis par un désir commun de changement et de prospérité.

Por eso mi compromiso personal desde que asumí la candidatura presidencial de las fuerzas democráticas ha sido siempre el de tender la mano a todos los factores dispuestos a acercar posturas para avanzar por este camino de concordia y unidad nacional.

La entrega de este galardón a María Corina y a mí el día de hoy no solo refuerza ese compromiso, también simboliza la unidad entre los demócratas del mundo, que hoy más que nunca nos necesitamos mutuamente. Venezuela cuenta con ustedes, porque la lucha por la libertad y la democracia en nuestro país también es la lucha por estos valores en todo el planeta.

¡Que viva Venezuela libre!

(*La Asamblea, puesta en pie, aplaude al orador*)

2-0129-0000

President. – I give the floor now to María Corina Machado, leader of the democratic forces in Venezuela. Very nice to see you, María. You will take the floor remotely.

2-0130-0000

María Corina Machado, *líder de las fuerzas democráticas de Venezuela.* – Señora presidenta, señorías, gracias por honrar al pueblo venezolano con este premio que reivindica la memoria de un gran luchador como Andréi Sájarov. Un galardón que varios amigos antes, años atrás, lograron en esta larga lucha por la libertad de Venezuela. Ustedes hoy reconocen la incansable lucha que millones de venezolanos libramos desde hace más de veinticinco años, dentro y fuera de nuestro país, por nuestra libertad y nuestra democracia. El presidente electo Edmundo González y yo lo recibimos con enorme emoción en nombre de los venezolanos.

Tras años de sistemática agresión por parte de uno de los regímenes más destructivos del planeta, este bravo pueblo venezolano ha dado testimonios infinitos de valentía, inteligencia, resiliencia y amor. Amor por nuestros hijos, amor por nuestra tierra y amor por la libertad.

Venezuela, que fue la democracia más próspera y estable de América Latina, hace veinticinco años cayó en manos de un régimen criminal, aliado con los peores autócratas del planeta. El país con las mayores reservas petroleras del mundo fue expoliado por los enemigos de la libertad, que lo transformaron en un enclave para desestabilizar a Occidente y lo sumergieron en la pobreza, la miseria y la tristeza.

Durante un cuarto de siglo han intentado separarnos, debilitarnos, someternos. Aplicaron la doctrina del enemigo interno. Con la prédica sistemática del odio, buscaron enfrentarnos mutuamente, pueblo contra pueblo, dividirnos entre ricos y pobres, izquierda y derecha, blancos y negros, los que emigran y los que no, y también por nuestras creencias religiosas. Incluso procuraron debilitar a la familia, núcleo de la sociedad, enfrentando a los padres con sus hijos y a los hermanos entre sí.

Emprendieron también la destrucción de cada una de las instituciones democráticas, desde el poder judicial autónomo hasta el voto popular. La asfixia de la economía por un Estado corrupto criminal, junto con la peor hiperinflación de la historia, convirtió a millones de venezolanos en seres dependientes de ayudas condicionadas a la lealtad, sin dignidad ni futuro. De ahí la emigración masiva que padecemos hoy. Más de la cuarta parte de la población ha tenido que irse de nuestro país. Sufrimos la peor crisis de migrantes y refugiados del planeta.

Pero esa Venezuela postrada reaccionó. Contra todo pronóstico, esa sociedad dividida decidió reencontrarse y levantarse desde sus cenizas. Al confrontar el dolor con nobleza y dignidad, y en estricto apego a la verdad que disuelve la mentira, ha surgido un genuino movimiento de redención para unir y liberar a un pueblo. Ese anhelo vital de volver a tener a los hijos en la casa, de conocer a los nietos en persona, de abrazar al hermano y de reunificar a la familia en la tierra amada se transformó en un poderoso movimiento social y cultural.

Por eso, lo que logramos el pasado 28 de julio va mucho más allá de un evento electoral. Verlo simplemente como unas elecciones sería desconocer la magnitud de las fuerzas que se han desatado en nuestro país y que hoy son indetenibles. Lo que vive Venezuela es un genuino cambio

cultural, una identificación profunda, racional y espiritual con las raíces más hondas de nuestras creencias comunes: la dignidad humana como valor sagrado, la igualdad ante la ley, el respeto a la propiedad como requisito para la autonomía individual, el trabajo productivo y gratificante y, por supuesto, la libertad.

Hemos asumido, en definitiva, la única manera, la manera correcta, de enfrentar al mal. Derribamos los muros que pretendieron interponer entre nosotros. Cuando oscuros intereses y enemigos incrédulos nos pedían resignarnos, nosotros nos reconocimos como el pueblo que somos. Recuperamos nuestro amor propio y nuestra confianza como individuos y entre ciudadanos.

Por eso, lo que ocurre hoy en Venezuela trasciende nuestras generaciones y nuestras fronteras. Por eso, desde aquí quiero hacer llegar toda mi fuerza y mi solidaridad a todos los presos y perseguidos del mundo, muy especialmente a aquellos en Cuba y Nicaragua, a quienes también vamos a liberar. Y afirmo que trasciende nuestras fronteras porque las implicaciones globales de esta lucha no se limitan a los tentáculos geopolíticos que operan en —y desde— Venezuela para desestabilizar a Occidente. Nuestra lucha demuestra lo que puede alcanzar una sociedad profundamente maltratada cuando, remando contra la corriente, superando todos los obstáculos, decide avanzar por la senda del bien.

Venezuela cambió; nunca más seremos los mismos. Por la naturaleza de este movimiento épico sabemos que vamos a triunfar. Nuestra historia es un testimonio universal del triunfo de la conciencia, la organización, la inteligencia y, sobre todo, el amor por lo nuestro. El triunfo de Venezuela será el triunfo de la humanidad, de cada individuo libre y de las sociedades que deciden labrar conjuntamente un futuro en libertad.

Al reconocer hoy, en esta hora, la más oscura y la más peligrosa, a los venezolanos, ustedes, en nombre de los pueblos de Europa, demuestran su confianza en nosotros y en nuestro destino. Este galardón es un tributo a cada venezolano que ha decidido ser libre, especialmente a quienes hoy están escondidos, exiliados, en prisión; a esos niños presos acusados de «terrorismo» que han intentado suicidarse; a mis compañeros asediados durante nueve meses en una embajada, sin agua ni luz, pero elevando siempre su voz por lo que creen.

Ustedes nos demuestran hoy que no estamos solos y que nunca, jamás, la lucha por la libertad será en vano. Este es el momento de actuar con firmeza. Necesitamos a los Parlamentos y los Gobiernos en esta hora decisiva. Venezuela será libre.

(La Asamblea, puesta en pie, aplaude al orador)

2-0131-0000

President. – Thank you very much, dear María. Thank you, dear President-elect Edmundo. Thank you, Ana, for representing your mother here; you must be very, very proud.

2-0132-0000

(The sitting was suspended at 12:36)

6. Resumption of the sitting

2-0135-0000

(The sitting resumed at 12:39)

7. Amendment of the agenda

2-0137-0000

President. – Dear colleagues, I'll start by saying that, in agreement with the political groups and in accordance with Rule 164(2), I wish to put to the House the following additions to the agenda.

Tomorrow's sitting will now start at 08:30 in the morning with a formal sitting with Salome Zourabichvili, President of Georgia.

2-0138-0000

President. – I have received a request for a point of order, and I will give the floor to Dario Nardella. Please, colleagues, quote the Rule that you are going to make the point on.

2-0139-0000

Dario Nardella (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la scorsa settimana si è consumato un terribile avvenimento nella mia città, Calenzano. Un impianto di gas è esploso, creando un incendio e purtroppo portando alla morte sei persone, con 19 feriti, di cui due molto gravi.

È l'ennesimo incidente sul lavoro che ha colpito il mio paese, come molti altri incidenti sul lavoro colpiscono ogni giorno le nostre città, le nostre regioni e i nostri paesi nell'Unione europea.

Non si fa ancora abbastanza per salvare vite umane ed è inaccettabile che, ancora oggi, in un continente come il nostro, ci siano persone che la mattina si alzano per andare a lavorare e poi non tornano più a casa. Dobbiamo batterci non solo per i diritti dei lavoratori, ma anche per la sicurezza dei lavoratori nei nostri paesi.

2-0140-0000

Jordan Bardella (PFE). – Madame la Présidente, je voudrais faire un rappel au règlement, s'il vous plaît, sur la base de l'article 133. Nous apprenons par un article du *Figaro* du 1er décembre, que la feuille de route du commissaire à l'énergie a été modifiée en catimini après la tenue de son audition. Cette modification n'est pas anodine puisqu'elle lui enjoint de rehausser la part du renouvelable dans le mix énergétique à l'horizon 2041, et un tel objectif diminuerait mécaniquement la part du nucléaire.

Madame la Présidente, je souhaiterais que le commissaire à l'énergie, opposant revendiqué du nucléaire, puisse venir s'expliquer quant à cette modification, qui constitue une triple trahison: trahison de la coopération de bonne foi entre les élus de ce Parlement et la Commission, trahison des États membres qui souhaitent soutenir et développer le nucléaire et trahison de nos concitoyens et des entreprises qui sont étouffés par les prix actuels de l'électricité.

La Commission européenne doit rendre des comptes sur cette nouvelle attaque contre l'énergie nucléaire.

2-0141-0000

President. – There's one more point of order.

2-0142-0000

Iratxe García Pérez (S&D). – Madam President, it's only for one minute to tell you that we received information about the situation with one of the finalists for the Sakharov Prize, Mr Ibadoghlu, and we received the information that he was in very bad circumstances: they cut the internet.

I would ask the President of Parliament to make contact with the authorities and try to guarantee that he will be safe, and we are taking into account his situation.

2-0143-0000

President. – Thank you, Ms García Pérez. We are in contact also with his daughter, who is present here in Parliament, to see whether this is true and how we can reconnect the internet for his possibility to address. I know a number of groups have asked for a connection to be restored, so we are working on it.

8. Voting time

2-0145-0000

President. – The next item is the vote.

8.1 Election of the Ombudsman (vote)

2-0147-0000

President. – The first vote is to elect the European Ombudsman (*see minutes, item 8.1*).

This will be held in accordance with Rule 237 of our Rules of Procedure. I remind you that, pursuant to this Rule, the Ombudsman shall be elected by a majority of the votes cast. If no candidate is elected after the first two ballots, only the two candidates obtaining the largest number of votes in the second ballot may continue to stand.

I have received the following nominations: Teresa Anjinho, Emilio De Capitani, Marino Fardelli, Julia Laffranque, Claudia Mahler and Reinier van Zutphen.

I'd like to remind you that the vote is taken by electronic secret ballot and that, in accordance with Rule 237(7) of the Rules of Procedure, in order to be elected a candidate must obtain a majority of the votes cast. Abstentions are not regarded as votes cast, and you can only vote for one candidate. As it is a secret ballot, you will only see a blue light on your terminal, regardless of the way you vote.

Pursuant to Rule 237(8), we would need to ensure that at least half of Parliament's component Members are present. We can do this visually; no need to do it electronically. So we can proceed. The information – and this is important – concerning the electronic voting system has been sent to you by email and you also have it on your desk.

Once the vote has been declared open, you will see on your screen, first of all, the subject of the vote; secondly, the list of candidates. Position the cursor on the name of the candidate of your choice by activating the blue keys located on the bottom right-hand side of the screen, and cast your vote by pressing the plus button, the left-hand button. The blue voting light will come on, and an asterisk will appear against the name. To safeguard voting confidentiality, move the cursor to make the asterisk disappear from the screen.

If you wish to indicate your presence in the ballot without voting for a candidate, just press the zero button, in other words, the central button. You can change your choice until the vote has been declared closed by repositioning the cursor on the name of the candidate and pressing the plus button again to cancel your vote. Then position the cursor on the name of another candidate and press the plus button.

We have 653 members voting: 105 blank; 548 votes cast. The absolute majority is 275.

I will now read out in the order of the votes the results: Teresa Anjinho, 225; Reinier van Zutphen, 122; Julia Laffranque, 81; Marino Fardelli, 52; Emilio De Capitani, 42; Claudia Mahler, 26.

Since no candidate has obtained a majority of the votes cast, a second ballot must be held. We will pause now. You will be given a few minutes. Please don't leave the room until you tell me, via your political group leaders, that we are ready to proceed.

So we hold the second ballot. I will check whether anyone has withdrawn. No candidate has withdrawn. And therefore same candidates as before: Teresa Anjinho, Emilio De Capitani, Marino Fardelli, Julia Laffranque, Claudia Mahler and Reinier van Zutphen.

So I'll read it out as I did before. We have 654 members voting: 51 blank; 603 votes cast. The absolute majority is 302.

Teresa Anjinho has received 344 votes and therefore is elected.

(Applause)

Reinier van Zutphen, 177; Julia Laffranque, 47; Claudia Mahler, 15; Marino Fardelli, 14; Emilio De Capitani, 6.

Therefore, Teresa Anjinho has obtained a majority of the votes cast, and I declare her elected European Ombudsman. I congratulate her on her election. Congratulations!

(Applause)

8.2 Discontinuation of the European ODR Platform (A10-0028/2024 - Laura Ballarín Cereza) (vote)

2-0149-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Laura Ballarín Cereza on the discontinuation of the European ODR Platform (*see minutes, item 8.2*).

8.3 Deforestation Regulation: provisions relating to the date of application (vote)

2-0151-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Christine Schneider on the Deforestation Regulation: provisions relating to the date of application (*see minutes, item 8.3*).

8.4 Regional Emergency Support: RESTORE (A10-0031/2024 - Andrzej Buła, Younous Omarjee) (vote)

2-0153-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Andrzej Buła and Younous Omarjee on Regional Emergency Support: RESTORE (*see minutes, item 8.4*).

8.5 Specific measures under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) for Member States affected by natural disasters (A10-0026/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vote)

2-0155-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Veronika Vrecionová on specific measures under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) for Member States affected by natural disasters (*see minutes, item 8.5*).

8.6 Forest reproductive material of the ‘tested’ category (A10-0022/2024 - Veronika Vrecionová) (vote)

2-0157-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Veronika Vrecionová on forest reproductive material of the ‘tested’ category (*see minutes, item 8.6*).

8.7 Mobilisation of the European Globalisation Adjustment Fund: application EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper - Belgium (A10-0019/2024 - Matjaž Nemeč) (vote)

2-0159-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Matjaž Nemeč on mobilisation of the European Globalisation Adjustment Fund: application EGF/2024/002 BE/Limburg machinery and paper – Belgium (*see minutes, item 8.7*).

8.8 Activities of the European Ombudsman – annual report 2023 (A10-0016/2024 - Alex Agius Saliba) (vote)

2-0161-0000

President. – The next vote is on the report by Alex Agius Saliba on the activities of the European Ombudsman – annual report 2023 (*see minutes, item 8.8*).

2-0162-0000

(The vote closed)

2-0163-0000

(The sitting was suspended at 13:01)

2-0165-0000

PRESIDENZA: ANTONELLA SBERNA
Vicepresidente

9. Ripresa della seduta

2-0167-0000

(La seduta è ripresa alle 13.05)

10. Approvazione del processo verbale della seduta precedente

2-0169-0000

Presidente. – Il processo verbale e i testi approvati della seduta di ieri sono stati distribuiti.

Vi sono osservazioni?

Il processo verbale è approvato.

11. Cattiva informazione e disinformazione sulle piattaforme di social media, come Tiktok, e relativi rischi per l'integrità delle elezioni in Europa (discussione)

2-0171-0000

Presidente. – L'ordine del giorno reca la dichiarazione della Commissione – Cattiva informazione e disinformazione sulle piattaforme di social media, come TikTok, e relativi rischi per l'integrità delle elezioni in Europa (2024/2967(RSP)).

Do la parola alla commissaria Virkkunen, a nome della Commissione.

2-0172-0000

Henna Virkkunen, Executive Vice-President of the Commission. – Dear President, honourable Members, free and fair elections are the cornerstone of democracy and democracy is a fundamental European value according to Article 2 of the Treaty of the European Union. Democracies today face many vulnerabilities, as recently witnessed during the Romanian presidential elections. Democracies face threats from hostile actors both within the EU and also from abroad.

The Commission actively supports democracy in the EU. Protecting elections is at the heart of our work. Electoral matters are the competence and also the responsibility of the Member States. However, the Commission can support Member States in many ways. Ahead of the 2019 European elections, the Commission established the European cooperation network on elections to support exchanges between Member State authorities. The network has been activated following recent events.

In 2020, the first comprehensive framework to protect democracy in Europe – the European Democracy Action Plan – was adopted. In 2021, a package strengthening the integrity of elections, including a regulation on the transparency of political advertising, was proposed. This regulation will become fully applicable in October 2025. It will give us more tools to address disinformation, manipulation of information and foreign intervention in electoral campaigns.

And finally, last year, the Commission adopted the defence of democracy package. It includes recommendations on inclusive and resilient elections. The recommendations include encouraging

election integrity and fair campaigning, protecting election-related infrastructure and information and minimising the risk of interference from third countries.

As election campaigning happens more and more online, we need to make full use of the Digital Services Act adopted during the last mandate. It is important to note that the DSA does not regulate content. Instead, it established a risk management framework for very large online platforms and for very large online search engines. The DSA fully respects the freedom of speech under the DSA.

Ahead of the many elections taking place this year across the EU, in April 2024 the Commission issued guidelines for electoral processes. These guidelines recommend measures which the platform and search engines can take to protect elections in accordance with the DSA. These recommendations are on, for example, recommender systems, integrity of services, third party research and data access, cooperation with national authorities, independent experts and civil society.

The Commission also works closely with the Digital Service Coordinators, the national DSA enforcement authorities, especially when elections are scheduled or under way in any of the Member States. Regarding the recent elections in Romania, the Commission expressed concerns when there started to be signs of coordinated online influence operations targeting the elections, especially on TikTok. We took swift action under the DSA. We have now sent three requests for information to TikTok on its management of the risks of information manipulation during elections, including on risks of inauthentic or automated exploitation of its service, its recommender systems and also political advertising.

The Commission has also issued a data retention order. It orders TikTok to preserve data related to the management of systemic risks that the design, functioning or use of its service could pose on electoral processes and civic discourse in the context of national elections in the EU Member States.

Thanks to this order, we will be able to request and assess relevant evidence concerning the management of risks related to national elections in the Member States of the EU, taking place between 24 November 2024 and 31 March 2025.

Now, we have carefully reviewed the evidence provided by TikTok on the measures taken in the context of the Romanian elections. On this basis, we have sufficient grounds to suspect that TikTok may have been in breach of their obligations under the DSA to properly assess and mitigate risks related to electoral processes and civic discourse. Therefore, today, the Commission decided to open an investigation. This concerns, in particular, the issues of political ads and the manipulation of TikTok's recommender system.

At the same time, signatories of the Code of Practice on Disinformation, including both online platforms and civil society organisations, have activated the rapid response system for the Romanian elections. The system ensures good cooperation in ensuring electoral periods and quick exchange of information between civil society organisations, fact checkers and online platforms. The Romanian case has also been discussed with the European Board for Digital Services and there have been exchanges with the Romanian authorities.

Honourable Members, moving beyond elections in Romania, the Commission has previously opened also three investigations, notably against X, Facebook and Instagram. Regarding X, the investigation focuses on the measures to tackle risks following from the actual and foreseeable

negative effects on civic discourse and electoral processes stemming from the design and functioning of X in the EU, including also the effectiveness of its user-driven moderation, also risks linked to dissemination of illegal content, such as illegal hate speech and terrorist content, and also the measures to mitigate inauthentic platform manipulation, such as the use of fake accounts and bots.

Regarding Facebook and Instagram, the investigation focuses on their practices related to deceptive ads, disinformation campaigns and the visibility of political content. The Commission is also investigating Meta's election monitoring tool. The Commission is carrying out in-depth investigations on the cases as a matter of priority, respecting all procedural and legal obligations.

In cooperation with national Digital Service Coordinators, the Commission is very closely monitoring the platforms' compliance with the DSA ahead of upcoming elections in the EU Member States. We have also stepped out of alert level on cyber threats, and we are ready to coordinate our actions to enhance cyber security around electoral campaigns. We are ready to use all tools available if needed.

Honourable Members, as President von der Leyen has said, our democracy is a constant work in progress. We have started work on the new European democracy shield under the leadership of Commissioner McGrath, by bringing together contributions from across many policy areas. The shield will aim to combat foreign information manipulation, interference and disinformation. We need to become better at detecting, analysing and proactively also countering threats. We will increase efforts to strengthen media freedom and the safety of journalists. We will reinforce also the resilience of societies and preparedness and we will better equip our citizens with skills to navigate the information space, especially online.

I would like to thank you, honourable Members of the European Parliament, for supporting democracy in your work, including with the new special committee you are setting up. We are looking very much forward to cooperating with the new committee. I want to assure you that the Commission is very committed to protecting democracy. I remain fully available to hear your views as we work together to achieve this common goal.

2-0173-0000

Siegfried Mureşan, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Executive Vice-President of the Commission, dear colleagues, the reality is simple, clear and we have to recognise it: Russia and other autocracies are attacking the rule of law, they are attacking human rights and they are attacking democracies around the world but they are also attacking democracies in EU candidate countries and also in EU Member States.

We may not like it, but it is happening. Not recognising it does not mean that we are stronger, it means that we are weaker, and it would mean that we are not well prepared to tackle it. So denying it does not help. We have to recognise it.

They want to weaken democracies also in EU Member States. They want to weaken our institutions at national level and they want to weaken European institutions. This is a challenge to us and we have to tackle it. We have to understand what happens.

We saw electoral interference in elections in Moldova and in Georgia. The Republic of Moldova resisted because we have a committed pro-European government there, which was resilient, which strengthened the institutions and applied the law. In Georgia, the situation is worse because the government pretended to be pro-European, but in fact it allowed for Russian interference.

And we saw that interference in Romania – an EU Member State – in recent presidential elections. What have we seen there? We saw thousands of accounts linked to Russia, linked to Russian media, linked to Russian financing being created – artificial accounts. We saw electoral legislation broken. We saw illegal and illicit funding. All to help a candidate who is anti-European, who is pro-Russian, anti-Ukraine, who is an admirer of Vladimir Putin, and he is anti-NATO.

In order to weaken realities there, what do we have to do? Firstly, apply legislation. We very much welcome the decision of the European Commission to start the investigation. Secondly, inform citizens about the dangers. Thirdly, think about needed legislative changes. We have to evaluate if our laws are strong enough.

The profiling which platforms are doing for political purposes is a danger. While citizens believe they are informed, in fact they are disinformed and misinformed. They are manipulated and that is used to weaken democracies.

We have to think about toughening legislation. We have to be aware. We have to be alert. We have to inform citizens. We have to defend our values and institutions. We have to cooperate as politicians of the central committee to the rule of law. And we have to change, strengthen and improve our rules and adapt them to this new threat which exists around us.

2-0174-0000

Ana Catarina Mendes, *em nome do Grupo S&D.* – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Senhora Comissária, Caros Colegas, gostaria de sublinhar a importância e a relevância deste debate no contexto político em que vivemos, no seguimento, aliás, dos graves acontecimentos num Estado-Membro da União Europeia, a Roménia.

Se dúvidas houvesse para todos nós, o que está em causa é mesmo a sobrevivência das nossas democracias, da nossa democracia, enquanto projeto coletivo. Este é um tema que toca diretamente nos pilares da nossa sociedade e na forma como nós entendemos o espaço público na convivência com a liberdade de expressão.

Não há dúvidas, Caros Colegas, que as redes sociais trouxeram benefícios significativos, facilitam a comunicação, promovem a partilha de informação, dão voz, no espaço público, a todos. Mas tornou-se também evidente que as plataformas são hoje instrumentos poderosíssimos que podem enfraquecer e destruir as bases das nossas democracias.

As redes sociais que são detidas e geridas por empresas privadas põem em causa o equilíbrio de forças entre os cidadãos. Demasiadas vezes, colocamos no espaço público o poder da discussão pública nas mãos destas empresas que, pela natureza das coisas, defendem os seus interesses e os seus acionistas.

O objetivo de muitas destas plataformas é o de potenciar ao máximo o tempo que os cidadãos as usam e, para isso, valorizam, como sabemos, o que mais vende: o debate maniqueísta, a violência, os discursos inflamados, o ódio, a xenofobia, a desinformação. Em síntese, estimulam a polarização, alimentam o populismo com respostas simples aos problemas muito sérios e complexos.

É por isso que é importante que esta Câmara lembre, e que aqui possamos ter os dois comissários para lembrar, que temos instrumentos, como o DSA e o DMA, mas também o Ato da Inteligência Artificial, que precisam urgentemente de ser implementados. E aquilo que eu julgo

que este Parlamento pode fazer é estar à disposição da Comissão para, em conjunto, podermos, nos Estados-Membros, obrigar a que haja regulação destas plataformas para que possamos continuar não apenas a salvar, mas a reforçar os direitos, as liberdades e as garantias, que mais não é do que reforçar as nossas democracias.

2-0175-0000

Jorge Buxadé Villalba, *en nombre del Grupo PñE.* – Señora presidente, que ustedes hablen de desinformación es una broma. Recientemente, el Supervisor Europeo de Protección de Datos ha condenado a la Comisión por utilizar datos personales de forma ilegal para hacer campañas de propaganda política, y la Comisión reconoció que envió sus anuncios a personas que no estaban interesadas en palabras clave como *Qatargate*, Marine Le Pen o VOX: la Comisión interfiriendo; Bruselas negó fondos europeos a la Polonia conservadora facilitando la campaña de la oposición, y los liberó de forma inmediata cuando la oposición ganó: Bruselas interfiriendo.

El escándalo ha llegado en el caso de Rumanía: un Tribunal Constitucional controlado por magistrados nombrados por los partidos del sistema anula unas elecciones porque uno de los candidatos tiene más seguidores en TikTok que el resto, y se inventan eso de que la red social ha intervenido en las elecciones. Hasta la otra candidata califica el hecho como ilegítimo, inmoral y antidemocrático, pero ustedes se felicitan de que en el seno de la Unión Europea se haya dado un golpe a la democracia. Hoy mismo conocemos que el Gobierno de Marruecos ha lanzado una campaña masiva de mentiras y propaganda para desestabilizar Ceuta y Melilla utilizando cuentas automatizadas, perfiles falsos y a la propia comunidad musulmana, pero ustedes seguirán dándole dinero a Marruecos: ustedes son los enemigos de la libertad.

En España, mientras más de doscientas personas morían en la riada de Valencia, el Gobierno de Sánchez no suspendió la votación que le aseguraba consolidar el control de la televisión estatal. Sánchez cerrará el año gastándose 400 millones de euros en propaganda institucional, interfiriendo.

Los medios privados no son mejores, viven de subvenciones y publicidad institucional, en su mayoría empresas quebradas que se sostienen con el dinero que se les quita a los europeos de sus bolsillos: todos los medios públicos y privados interfieren en las elecciones, pero a ustedes solo les importan las redes sociales porque no las controlan. Les gustaba Twitter porque lo controlaban, pero ahora ya X no les gusta porque no lo controlan. Ya nadie les cree. Llevan años mintiendo y manipulando, así que les dejo unos buenos titulares: «Las redes sociales ganan terreno y TikTok sigue en ascenso entre los jóvenes», «Cada vez más jóvenes votan a la nueva derecha en Europa» y, el último, «VOX es el partido favorito entre los jóvenes en España».

2-0176-0000

Claudiu-Richard Târziu, *în numele grupului ECR.* – Doamnă preşedintă, stimaţi colegi, libertatea de expresie nu este negociabilă. Oricare ar fi riscurile, trebuie să ni le asumăm în numele libertăţii pentru care mulţi semeni ai noştri şi-au dat sângele.

Frica de dezinformare şi manipulare nu justifică în niciun fel cenzura care duce întotdeauna la dictatură. Cenzura merge mână în mână cu propaganda. Prin urmare, instituind cenzura, nu doar că luptăm contra propagandei, ci stimulăm propaganda celor care au puterea de a cenzura.

Timp de 28 de ani am fost jurnalist şi toată munca mea a fost motivată de libertatea de a spune adevărul. În cei 35 de ani de când a căzut ultima dictatură din România, am văzut de aproape cum este restrânsă tot mai mult libertatea cuvântului prin presiuni politice, prin corupţie şi, finalmente, prin cenzură. Din pricina îngrădirii libertăţii de exprimare, presa scrisă din România este aproape

dispărută, iar televiziunile au devenit, în majoritatea lor, gazde ale unor spectacole de teleshopping plătite din bani publici, care deformează în mod grav realitatea.

Singurul spațiu de exprimare liberă care ne-a mai rămas este internetul, dar și aici se strânge foarte mult șurubul din ce în ce mai mult. Vrem să punem și internetul sub o cenzură totală, vrem dictatură.

Soluția la dezinformare nu este cenzura, ci rostirea adevărului. Manipularea nu poate fi combătută prin cenzură, ci prin cultivarea discernământului. Iar pentru ca oamenii să aibă discernământ, este nevoie de educație și cultură care rodesc într-un mediu al libertății.

Vă spune toate acestea un om născut în timpul dictaturii comuniste din România, care a simțit pe pielea lui ce înseamnă lipsa de libertate, inclusiv lipsa libertății de exprimare.

2-0177-0000

Sandro Gozi, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, manipulation, opacité, financements non déclarés, ingérence extérieure, annulation de l'élection: la dernière présidentielle en Roumanie est un condensé de tout ce contre quoi nous nous battons. Bien sûr, tout cela est devenu beaucoup plus facile grâce à des plateformes numériques qui se croient exemptées de toute règle.

TikTok a joué un rôle central dans cette campagne massive de manipulation. Pourtant, des mesures avaient déjà été prises et de nouvelles règles adoptées pour protéger nos concitoyens et nos démocraties. Sur la base du règlement sur les services numériques, la Commission devrait infliger des sanctions très lourdes contre TikTok. Mais la campagne de Georgescu a aussi contourné ces règles en utilisant des sponsors déguisés et des influenceurs non déclarés. Elle a ciblé des millions de citoyens sans leur consentement, dans le but de manipuler et de détourner l'opinion publique.

Or, si le nouveau règlement sur la publicité politique, que nous avons voulu et adopté, avait déjà été en vigueur, beaucoup de ces choses n'auraient pas été possibles. Ces élections n'auraient pas été annulées par la Cour constitutionnelle roumaine, dont la décision aurait dû être, par ailleurs, bien mieux motivée. Voilà pourquoi nous devons agir constamment pour protéger l'état de droit et garantir la transparence. Voilà pourquoi la transparence des candidats, des influenceurs, des financements et des sponsors est la meilleure garantie de la liberté d'expression de chacun et du droit de nous tous à ne pas être manipulés, ciblés ou désinformés.

2-0178-0000

Alexandra Geese, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, Frau Vizepräsidentin, sehr verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Demokratie ist in Gefahr. Wenn Algorithmen Desinformation sechs-, zehn- oder sogar hundertmal schneller verbreiten als Fakten, wenn jede Lüge mit Aufmerksamkeit belohnt wird, die Fakten aber im Dschungel dieser Lügen komplett untergehen, dann haben auch unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger keine Chance mehr auf gute Politik, denn die braucht Fakten, die braucht Wahrheit.

Und durch diesen Mechanismus stehen Social Media heute an der Seite von Extremisten. Und das wird natürlich gerne ausgenutzt von Putins Schergen, die wie in Rumänien mit von tausenden von *bot accounts* Lügen verbreiten, um ihrem Kandidaten zum Sieg zu verhelfen.

In Europa müssen wir und können wir das Übel an der Wurzel packen. In Rumänien muss wegen des Fehlverhaltens von TikTok eine Wahl wiederholt werden, mit großer Gefahr für die Sicherheit,

für den Konsens, den Zusammenhalt im Land. Und damit ist doch der Beweis erbracht, dass intransparente, einseitige Algorithmen eine Gefahr für den öffentlichen Diskurs und Wahlen darstellen, so wie es im europäischen Recht, im *Digital Services Act* definiert ist.

Und auf der Grundlage dieses *Digital Services Acts* muss jetzt die Europäische Kommission Maßnahmen ergreifen. Sie muss hart durchgreifen, um die Wahlen zu schützen, damit auf Social Media wieder alle politischen Meinungen eine Chance auf Sichtbarkeit bekommen und nicht nur diejenigen, die Hass und Lügen verbreiten.

2-0179-0000

Martin Schirdewan, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Die rumänischen Wahlen wurden mittels TikTok manipuliert. Aber bereits seit dem Brexit und der ersten Trump-Wahl wissen wir, dass Social-Media-Plattformen für gezielte Desinformation und Wahlmanipulation eingesetzt werden. Bot-Armeen, Hackergruppen und KI destabilisieren auf X und TikTok gezielt die politische Ordnung. Hassrede, Gewalt, Antifeminismus, Verschwörungstheorien – die Demokratie wird angegriffen, durch die Ausbeutung unserer privaten Daten und das ungebremsste Profitstreben von Leuten wie Elon Musk und durch rechtsextreme Diktaturen, autoritäre Regime, die mithilfe von nützlichen Idioten wie Musk die demokratische Gesellschaft immer weiter spalten wollen.

Diese Gefahr besteht auch in Deutschland. Ich will nicht, dass die nächste Bundestagswahl im Februar 2025 in Russland entschieden wird. Alle Social-Media-Plattformen müssen klaren Regeln unterliegen. In den USA steht deshalb das Verbot von TikTok an; X sollte vergesellschaftet und in eine öffentliche europäische Social-Media-Plattform umgewandelt werden.

2-0180-0000

Milan Uhrík, *za skupinu ESN*. – Vážená pani predsedajúca, táto debata je smiešna. Vaši liberálni vojnoví kandidáti prehrávajú a vy sa zmôžete len na to, aby ste z toho obviňovali mladých a volali po cenzúre TikToku. Kolegovia, ale nie obviňujte mladých, obviňujte v prvom rade seba a svoju agendu za to, že ľudia už volia inak a že už vás nechcú. Obviňujete sa za to, že ste mladým ľuďom zničili svojou zelenou provojnovou sankčnom politikou budúcnosť, že kvôli vašej politike všetko zdražuje, že domy stoja bežne 200, 300 a viac tisíc eur a mladí ľudia si to nemôžu dovoliť. A to je dôvod, prečo vás odmietajú, nie kvôli TikToku alebo kvôli nejakým sociálnym sieťam. Takže hľadajte vinníkov v prvom rade u seba. Odtrhli ste sa od reality, prestali ste počúvať problémy bežných ľudí a len zhora moralizujete a poučujete všetkých, ako majú žiť, čo si majú myslieť, čo je správne, čo je nesprávne, ako sa majú rozhodnúť pre svoju životnú cestu. Nechajte to na ľudí, nech ľudia rozhodnú, akú budúcnosť si predstavujú vo svojich krajinách a prestaňte moralizovať s TikTocom či bez neho. Ľudia si jednoducho vyberú a pravda napokon vždy zvíťazí.

2-0181-0000

Andreas Schwab (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioners, colleagues, we are observing since a while some sort of interference of foreign social media platforms in the European Union.

In the case of Romania, colleagues, the Constitutional Court of Romania has taken a decision that is surely based on facts, and I can only congratulate the court of having taken the decision. This morning, the European Commission has taken the decision to investigate, against TikTok, in which way their algorithms have influenced the behaviour and the displaying of information during the campaign in Romania. I also would like to thank you for this.

We don't know yet the result, but we know that there is a risk of algorithms that drive information not in the manner that normal people would allow it to happen, that normal people would expect it to do, but, for the money behind, they drive the algorithms in a very special way.

We know in a free market economy you can drive the money, your decisions. That's allowed. But what is not allowed – and it is not news with the DSA – is that the money drives also democracy, or that there is at least a risk that your money can drive democracy. For that reason, we have to be very clear: freedom of speech is a principle in the European Union, but freedom of speech is not what these social media platforms do with the information that triggers content that creates more tension in societies at the detriment of normal content. Therefore, we look forward to the results of your investigation.

2-0182-0000

Alex Agius Saliba (S&D). – Madam President, in recent years, TikTok has been transformed from a simple app into the fastest-growing social network in the world, particularly amongst young people. It has become a space where millions of voices are heard.

Still, it has also been a breeding ground for anti-democratic and anti-EU narratives – a place to instigate disinformation campaigns and political opinions that undermine the very foundations of our democracies.

What happened in Romania is another example of how malicious actors can easily manipulate social media platforms, such as TikTok or X, to distort public perceptions and undermine the democratic processes within our Member States. If not addressed now, this will not be an isolated case. It could happen at any moment. It can happen anywhere, and will have a lasting impact on the health of our democracies, not just in Romania, but across Europe and across the rest of the world.

TikTok itself does not allow for paid political advertising, yet someone was paying for the political ads in Romania. Not to mention that their ownership and close coordination with third-country governments and politicians raises serious concerns about their political affiliations. How TikTok will handle the issues of disinformation, fake accounts, data privacy and manipulation of young people on their network is no trivial matter. They have a legal and a moral obligation to comply with the DSA, preserve the integrity of elections, and protect democratic values.

While the Commission's efforts are commendable, they are not sufficient. The urgency of the situation demands immediate and decisive action. If we want TikTok and X to take the responsibilities under the DSA seriously, the Commission should immediately use all the available tools under the DSA. If this is not enough, then we need to discuss whether platforms that do not follow our rules should be allowed or not to offer their services in a union that they don't respect.

There is no time to waste. The future of social media – and indeed the future of democracy itself – hangs in the balance. The consequences of inaction are too grave to ignore.

2-0183-0000

Αφροδίτη Λατινοπούλου (PFE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, ερχόμαστε να μιλήσουμε σήμερα εδώ και να ασχοληθούμε με την παραπληροφόρηση και τη διασπορά ψευδών ειδήσεων στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, μήπως και επηρεάζουν τις εκλογές στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Είμαστε σοβαροί; Θα μιλήσουμε γι' αυτό ενώ αποφεύγουμε να δούμε τον ελέφαντα μέσα στο δωμάτιο; Και ο ελέφαντας στο δωμάτιο είναι πως τεράστιες εταιρείες-πλατφόρμες λογοκρίνουν κάθε φωνή λογικής που προσπαθεί να πει την αλήθεια.

Οργανωμένες μειονότητες, όπως τα ΛΟΑΤΚΙ, οι γύφτοι ή οι ιδεοληπτικοί αριστεροί, κάνοντας οργανωμένες αναφορές καταφέρνουν να φιμώνουν τη διαφορετική άποψη. Προσωπικά εμένα μου έχουν κλείσει τον λογαριασμό μου στο tiktok, μου έχουν ρίξει το facebook μου και μου έχουν προκαλέσει προβλήματα σε όλα τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα.

Το ίδιο φυσικά συμβαίνει και σε όλες τις χώρες, σε όσους τολμούν να εκφράζουν τη γνώμη τους για την άλωση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης από τους λαθρομετανάστες και πως αυτό θα πρέπει να σταματήσει. Συμβαίνει δηλαδή σε όσους αντιδρούν στην παράνοια επαγγελματιών δικαιοματιστών, σε όσους πολεμούν τα ανοικτά σύνορα και μια Ευρώπη ισλαμοποιημένη.

Και αντί να ασχοληθούμε με το πώς θα προστατεύσουμε την ελευθερία του λόγου και της έκφρασης, που είναι το πρώτο ζητούμενο για κάθε δημοκρατία, καθόμαστε και ασχολούμαστε με αριστερές ιδεοληπτικές βλακειές που θέλουν για άλλη μια φορά να μας πείσουν πως οι πολίτες δεν αγανακτούν από την ακρίβεια, δεν αγανακτούν από τη λαθρομετανάστευση, την εγκληματικότητα, τη γραφειοκρατία, που πλήττουν την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, αλλά ψηφίζουν δήθεν πιο δεξιά γιατί λέει είναι παραπληροφορημένοι. Καλό το παραμύθι σας, αλλά δεν έχει δράκο.

Όσο η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση συνεχίζει να βαδίζει στην αυτοκαταστροφή, εμείς που θέλουμε την Ευρώπη των Εθνών, τη χριστιανική Ευρώπη, την Ευρώπη της οικογένειας, άνδρα και γυναίκα, θα σαρώνουμε στις εκλογές κάθε χώρας και αυτή είναι η μοναδική μας ελπίδα.

2-0184-0000

Patryk Jaki (ECR). – Madam President, I need to admit, Georgescu is a candidate I would never vote for. However, just because we don't like him is not a reason to cancel elections. What exactly are you accusing him of? Let's read: that he hired an agency to help him share content online. Let anyone whose group has never done this raise their hand. Just like I thought.

Or that an algorithm on TikTok promoted the candidate. Have you forgotten how Facebook algorithms promote your content while blocking the right-wing content? In fact, if you were to cancel elections based on support of specific media that are in Europe 80 % leftist, then we should cancel almost all governments in Europe.

Finally, you say because he had help from outside, putting aside the fact that there is no evidence for this. Have you forgotten how you illegally engage in elections in Poland and other countries to support your candidate? You even went so far to illegally block European funds to support your candidates.

And you want to hold others accountable for interfering in national elections? Come on. It is preposterous! The truth is different. It doesn't matter how many times you repeat the word 'democracy' in every possible way. You hate democracy. You hate people. You hate dissenting views. You hate freedom and you love tyranny. That's why this is the fight for something much greater. This is the fight for European citizens' freedom. And we must stop it.

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

2-0185-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE), *blue-card question*. – For sophistic argument in a very patient way, I want to ask you one thing: does it matter when millions are pumped from somewhere that is not disclosed, that we do not know, that is potentially foreign interference of grave, grave impact? Or does it not matter because you said all the groups here use financing for online content? Does it matter when it comes from Putin? Does it matter when it comes from Maduro? Does it matter when it comes from Xi or not?

2-0186-0000

Patryk Jaki (ECR), *blue-card answer*. – Of course it does matter. However, from my perspective it is important if you have clear evidence, because I don't see this kind of evidence. What I see is that you like censorship. You don't like the internet because in the internet we still have some kind of freedom – That's why you don't like the internet. In your media, leftist media, you can do whatever you want; on the internet it's more difficult. So that's why you try to cancel the election.

2-0187-0000

Dan Barna (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, alegerile recente din România au arătat un pericol major și foarte real pentru democrația noastră europeană: utilizarea nereglementată și nesigură a rețelelor sociale precum TikTok în mod explicit, dar și Facebook, X sau Instagram.

Tocmai descoperim în această perioadă că aceste platforme, atunci când sunt lăsate nesupravegheate, devin terenuri foarte fertile pentru dezinformare și manipulare și amenință chiar integritatea ideii de alegeri corecte. Interferența foarte reală cu care s-a confruntat România este un avertisment dur cu privire la vulnerabilitățile din peisajul nostru digital.

Ideea aceasta că ar fi fost vorba despre un incident pasager, o simplă întâmplare, niște algoritmi folosiți mai inspirat și pentru care n-ar trebui să existe nicio responsabilitate și nici consecințe, este de neacceptat. România încă așteaptă astăzi aceste responsabilități.

Uniunea Europeană trebuie să acționeze rapid și decisiv și salut anunțul pe care l-a făcut astăzi Comisia, mulțumesc, prin care anunță demararea acestor verificări. Nu ne putem permite să lăsăm o astfel de interferență să se răspândească și în alte țări din Europa. Sunt în joc instituțiile noastre democratice și încrederea cetățenilor noștri. Trebuie să aplicăm riguros DSA-ul (Regulamentul privind serviciile digitale) pentru a asigura transparența și responsabilitatea rețelelor sociale.

În plus, trebuie să investim în măsuri solide de securitate cibernetică și să încurajăm colaborarea între statele membre pentru a apăra democrația europeană, despre asta este vorba.

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

2-0188-0000

Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI), *întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”*. – De la mine este, domnule Barna, Luis Lazarus. Am sesizat că și domnul Ștefănuță, aici de față, a remarcat faptul că ar fi vorba de interferențe rusești. Vreau un răspuns clar, concis și exact: există vreo dovadă, cea mai mică dovadă că eventuala sponsorizare, susținere financiară a lui Călin Georgescu vine pe filieră rusă? Dați-mi un răspuns concret.

2-0189-0000

Dan Barna (Renew), răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”. – În momentul de față, datele care au fost prezentate în România de către autorități arată similitudini extraordinare cu ceea ce s-a întâmplat deja în Republica Moldova. Nu e foarte greu să unim aceste puncte. Nu este niciun fel de îndoială că un candidat care spune „Viitorul României este înțelepciunea rusă” este susținut exact din acea zonă a Europei.

2-0190-0000

Kim Van Sparrentak (Verts/ALE). – For the first time in Europe, in Romania, elections were annulled because of online foreign interference via TikTok. We need to wake up. Hyper-personalised recommender systems based on clicks and interaction are a threat to our democracy and national security. Whoever knows how to play them can manipulate the information people get to see online. Big fear mongering or extreme narratives – platforms will spread them to as many people as possible, because people will respond and that makes platforms the most profit. Then use bot networks to interact with your account, because with more clicks, the algorithms will spread your message like wildfire. Then pay influencers to spread your messages to new audiences without being transparent about it, and you can spread messages to an entire population.

This is how pro-Russian forces and Georgescu manipulated an entire election via TikTok. The way Big Tech's recommender systems currently work is the perfect handshake between tech capitalism, populism and foreign actors, and the Commission needs to make the DSA election proof before the German elections in February. Enforcement after foreign interference has already happened is simply too late. The Commission needs to make crystal clear and binding that recommender systems based on clicks and interaction are a direct threat to our democracy, and we should stop using them in the EU.

2-0191-0000

Hanna Gedin (The Left). – Fru talman! I går kallade den svenska regeringen till pressträff om ungas skärmtid och användning av appar som TikTok och Instagram. I Sverige bedöms var tionde flicka vara skärmberoende. Socialministern pratade om hur den överdrivna användningen av smarta mobiler ger svåra skador, som sämre sömn och dåligt psykiskt mående, och att föräldransvaret är stort.

Det är naturligtvis sant. Men det är också sant att vi lever i en tid när några av världshistoriens mäktigaste företag kontrollerar inte bara våra privatliv utan också en stor del av offentligheten och ekonomin. Själva affärsmodellen går ut på att få oss beroende, sprida desinformation och hat. Det är en modell som genererar stora vinster till ett fåtal.

Här måste samhället göra mer. Här måste EU göra mer för att bryta upp tech-jättarnas dominans och begränsa deras affärsmodeller. Medlemsländerna och kommissionen har verktygen. Så kavla upp ärmarna, börja jobba och se till att det kostar tech-jättarna att styra våra liv och begränsa våra demokratier.

2-0192-0000

Christine Anderson (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! In einer Demokratie geht alle Macht vom Volke aus. Doch was sehen wir? In Rumänien werden Wahlen offenbar sogar unter Verstoß gegen das Verfassungsrecht von Gerichten rückabgewickelt – man etabliert eine Herrschaft der Richter. Und dies ist kein Einzelfall. Thüringen, 2020, Deutschland: Ein demokratisch gewählter Ministerpräsident wurde durch den Druck von Angela Merkel – aus Südafrika wohlgermerkt – aus dem Amt gedrängt.

In beiden Fällen wurde der Wählerwille annulliert und durch Macht von oben ersetzt. Das ist die Arroganz der globalitären Misanthropen. Das ist die Arroganz ihrer Macht, deren Schwefelgestank über die Flure auch in diesem Haus zieht. Bertolt Brecht fragte einst sarkastisch: „Wäre es da nicht doch einfacher, die Regierung löste das Volk auf und wählte sich ein anderes?“

Meine Damen und Herren, die fortgesetzte Missachtung des Volkswillens und die Fassadendemokratie, die Sie zu errichten versuchen, entlarvt Sie allesamt als Antidemokraten. Und wenn es nach mir ginge, Sie würden sich jeden Tag in Grund und Boden dafür schämen.

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

2-0193-0000

Moritz Körner (Renew), Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Frau Kollegin, herzlichen Dank, dass Sie meine *Blue Card* akzeptieren. Sie haben gerade davon gesprochen, dass die Wahl in Thüringen rückgängig gemacht wurde. Ist nicht der Kollege Kemmerich dort zurückgetreten – ein FDP-Mitglied –, und warum sollte der auf Angela Merkel hören? Das ist meine erste Frage.

Und meine zweite Frage ist: Welchen Schwefelgestank auf den Fluren meinen Sie? Ich war zuletzt nicht mehr auf Ihrem Flur unterwegs. Ich weiß nicht, wie es da riecht. Ich habe keinen Schwefelgestank wahrgenommen in diesem Hause. Vielleicht können Sie das noch präzisieren.

2-0194-0000

Christine Anderson (ESN), Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Zunächst einmal begrüße ich, dass Sie einen kleinen, humorvollen Unterton in Ihre *Blue Card* eingebaut haben. Sie haben natürlich recht: Kemmerich ist in der Tat als gewählter Ministerpräsident ein paar Tage nach seiner Wahl zurückgetreten, und das passierte natürlich nicht freiwillig, sondern aufgrund des Druckes, der auf ihn ausgeübt wurde. Denn eine andere demokratisch gewählte Partei, die im Thüringer Landtag sitzt, hat ihn ja mitgewählt, und das wollte man offenbar so nicht stehen lassen – und auch das ist ein eklatanter Verstoß gegen den Wählerwillen.

Ich finde es, wie gesagt, sehr interessant, dass Sie das Wort Schwefelgestank noch mal aufgreifen. Selbst Ihnen müsste aber klar geworden sein, dass das natürlich *figure of speech* war und natürlich insofern nicht ernst zu nehmen ist. Aber machen Sie sich wirklich mal Gedanken darüber, ob Sie tatsächlich noch im Interesse des Volkes hier sitzen und auch dessen Interessen bedienen oder ob Sie nicht ganz anderen Herren dienen.

2-0195-0000

Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI). – Doamnă președintă, dragi colegi, câteva detalii care vă pot lumina un pic. În România a existat această campanie electorală prezidențială care a fost anulată, desființată, terminată și au fost, desigur, printre cei care au candidat și alți candidați, între care premierul României. Premierul României, ce credeți, are mai multe *view-uri* și *like-uri* pe TikTok decât candidatul care a câștigat alegerile propriu-zise și a ajuns pe locul întâi în turul doi.

Deci nu s-a întrebat nimeni de ce premierul n-a fost ales, deși are mai multe *like-uri* și *view-uri* pe TikTok. Poate că și premierul este alimentat de Rusia, nu? Dat fiind faptul că nu s-a găsit absolut nicio dovadă, dar s-au arestat oameni, s-au făcut audieri în România, au fost luați de pe stradă și așa mai departe.

Dar nimeni nu se gândește, stai puțin, nu cumva poporul acesta, care totuși a dat două milioane și ceva de voturi pentru acest candidat, are dreptate și alege în consecință? De ce nu l-a ales pe premierul României să fie primul dacă avea mai multe *like*-uri și *view*-uri pe TikTok?

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

2-0196-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D), *întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”*. – Domnule Lazarus, ca fost jurnalist, tocmai ați dezinformat Parlamentul. În primul rând, candidatul despre care dumneavoastră vorbiți că ar fi avut mai multe *like*-uri a respectat legea electorală din România, și anume aceea de a eticheta campania politică. Deci nu putem să comparăm mere cu pere.

Vă întreb, puteți să declarați aici, în fața Parlamentului, că s-ar putea ca cineva să își facă campanie cu zero cheltuieli? Și puteți să spuneți că au apărut dovezi că internauții care l-au promovat pe acel candidat au declarat că au fost plătiți? De ce dezinformați Parlamentul? Răspundeți la aceste întrebări!

2-0197-0000

Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI), *răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”*. – Doamnă deputată, lucrurile stau în felul următor: eu nu am spus că ar fi pus CMFul, acel cod de mandatar financiar, pe materialele lui sau nu, eu am spus că nu există nicio dovadă că are vreo legătură cu Rusia.

Dumneavoastră ați mișcat centrul de interes dinspre lucrul care ne interesează pe noi, anume, a fost finanțat de Rusia sau nu, către zona aceasta că a declarat el că nu a folosit niciun leu în campanie, dar l-au ajutat influencerii. Influencerii, dacă au fost plătiți sau dacă au făcut-o de dragul lui pentru că le-a plăcut cum vorbește, asta e problema lor.

Problema noastră e să aflăm dacă există interferențe străine în procesul electoral din România și, până în acest moment, toate organele care au anchetat această problemă nu au putut să ne dea o singură dovadă.

2-0198-0000

Zoltán Tarr (PPE). – Elnök Asszony! A politikai kommunikáció alapvető változáson megy keresztül napjainkban. A közösségi médiában 5-10 másodpercünk van arra, hogy megragadjuk az emberek figyelmét. Azt gondolom, hogy alkalmazkodnunk kell. A változást tiltással és merev szabályozással sosem sikerült megállítani. De azt is tudjuk, hogy amikor a politika találkozik a pénzzel, ott van szükség leginkább a szabályokra és a szabályozásra. Mert ha nincsenek, a kampányokat előntik a pénzügyi túlerővel rendelkezők, a politikát pedig fizetett influenszerek és manipulációs gépezetek fogják uralni.

Magyarországon ezt nap mint nap láthatjuk és átélhetjük. A kormány központosított álhírgyára adófizetői milliárdokból épít félelmet és bizonytalanságot, és mocskolja be ellenfeleit. Láttuk a román választásoknál: amikor a manipuláció mögött külföldi befolyás, hatalmi érdek és pénz állnak, akkor az egész demokratikus folyamat kerül veszélybe és válik átláthatatlanná. Az egyik fő kérdés szerintem az, hogyan tudjuk úgy szabályozni a kampányok finanszírozását, hogy az átlátható legyen, és senki se élhessen vissza a pénzügyi erejével. Ha most bölcsen lépünk, akkor garantálhatjuk, hogy a következő választások is az emberek szabad döntéséről fognak szólni.

2-0199-0000

Dan Nica (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, doamnă vicepreședintă executivă a Comisiei Europene, ați anunțat astăzi Comisia Europeană că a început o investigație în privința amestecului și interferenței pe care a avut-o TikTok în alegerile din România.

Vă felicit, pentru că în momentul în care Comisia Europeană începe o asemenea investigație, înseamnă că sunt indicii clare că au existat nereguli majore și o interferență majoră în alegerile care au avut loc în România, mă refer la alegeri prezidențiale turul întâi.

Pentru cei care ne privesc și se întrebă: ce a fost România cu TikTok-ul ăsta? Păi să vă citez puțin din ce spune TikTok: 115 000 de conturi false eliminate, 45 de milioane de conturi care au fost prevenite, deci nu s-au putut realiza, 7 milioane de aprecieri false, peste 11 milioane de urmăriri false, peste 1 100 de conturi care imitau candidații la Președinția României.

Acestea sunt datele oficiale furnizate de TikTok. Aceasta este amploarea amestecului pe care l-a avut o platformă în alegerile prezidențiale din România și, trebuie să spunem cu toții, alegerile sunt între a alege pe cei care sunt mai buni, care au programe mai bune, nu pe cei care manipulează algoritmi, nu pe cei care trimit milioane de conturi false și milioane de clipuri care, chipurile, sunt apreciate, pentru că asta denaturează și democrația, și campania electorală.

Campania electorală se bazează pe aprecieri, nu pe mașini, nu pe algoritmi despre care nimeni nu știe cum funcționează, nu pe aprecieri care sunt false pentru a crea imaginea unei persoane care este admirată, apreciată. Pentru că toate aceste lucruri duc de fapt la ce? La apariția unor fenomene extrem de periculoase. Oameni care pot să fie candidați TikTok, candidați ai unor puteri străine și care să influențeze într-o manieră grosolană și nepermisă democrația, cum s-a întâmplat în cazul României.

Doamnă vicepreședintă executivă, vreau să vă întreb când veți pune în aplicare deciziile ca urmare a acestei investigații? Care este orizontul de timp? Noi vom avea alegeri prezidențiale din nou în România. Între timp o să fie și prin Germania. Veți lua acele măsuri care să prevină această pervertire a mecanismului democratic și manipularea grosolană a alegerilor în cazul României și în cazul țărilor care sunt membre ale Uniunii Europene? De asemenea, vreau să vă întreb, doamnă vicepreședintă executivă, aveți curajul să aplicați ferm, cum spune Actul pentru servicii digitale, amendă de 6 % din cifra de afaceri globală a TikTok pentru modul în care au avut loc aceste manipulări ale alegerilor democratice?

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

2-0200-0000

Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI), întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”. – Domnule Nica, și eu am fost un candidat TikTok și înainte să vină domnul Georgescu, dețineam recordul de peste 1 miliard de vizualizări pe TikTok. Datorită mie s-a și revigorat naționalismul în România.

Cu trei zile înainte de primul tur de alegeri prezidențiale, ați afirmat la o emisiune de televiziune că eu nu mă voi mai prezenta ca și candidat la prezidențiale, că mă voi retrage.

După trei zile, m-ați retras voi cu ordin de la Curtea Constituțională și a fost primul act de lovitură de stat de la social-democrați și liberali, pentru că dumneavoastră de 35 de ani fraudăți alegerile

din România și asta o știe o lume întreagă. De unde ați știut dumneavoastră că eu nu voi mai candida la prezidențiale, când jumătate din Curtea Constituțională vă aparține?

2-0201-0000

Dan Nica (S&D), răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”. – Asta este exact despre manipularea de care vorbeam, manipularea care este prezentă și pe care cu toții trebuie să o prevenim, pentru că fiecare om trebuie să fie responsabil pentru ceea ce zice și să poată să fie apreciat sau nu pentru ceea ce zice.

În privința dumneavoastră, cei care lucrează în echipa de campanie își dăduseră demisia și era evident că și-au dat demisia pentru că dumneavoastră intenționați să vă retrageți la masa verde în favoarea unui alt candidat care, întâmplător, face parte tot dintr-un grup din partea aceasta a sălii. Iar în privința modului în care dumneavoastră sunteți apreciată, românii și-au spus cuvântul, din păcate, lada de gunoi.

2-0202-0000

Virginie Joron (Pfe). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, Madame le Commissaire, vous parlez de «démocratie en action», de «Maison de la démocratie, de «bouclier pour la démocratie», mais de qui vous moquez-vous? Comment faites-vous pour vous regarder dans une glace? En moins d'un an, vous avez transformé le DSA, cette réglementation sur les plateformes numériques, en un outil de censure, de viol de la démocratie. Thierry Breton avait dans le collimateur X. Maintenant, c'est Ursula qui s'attaque au géant chinois TikTok.

Les résultats électoraux ne vous plaisent pas? Vous vous ingérez dans le processus démocratique en insinuant que le coupable est TikTok, et vous faites annuler des élections en Roumanie. Un candidat ne vous plaît pas? Vous annulez la veille la candidature de l'opposition en Moldavie. Vous n'aimez pas les partis patriotes? Vous mettez en place un cordon antidémocratique en bafouant votre propre règlement intérieur. En fait, vous avez peur de la démocratie, peur de perdre vos indemnités, alors vous attaquez ceux qui veulent redonner la parole au peuple.

Les leaders patriotes, vous les traînez devant les tribunaux pour les tuer politiquement; cela a été le cas pour Salvini en Italie, et pour Marine Le Pen en France. Autre exemple, le traité constitutionnel européen refusé par référendum en France et aux Pays-Bas en 2005 a fini par être imposé à coup de sanctions. Votre vision de la démocratie est à sens unique, sans partis de l'opposition, sans débat. Soyez honnêtes, vous rêvez d'une dictature de la pensée unique. Mais quel est ce sentiment de supériorité qui vous anime? Assumez votre hypocrisie, assumez votre bilan minable et acceptez que le peuple ne vous fasse plus confiance et souhaite un autre avenir pour l'Europe. Soyez sûrs d'une chose: ce qui ne tue pas rend plus fort, et j'adresse tout mon soutien au peuple roumain.

2-0203-0000

Stefano Cavedagna (ECR). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, per anni abbiamo sentito parlare di troll russi, hacker cinesi, sabotatori oscuri del *dark web*. E invece oggi scopriamo che esistono i troll persino della Commissione europea.

Secondo il Garante europeo, infatti, la precedente Commissione avrebbe targettizzato e promosso delle campagne di sensibilizzazione per utenti di sinistra e progressisti, escludendo Viktor Orbán, Giorgia Meloni e tanti altri nomi di targettizzazione, per sensibilizzarli al sostegno delle sue proposte politiche; questo accade in Olanda e probabilmente in altri sette paesi della nostra Unione.

Come Fratelli d'Italia abbiamo presentato un'interrogazione per chiedere di far luce sulla situazione e controllare e sanzionare chi ha avuto questi comportamenti. Non accetteremo ovviamente alcuna altra invasione della libertà individuale e personale.

Ma con che faccia ci volete parlare di violazione della democrazia, nel momento in cui è proprio la stessa Commissione europea che l'ha violata in alcune situazioni?

La nostra risposta è molto chiara: viva la libertà, viva la libertà di informazione, viva la libertà di poter esprimere le proprie opinioni e di poter fare delle scelte, anche politiche, che forse ad alcuni non piaceranno.

Piuttosto, pensiamo a tutelare i nostri minori e chiediamo alla Commissione europea di fare propria la proposta di legge presentata dal Parlamento italiano per limitare le piattaforme sul web, in particolare TikTok, ai minori di 15 anni. Quelli sì che devono essere tutelati!

2-0204-0000

Svenja Hahn (Renew). – Frau Präsidentin! Social Media ist doch längst zur Waffe hybrider Kriegsführung von China und Russland geworden.

Autokratische Propaganda und Desinformation will unsere Gesellschaft vergiften. KI-Fakes, Angstkampagnen, Trollfabriken: Russland spielt diese Klaviatur der Desinformation doch seit vielen Jahren. Mit TikTok kommt das beliebteste Medium bei jungen Menschen direkt aus China und pusht mit intransparenten Algorithmen extreme Inhalte nonstop auf unsere Handys. Das ist doch kein Zufall!

Ebenso wenig, wie dass die extrem Linken und Rechten die Narrative der Autokraten wohlgefällig weiterverbreiten auf Social Media und sogar hier in unserem Parlament. Es ist auch kein Zufall, dass diese extremen Kräfte jedes Mal, wenn es darum geht, geltendes Recht online durchzusetzen, behaupten, die Meinungsfreiheit sei in Gefahr, und von Zensur krakeelen.

Meinungsfreiheit ist eine der wichtigsten Errungenschaften unserer Demokratie, das möchte ich hier mal klarstellen! Sie unterscheidet uns von ebenjenen Autokraten, wo man für seine Meinung kaltgestellt wird, ins Gefängnis gesteckt wird oder gar ermordet wird. Aber breit angelegte Kampagnen zur Zersetzung unserer liberalen Demokratie sind keine Meinungsfreiheit. Unsere Gesellschaft und unsere Demokratie müssen wehrhaft sein, Recht durchsetzen und sich vor allen Dingen den Angriffen der Autokraten entgegenstellen.

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

2-0205-0000

Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI), întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”. – Aș vrea să vă întreb de ce vorbiți doar de TikTok și nu vorbiți și de Facebook pentru că este cea mai mare manipulare pe Facebook? De ce nu vorbiți de toate *social media* pe care inclusiv Parlamentul European le folosește? Dar de ce nu vorbiți de influența Ursulei von der Leyen în politica internă a României, unde ea este cea care a ordonat anularea alegerilor și a Laurei Codruța Kövesi, procurorul european, cea care a distrus antreprenoriatul românesc și care a șantajat oamenii politici cu dosare făcute *fake*? Pentru ce nu spuneți adevărul?

2-0206-0000

Svenja Hahn (Renew), *blue-card answer*. – Every social media platform is accountable for incorporating law. Every social media platform needs to be held accountable to ensure that only rightful content, legal content, is happening on their platform, and therefore we have several pieces of legislation in place and we need to ensure that illegal content online is treated like illegal content offline. And that is the responsibility for all platforms and we need to hold them accountable for accepting our laws.

2-0207-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE). – Doamnă președintă, dragi colegi, cum ne explicăm că un candidat cu sub 7 % în sondaje, cu câteva zile înaintea alegerilor, este descoperit dintr-o dată de milioane de români și se plasează pe primul loc în rezultate? Poate că mulți vor spune că este o iluminare sau o trezire în fața adevărului, dar adevărul e altul și au arătat-o cei de la Recorder.

Poți construi un profil chiar fals de politician, utilizând câteva milioane de boți, câteva zeci de mii și care să aibă aprecieri peste numărul posibil în câteva ore. Când vezi sute de mii de comentarii la videoclipurile tale preferate, începe să pară că și tu trebuie să te conformezi cu adevărul, că există un val.

Așa că luați aminte, precedentul din România este o lecție pentru Europa. Solicit reprezentanților TikTok, dar și ai altor rețele sociale să vină în Parlamentul European, altfel riscă măsuri similare cu cele din Statele Unite.

Europa nu este sat fără câini, Europa are niște legi foarte clare. Alegerile nu sunt fapte întâmplătoare, alegerile trebuie garantate, păzite de cineva. Și noi avem acest rol, românii se uită la noi așteptând ca noi să garantăm democrația din întreaga Europă.

Vreau să mai spun ceva, că ați menționat-o pe doamna Kövesi. Doamna Kövesi este mai valoroasă pentru România și când nu este în sala aceasta, și când n-are a face cu nimic din ceea ce discutăm astăzi, este garantul folosirii banilor europeni și al dreptății în continentul acesta.

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

2-0208-0000

Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI), *întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”*. – Domnule Ștefănuță, înainte să participați la alegerile europarlamentare, erați un ilustru necunoscut în România, nimeni nu știa cine sunteți dumneavoastră. V-ați folosit de TikTok și de LGBT pentru a vă promova, promovând cultura LGBT. Dumneavoastră ați ajuns în Parlamentul European independent folosind platforma TikTok cu care ați umplut cu milioane de vizualizări pentru a intra în Parlamentul European.

Și doi la mână, dacă doamna Kövesi e atât de importantă, de ce nu o anchetează pe Ursula von der Leyen cu achiziția de vaccinuri care a ucis oameni?

2-0209-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE), *răspuns la o întrebare adresată în conformitate cu procedura „cartonașului albastru”*. – Doamna Șoșoacă, poate nu ați văzut sutele de mii de tineri care nu erau reprezentați în România. Aia a fost valoarea candidaturii mele, sutele de mii de tineri, tinerii de pe stradă. Cât despre cultura LGBT de care vorbiți, este cultura unor cetățeni, este dreptul unor cetățeni. Nu urâți ceea ce nu înțelegeți.

Dacă spuneți că sunteți patrioată, iubiți și românii care sunt de altă orientare sexuală. Iubiți și românii care îi iubesc pe alți oameni. Lăsați-mă să vă spun, pentru că acești români nu au fost ascultați și, mai mult de atât, sunt ținta unui val de ură în acest moment, din cauza unor afirmații ca ale dumneavoastră. Sunt tineri care sunt atacați în momentul ăsta pentru că sunt din comunitatea LGBTQ și este iresponsabil să ziceți așa ceva.

2-0210-0000

Danilo Della Valle (The Left). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il diritto all'informazione e il diritto a delle elezioni democratiche è un diritto fondamentale dei cittadini europei, conquistato attraverso secoli di lotte. Dal titolo di questo dibattito sembra però che l'unica minaccia sia rappresentata da TikTok, anche se poi nella relazione della commissaria sono stati citati anche altri social.

A me sembra che in Europa lo stato di salute dell'informazione sia arrivato a un livello abbastanza critico, tanto che i cittadini cercano ogni spazio possibile per esprimere il dissenso.

Quello che mi chiedo è, qual è il limite tra propaganda e ingerenza straniera? Ad esempio, nel caso della Romania, le elezioni sono state annullate perché c'è stata una donazione di circa 1 milione di euro nei confronti di alcuni influencer TikTok, al momento senza alcuna conferma di ingerenza. Questo però è sufficiente per parlare di disinformazione?

Come valutiamo allora che l'organizzazione OpenSecrets ha analizzato i dati e stimato che America PAC di Musk avrebbe speso più di 96 milioni di dollari per sostenere Trump? O che Meta abbia donato 1 milione di dollari, sempre per sostenere Trump? O che circa il 70 % delle informazioni diffuse in Occidente sono battute da sole tre grandi agenzie di stampa?

È evidente che dietro la presunta minaccia di ingerenze straniere, *fake news* e disinformazione si nasconde il tentativo di mettere a tacere il dissenso verso l'establishment europeo.

2-0211-0000

Ewa Zajączkowska-Hernik (ESN). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Nikt z nas nie chce, aby obce państwa ingerowały w demokratyczne wybory w naszych krajach. Jednak każda tyrania ograniczanie wolności swoich obywateli tłumaczy zagrożeniami zewnętrznymi. Europejczycy znają swoje mainstreamowe partie i krajowe rządy, które pośrednio lub bezpośrednio wpływają na klasyczne media. Państwowe spółki i instytucje pompują gigantyczne pieniądze w reklamy ocieplające wizerunek rządzących polityków, którzy obsadzają stanowiska w tych spółkach i instytucjach swoimi ludźmi.

Social media w tym skorumpowanym świecie mainstreamowej polityki to jedyne okno na wolność. To w mediach społecznościowych prezentowane są treści, które są niewygodne dla światowych rządów, bo obnażają ich przekręty i ukazują prawdę.

Teraz, pod pozorem fałszywej troski o bezpieczeństwo, chcecie położyć rękę na mediach społecznościowych. To nic innego jak orwellowskie oko Wielkiego Brata, które będzie ściagało każdą „myślbrodnię”. Unii Europejskiej nie uda się ocenzurować internetu. Zakażecie nam TikToka i X? Znajdziemy inną platformę, dzięki której dotrzemy do swoich wyborców. W długiej perspektywie orwellowska cenzura nigdy nie wygra z wolnością słowa.

2-0212-0000

Fidias Panayiotou (NI). – Madam President, perhaps I'm one of the most qualified Members of the European Parliament to talk about the use of social media platforms in elections, as they were the only tool I used to get elected and be here today.

Throughout the history of representative democracy, the people that were running for office were usually the ones that had access to the traditional media of their time. Now, for the first time in history, everybody has the power to convince the people about their ideas and become a politician only by using their phone.

And of course, if anyone can use social media, there will be some voices we will not like, but freedom of speech is about allowing all voices to be heard. And sometimes here in Europe, we censor voices we don't like just by labelling them disinformation. Freedom of speech is the bedrock of the integrity of elections and of democracy itself, and we need to fight to preserve it. Let's return to Voltaire's idea: I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

(The speaker agreed to take several blue-card questions)

2-0213-0000

Damian Boeselager (Verts/ALE), *blue-card question*. – Thank you, Fidias, I have a couple of questions because, as you said, you have a lot of experience in this field. The first one is, do you really believe the quality of politics has improved with all these extreme things? I mean, the videos you make, they need to have a hook, they need to be somehow engaging, but it feels like they're also often quite limiting and simplistic.

And when I listen to what the colleague, Mrs Disinformation here, has been saying, I have heard that von der Leyen is blackmailing politicians, that she has ordered somehow the courts in Romania to act a certain way, that we smell like sulphide – I don't know where that came from – that the LGBTQI community has been weaponised, that we are in an Orwellian State – this all seems to be disinformation. So how would you improve the quality of information on social media?

2-0214-0000

Fidias Panayiotou (NI), *blue-card answer*. – By the way, thank you – it's my first blue card, I'm very excited to answer it. Social media, I think like every evolution, it takes some adaptation. So we need to adapt to the new current system. This is what I'm doing, adapting to the new system. But I think yes there are some problems, we need to find different tools. Labelling everything as disinformation - where do you draw the line on disinformation and truth? Because a lot of the times in the past, we assumed something was disinformation, it was wrong. But maybe some new techniques of AI advancements and all this stuff to use on social media to, in a way, explore all the content and label something as wrong, but not to be able not to say something. But thank you, I love you all.

2-0215-0000

Moritz Körner (Renew), *blue-card question*. – So you didn't get a blue card until now and now you get two at the same time.

It's about social media and I think you do it well, you know, you convince people. And nothing is wrong about that. But the problem here, and that's what we're discussing, is if there's a foreign actor putting lots of money to influence the whole discussion – that is what is happening there.

And there's also a difference to the past. And there are new developments here. So can we agree together that we want to protect free speech, that we want to have transparency on what's happening on the platform and fair rules? That is what we are talking about.

2-0216-0000

Fidias Panayiotou (NI), *blue-card answer*. – We agree on this, first of all, but also, Mr Ștefănuță said before that in the polls it was not showing the president of Romania. The polls one week before my elections were also showing me 2 % and I received 20 % of the votes. So the new methods that we have doing polls and all this stuff is kind of in the old-fashioned way and it doesn't represent the current state of all social media. So I think democracy needs to evolve to the new state of this online social media.

I love you all again, it's very exciting to have two blue cards.

2-0217-0000

Jussi Saramo (The Left), *blue-card question*. – Madam President, Orwell was mentioned here before, and I think, 'what if the popular media are in the hands of the oligarchs, superrich or authoritarian leaders?'

As we know, the algorithms in X and TikTok are not open. Do you think that these algorithms should be open, so that everybody can know if they are brainwashed or not? Because we know that X, TikTok, maybe some others, are brainwashing us.

2-0218-0000

Fidias Panayiotou (NI), *blue-card answer*. – I think you are making a mistake because X has a part of the algorithm as open source. So you can see what is actually happening. And I think this is what social media needs to look like, because we need to understand how the algorithm is working. They need to be transparent on how the algorithm is working so we, the citizens and everyone, or the coders would tell us if something was misused. So we will know.

Having transparency over the coding I think is very important and I agree with you. But some of the platforms are doing that already and we need to encourage them to do more. I love you all again.

2-0219-0000

Ева Майдел (PPE). – Г-жо Председател, уважаеми колеги, чудя се как ли вие като избрани представители на европейските граждани ще реагирате, ако на предходните европейски избори през юни Вашата партия е получила по-малко гласове, отколкото всъщност реално има? Как ще реагирате и как ще приемем, ако обществата Ви утре поискат да напуснат Европейския съюз? Как ще реагирате, ако съгражданите Ви вече не искат демокрация?

Казвам това, защото една интернет компания с руска подкрепа може да изведе кандидат до победа на президентски избори в страна – членка на Европейския съюз. Ако тя може да направи това, значи тя може да направи всичко. И затова основният въпрос, който трябва да си поставим днес, според мен, е – защо бяхме неподготвени за една такава атака?

Отдавна говорим за руска намеса и изборни манипулации. Това, което се случи в Румъния, може да се случи в България, може да се случи в Австрия, може да се случи дори в Германия. Знаем как изглежда външната намеса чрез социалните мрежи и затова приветствам разследването на Европейската комисия, но я призовавам да отиде по-далеч. Нека оцени дали сегашното

законодателство може да спре подобни атаки и ако са нужни промени, нека да ги направим, защото Кремъл и Джорджеску могат да се адаптират. Ако те могат да се адаптират, значи можем и ние. Нашата отговорност е да защитим европейските граждани и нашата демокрация.

(Ораторът приема да отговори на въпрос „синя карта“)

2-0220-0000

Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE), blue-card question. – I want to ask you – because you were among the people who actually worked on the file – do you think it has teeth right now? What does it need to do? And what would you do in the case that we are discussing right now? Is a fine going to solve democracy? Is simply putting a money fine retribution for what happened, or what should we actually do here?

2-0221-0000

Eva Maydell (PPE), blue-card answer. – (Start of speech off mic) ... important things.

First of all, we see that the way the laws we have passed are acting. They are retroactive. We would like them to be able to prevent what we see happening. And this is why we need to think very carefully whether just posing a fine is enough. In my opinion, it is not. We need to make those laws actionable.

Secondly, we have to make sure that those laws work hand in hand with national authorities, whether these are the intelligence services, whether these are the ministries of foreign affairs, defence, interior affairs, whether these are the attorney-generals that have to be working together. We need the type of disinformation war rooms or election interference war rooms working together with the enforcers of the DSA and similar legislations.

2-0222-0000

Laura Ballarín Cereza (S&D). – Señora presidenta, ¿cuánto valen nuestras democracias? El mundo vive una pandemia de desinformación a través de las redes sociales que la extrema derecha usa para intentar destruir nuestras democracias: desde el referéndum del *Brexit* hasta la dana de Valencia, pasando por las vacunas contra la COVID-19, la ciudadanía europea ha sido bombardeada con millones de posts, tiktoks o artículos de pseudoprensa digital con contenido falso y engañoso. Recientemente hemos visto como Elon Musk puso su red social a disposición para intoxicar todo lo que pudo a millones de americanos en favor del presidente Trump, y lo consiguió con sus algoritmos trucados, llenos de odio y mentiras. En Europa también hemos presenciado como TikTok fue utilizada como una herramienta de manipulación política y posible injerencia extranjera, con uso de *influencers* para manipular elecciones, que por primera vez van a ser repetidas.

Nuestra vacuna contra esta desinformación informativa es la Ley de Servicios Digitales y es muy clara: las grandes plataformas que quieran operar en Europa deben tomar medidas claras para mitigar la difusión de contenidos ilícitos, la incitación al odio y la desinformación. Aviso a navegantes, la impunidad digital ha acabado. Por ello quiero remarcar tres ideas.

En primer lugar, damos la bienvenida al procedimiento formal contra TikTok por los riesgos electorales que ha anunciado hoy mismo la Comisión Europea: pedimos celeridad en la investigación y sanciones ejemplares para que no vuelva a ocurrir, porque tenemos muchas elecciones el año que viene.

En segundo lugar, frente a la mentira, más información: es imprescindible que la Unión Europea avance para tener una red social europea, pública o privada, pero hasta ahora Europa ha sido solo el árbitro en un partido en el que no tiene jugadores.

Y, en tercer lugar, a los usuarios: contrastemos, contrastemos y miremos la información que compartamos, porque todos somos responsables.

Finalmente, la extrema derecha habla de censura; nosotros hablamos de verdad, porque es el pilar de nuestras democracias: no estamos en contra de las redes sociales, estamos en contra de los algoritmos trucados que fomentan el odio, el machismo y la desinformación. No nos callarán y no pasarán.

(La oradora se niega a que Petras Gražulis le formule una pregunta con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»)

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

2-0223-0000

Sander Smit (PPE), *“blauwe kaart”-vraag.* – Voorzitter, ik zou mevrouw Ballarín Cereza willen vragen wat ze eigenlijk vindt van het feit dat nu aan het licht is gekomen dat de Europese Commissie zelf, gericht op basis van politiek en geloof en onder schending van de bestaande wetgeving, een gerichte beïnvloedingscampagne heeft uitgevoerd in Nederland, op Nederlandse burgers, voor eigen wetsvoorstellen. Quod licet iovi, non licet bovi.

Vindt u het niet erg dat de Commissie in Nederland, in mijn lidstaat, zelf heeft gedaan waar men anderen van beschuldigt en wat volgens de wet niet mag? Moeten we ons niet allereerst ook in deze instellingen zelf aan deze wetgeving houden, voordat u roept om verdere aanscherping in censuur of andere partijen beschuldigt?

2-0224-0000

Laura Ballarín Cereza (S&D), *blue-card answer.* – I’m sorry, I don’t know this case in the Netherlands. I just want the European Commission to apply and enforce the Digital Service Act all across Europe and ensure the truth and information in all countries and to fight against foreign interferences.

2-0225-0000

Petra Steger (Pfe). – Frau Präsidentin! Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren! Wenn die Europäische Union vom Kampf gegen Fake News und Desinformation spricht, dann sollten bei allen Demokraten, bei allen echten Kämpfern für Meinungsfreiheit wirklich alle Alarmglocken schrillen.

Dass die EU kein Freiheitsprojekt mehr ist, ist schon lange offensichtlich; spätestens seit dem Beschluss des *Digital Services Act*, was nichts anderes ist als ein Zensurwerkzeug. Aber dass Sie nun so weit gehen und applaudieren, wenn in einem Land unter dem Vorwand der Desinformation wegen TikTok-Beiträgen eine ganze Wahl annulliert wird und ein Land in eine Staatskrise gestürzt wird, hätte ich dann doch für nicht möglich gehalten.

In Wahrheit sind Sie doch nur dafür, dass diese Wahl aufgehoben wurde, weil sie nicht das gewünschte Ergebnis gebracht hat, weil ein rechter EU-kritischer Kandidat gewonnen hat. Die

sogenannte liberale Demokratie entpuppt sich also nun schon ganz offen als das Gegenteil von einer echten Demokratie.

Tun Sie doch nicht so, als ob Wahlen nur von außen beeinflusst werden! Nein, Desinformation wird auch in den EU-Staaten betrieben, und zwar durch die Regierungen und in hohem Maße auch durch die Europäische Union selbst. Viele angeblich demokratische Regierungen in der EU greifen zu Methoden, die in einer freien Gesellschaft nichts zu suchen haben. Sie unterdrücken oppositionelle Meinungen und Medien oder lagern diese Zensur gezielt an private Unternehmen aus.

Dazu zählt auch das sogenannte *de-banking*: Regierungskritischen Akteuren, sogar Medien, wird einfach das Konto gestrichen – so gesehen beim *Freilich*-Magazin in Österreich. Auch drakonische Strafen gegen Journalisten wie im Fall des Chefredakteurs des *Deutschland-Kuriers* oder Verbotsversuche gegen oppositionelle Medien wie beim *Compact*-Magazin sind Beispiele für eine erschreckende Entwicklung.

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, wenn Sie über die Beeinflussung von Wahlen sprechen, dann sollten Sie zuerst vor der eigenen Tür kehren. Eine Demokratie, die abweichende Meinungen unterdrückt und zensiert, ist keine Demokratie mehr. Das ist nichts anderes als eine gelenkte Gesellschaft und betreutes Denken.

(Die Rednerin lehnt es ab, die nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ gestellte Frage von Alexandra Geese zu beantworten.)

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

2-0226-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D), *întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonaşului albastru”*. – Stimate doamnă, ați folosit în exprimare cuvântul „pare-se”. Asta înseamnă că nu știți și nu cunoașteți situația din România. Vă întreb, dumneavoastră v-ați urca într-o mașină fără frână și fără șofer să mergeți? Sunteți de acord ca platformele să funcționeze fără reguli? Sunteți în Parlamentul European și există un regulament pentru funcționarea platformelor. Despre asta este vorba, nu despre cenzură. Vreau să-mi răspundeți concret la ceea ce v-am întrebat.

OK, încerc să repet, ați folosit în exprimare „pare-se”, cuvântul „pare-se”. Asta înseamnă că nu sunteți sigură despre ceea ce spuneți și nu cunoașteți situația din România. Vă întreb, v-ați urca într-o mașină fără șofer și fără frână? Dumneavoastră considerați că democrația nu trebuie să aibă reguli, că platformele nu trebuie să funcționeze după niște regulamente pe care le-am votat aici, în mod democratic, în Parlamentul European? Despre ce cenzură vorbiți? Dați definiția cenzurii.

2-0227-0000

Petra Steger (PfE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte”*. – Sehr geehrte Frau Kollegin, vielen Dank für Ihre Frage. Es ist offensichtlich, dass es immer wieder Desinformationen gibt – das bestreitet auch überhaupt niemand. Dass Unwahrheiten verbreitet werden über Social-Media-Kanäle, dass gelogen wird, dass es alle möglichen Kampagnen gibt – das bestreitet überhaupt niemand.

Die Frage ist, was Sie auch nicht mitbedenken, ist: Sind die Bürger wirklich so manipulierbar? Sind sie wirklich nicht fähig, selber eine Meinung zu bilden? Sind sie wirklich nicht in der Lage, selbstständig zu entscheiden, wie sie bei einer Wahl abstimmen? Und diese Fähigkeit sprechen Sie genau mit Ihrer Meinung ab. Ich habe mehr Vertrauen in die Bürger in Europa. Ich glaube, dass sie

in der Lage sind, bei Wahlen das Kreuz dort zu machen, was tatsächlich ihre Meinung widerspiegelt.

Und das, was Sie hier betreiben, ist in Wahrheit nichts anderes als eine Zensur und Einschnitt dieser Meinungsfreiheit. Ich spreche mich immer für die Meinungsfreiheit aus, auch im Social-Media-Bereich.

2-0228-0000

Maciej Wąsik (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Uczciwość wyborów w Europie jest zagrożona, ale głównym źródłem zagrożenia nie jest dezinformacja płynąca z mediów społecznościowych, lecz działalność Komisji Europejskiej ingerującej w wewnętrzne sprawy państw członkowskich, między innymi poprzez dezinformację.

Najbardziej jaskrawym tego przykładem jest działalność komisarza Reyndersa oskarżonego dziś o pranie brudnych pieniędzy. Pamiętacie raporty Reyndersa atakujące Polskę? Pamiętacie, jak Reynders atakował używanie systemu Pegasus przez europejskie służby? Najwidoczniej obawiał się o swoją bezkarność. Był on niedawno w Polsce i chwalił rząd Tuska za rzekome przywracanie praworządności. Reynders nie dostrzegął bezprawnie przejętych mediów, bezprawnej czystki w prokuraturze, nieuznawania wyroków Sądu Najwyższego, Trybunału Konstytucyjnego czy łamania prerogatyw prezydenta.

Działalność komisji Reyndersa, także w sprawie KPO, to było bezprawne wpływanie na politykę w Polsce. Dziś w Polsce posłuszna rządowi Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza odbiera finansowanie największej partii opozycyjnej. Robi to wbrew wyrokowi Sądu Najwyższego, rękami między innymi Ryszarda Kalisza, powołanego do PKW przez koalicję Tuska. To on reprezentował przed sądami firmy z rosyjsko-białoruskiej listy sankcyjnej oraz oskarżonego o szpiegostwo na rzecz Rosji, także tu, w Parlamencie Europejskim.

To są zagrożenia dla demokracji. Nie bądźcie ślepi, otwórzcie wreszcie oczy.

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

2-0229-0000

Damian Boeselager (Verts/ALE), blue-card question. – Dear colleague, you used your one minute to speak about the evil von der Leyen not doing the right things in Poland. And sometimes I wonder, we're here talking about a situation where Putin is heavily influencing elections in our continent, actually also within your proximity. So, I'm just wondering, why did you choose to rather focus on Ursula von der Leyen and potential situations in Poland, rather than on our common big enemy, Putin, who is influencing right now elections in Europe? Can you answer that question?

2-0230-0000

Maciej Wąsik (ECR), odpowiedź na pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki. – Putin zagraża demokracji europejskiej, zgadzam się. Ale demokracja europejska ma swoje wewnętrzne zagrożenia. Także mówmy i o tym. Nie bądźmy ślepi na to, co się dzieje. Dotychczas Komisarz do spraw praworządności Reynders krytykował tych, którzy nie byli w jego nurcie politycznym. Atakował państwa, gdzie rządziły rządy konserwatywne. Kiedy rządy się zmieniły, zamknął oczy i niczego nie widział.

Chciałem zapytać, czy zdajecie sobie sprawę, że by prac brudne pieniądze, trzeba mieć dużo więcej pieniędzy, niż się zarobiło? Czy odpowiedzieliście sobie na pytanie, skąd komisarz Reynders miał te pieniądze? Kto mu za to zapłacił? Skąd się one wzięły? Ta odpowiedź jest kluczowa, żeby mówić o tym, że demokracja nie jest zagrożona. Wiedzmy, skąd Reynders miał pieniądze. Kto mu płacił? Czy wyobrażacie sobie, że nie pochodziły te pieniądze z korupcji?

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

2-0231-0000

Nathalie Loiseau (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, quand le sage montre la lune, l'imbécile regarde TikTok. Il y offre son temps de cerveau disponible à toutes les manipulations. Protection des données personnelles? Aucune! Respect du règlement sur les services numériques? Nenni. Liberté d'expression? Ça dépend pour qui. Comme l'a montré l'élection présidentielle en Roumanie, TikTok est capable du pire, comme le fait de créer de toutes pièces un candidat d'extrême droite, complotiste et fan de Poutine.

Malheureusement, en Roumanie, TikTok n'est pas seul en cause. Des influenceurs tellement douteux qu'ils sont aujourd'hui en fuite ont sévi sur d'autres plateformes au service du même mauvais génie. En Moldavie, la Russie a dépensé 1 % du PNB moldave pour acheter 10 % des voix au référendum. Ce sont les boucles Telegram qui ont le plus servi, mais des trucages vidéo hyperréalistes ont circulé partout sans être arrêtés nulle part.

En Europe, Elon Musk sature X de ses appréciations douteuses sur la politique intérieure britannique ou sur l'avenir de l'Ukraine. X manie à sa guise la visibilité de ce que nous postons. En clair, notre espace public de débat démocratique est aujourd'hui manipulé. C'est pourquoi je vous demande, chers collègues, de soutenir sans hésiter la création d'une commission spéciale sur le bouclier démocratique. Il est plus que temps!

2-0232-0000

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, how much benefit of the doubt should we extend towards social media platforms? While this House banned TikTok use internally last mandate, we still pretend that it is just a harmless entertainment app.

The United States will ban the distribution of TikTok through app stores in 25 days. Australia has banned all social media for teenagers already. I don't say I agree with all of this, but major democracies are waking up to the poison that is unregulated social media occupying our digital space and freedoms. It can even be poison for our elections and poison for our childrens' developing minds, as every major study shows.

And where are we? Europe doesn't have mass-scale indigenous social media companies. We don't have access to the recommended algorithms of either Chinese or American apps in the single market, either. We are literally blind, and thus we at least need stronger enforcement of the Digital Services Act, and a clear roadmap for when these companies do not oblige – be it fines or the end of their services on European soil.

(The speaker agreed to take several blue-card questions)

2-0233-0000

Milan Mazurek (NI), *otázka položená zdvihnutím modrej karty*. – Pani poslankyňa, dovoľte mi opýtať sa, prečo ste takto na poplach nebili, keď sociálne siete vypli účet amerického prezidenta Donalda Trumpa? Prečo ste na poplach nebili? Dokonca tuším vaša strana v Českej republike tlieskala, keď v Česku a na Slovensku vypli vlády alternatívne médiá bez akéhokoľvek racionálneho zdôvodnenia. Prečo ste sa doteraz nebúrili, keď vypínali vlasteneckých politikov, ako napríklad aj mňa a mnohých iných v Českej republike pred voľbami s účtami, ktoré mali desaťtisíce sledovateľov. A nebol to pre vás problém až teraz, keď prestávajú vyhrávať vaši progresívni kandidáti, teraz bijete na poplach. Nepríde vám to pokrytecké?

2-0234-0000

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE), *odpoveď na otázku položenou zvednutím modré karty*. – Děkuji moc za otázku. Mně přijde trošku škoda, že jste si vůbec nic nezjistil o mně nebo o Pirátské straně a tady mě napadáte, protože pak byste zjistil, že my jsme byli ti jediní už posledních 15 let, kteří přesně vůči tomuto vždycky bili na poplach vůči všem. Stejně jako to vypínání webu v Česku jsme jako jediní velmi intenzivně kritizovali, protože přesně takto – přes ty individuální případy – vypínání webu, zvláště v době, kdy máme internet s VPN a podobně, nedává samozřejmě vůbec žádný smysl. Ostatně sám Donald Trump okamžitě přesídlil na jiné alternativní platformy, mimochodem úplně stejně jako Pirátské strany musely dříve v minulosti, když také ještě nebyly mainstreamem. Takže já vás v tomto ohledu, ne v tom nacionalismu, ale v tomto ohledu docela chápu. Nicméně my se tomu samozřejmě také bráníme, ale chceme systémové změny tady těch centralistických sociálních sítí, které centralizují veškerou moc pod sebe.

2-0235-0000

Ondřej Dostál (NI), *otázka položená zvednutím modré karty*. – Vy jste byla zvolena za Piráty. Já jsem u Pirátů také chvíli byl a jediné opravdové téma, které ta strana měla, byla svoboda internetu. Nepřijde vám, že teď vlastně úplně popíráte tuto myšlenku a spíše se snažíte regulovat internet a omezovat to, co se lidé smějí svobodně z internetu dozvědět? Nepřipadne vám to trošku absurdní?

2-0236-0000

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE), *odpoveď na otázku položenou zvednutím modré karty*. – Děkuji za otázku. Ne, nesouhlasím s vaší základní premisou. Protože to, co vy zjevně nazýváte internetem, jsou sociální sítě. Ale sociální sítě jsou digitální oligopoly nebo digitální monopoly, které si samy zabraly část toho decentralizovaného, anonymizovaného internetu, za který vždycky všichni Piráti, kromě Vás tedy – omlouvám se, že jste tam byl a že jsme vás přijali –, tak bojovali. Protože sociální sítě si zmonopolizovaly ten prostor, drží tam veškeré svoje uživatele v co nejužším možném prostoru, aby na ně mohli cílit inzerenti a samozřejmě i dezinformátoři.

2-0237-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI), *blue-card question*. – I think this line of questioning shows really well why the non-attached should not be put into one box together. Not all of us are neo-Nazis or populists.

But you said something about the poisoning of our children. And this children rhetoric is used a lot by special people, so not for me so much, but maybe for them, you can elaborate a little bit more about the poisoning of children's minds with unregulated social media.

2-0238-0000

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE), *blue-card answer*. – Thank you very much, Lukas. Of course, I will be gladly explaining this, because we have major studies saying that, as I said, these companies

want one thing and one thing only, and that is your attention. To keep the attention for as long as possible to target you with the targeted advertisement.

They, of course, hired the best psychologists of the world to keep our attention there, with which, however, they are promoting the more and more radical content, with which the minds can stay for longer periods of time.

This, based on studies, leads to psychological problems of children, of teenagers, especially young girls and young boys going into the incel direction or going into hatred of their self-image. I think this is very dangerous.

2-0239-0000

Jussi Saramo (The Left). – Arvoisa puhemies, Tiktok on ongelma, mutta valeuutiset ja vaalien häirintä eivät tietenkään rajoitu siihen. Elon Musk oli auttamassa Donald Trumpia presidentiksi muuttamalla X:n toimintaa. Trumpia tukevia twiittejä boostattiin vaalien alla, ja Trump palkitsikin Muskin paikalla hallinnossaan.

Avoimesti toimiva sosiaalinen media vahvistaa demokratiaa, mutta salatut algoritmit ovat nostaneet demokratian vastaisten trollien viestejä etusijalle. Vihapuheella hiljennetään ja valeuutisilla pelotellaan ihmisiä.

Demokratian kannalta merkittävimmät alustat eivät saa olla maailman rikkaimpien ja autoritaaristen johtajien aivopesun välineitä. EU:n on varmistettava, etteivät disinformaatio ja vihapuhe ohita aitoa keskustelua. Meidän poliitikkojen on näytettävä esimerkkiä.

Tahdonkin tänään lähettää täältä Euroopan parlamentista terveiset Elon Muskille. Hyvästi! Tänään lopetan X:n käytön, niin monien muiden tavoin.

(Puhuja suostui vastaamaan useisiin sinisen kortin kysymyksiin)

2-0240-0000

Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI), întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”. – Stimate coleg, deci să înțeleg că nu americanii l-au votat pe Trump în cunoștință de cauză, ci Elon Musk i-a influențat pe americani să-l voteze pe Trump. Dacă nu era Elon Musk, nu era Trump. Dar asta nu presupune că dumneavoastră credeți că americanii ar fi proști și manipulabili?... *(Președinta a întrerupt vorbitorul)*...

Stimate coleg, înțeleg că dumneavoastră apreciați faptul că nu americanii l-au votat pe Trump pentru că așa au crezut ei că Trump este mai bun decât Kamala Harris. Dar spuneți că asta s-a întâmplat doar pentru că Elon Musk a știut cum să îi manipuleze pe americani. Credeți că americanii sunt atât de ușor manipulabili încât să nu știe ce președinte să își aleagă?

2-0241-0000

Jussi Saramo (The Left), blue-card answer. – Thank you for the question. We know that in many countries, people are better prepared against fake news, against brainwashing, than in some others. I am not the one who says in which country people are best prepared, but I know that brainwashing always works. That's the reason they are doing it. That's the reason China is doing it. That's the reason they are doing it in the United States and in many other countries, also in the European Union.

What we need is that everybody knows that what he or she is reading from social media is not biased, that it's open and fair to everyone, and not like you are just getting the messages that are trying to disrupt democracy.

2-0242-0000

Sander Smit (PPE), *“blauwe kaart”-vraag.* – Voorzitter, ik ben eigenlijk wel geschokt. Ik heb hier van de linkse en de groene fracties eisen gehoord om social media uit te schakelen. Dat is de verkeerde weg!

Er werd net gewezen op het gebrek aan digitale en sociale platforms uit Europa. Dat komt door onze wetgeving, de AVG-wetgeving. En dan hebben we tegelijkertijd een Europese Commissie die richting burgers van mijn land gerichte beïnvloedingscampagnes heeft gelanceerd.

Laten we ons eerst aan de eigen wetgeving houden voordat we gaan wijzen naar Amerika, naar Donald Trump en naar de sociale media. In heel veel landen zijn die sociale media het laatste vrije middel voor burgers om zich te kunnen uiten. Denken we daar ook voldoende aan in dit huis? Hoe denkt u daarover?

2-0243-0000

Jussi Saramo (The Left), *blue-card answer.* – Thank you for the question. It seems that we have had big problems with the interpretation today, because I haven't heard this, what you are saying. Nobody – at least what I heard – wants to get rid of social media. People just want it to be fair and open and democratic. And if there are problems and brainwashing, then we are against it.

And I have to say that I don't want to blame the interpretation, I guess you have been doing a good job, but maybe the problem is elsewhere.

2-0244-0000

Petras Gražulis (ESN). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, čia daug kalbama apie smegenų plovimą. Trisdešimt metų gyvenau Sovietų Sąjungoje, dėstė, kas yra komunizmas, bet aš nepatikėjau. Nebuvau nė vienos organizacijos nariu. Bet tie, kurie sėdi dabar čia, daugelis iš jų buvo Sovietų Sąjungos klapčiukai. Tapome Europos Sąjungos nariai. Jie – klapčiukai Europos Sąjungos. Jie tarnauja sistemoms. Prisipažinkite. Aš noriu dar vieną dalyką pasakyti, kad Lietuvoje pagal sociologinės apklausas, 80 proc. žmonių bijo pasakyti, ką galvoja. Tai čia demokratija? Sovietų Sąjungos laikais taip pat buvo. Pasakykit tiesą, kad jūs... jeigu būtų išrinkti kiti kandidatai Rumunijoje į prezidentus, nebūtų šito svarstymo. Čia vyksta demokratijos laidotuvės. Nuveskite tą stendą, kur einate į Parlamentą, ir pasakykite, vietoj demokratijos pastatykite diktatūrą. Tą stendą. Čia nėra demokratijos. Kaip Lietuvoje ir toje Europoje nėra demokratijos.

2-0245-0000

Milan Mazurek (NI). – Vážená pani predsedajúca, Európska komisia a títo progresívni poslanci sú v skutočnosti ohrozením demokracie v Európskej únii, v jednotlivých členských štátoch. Nie nezmyselné reči o zahraničnom ruskom vplyve. Ste to vy, kto v tomto pléne volá po tom, aby sme cenzurovali TikTok, aby sme cenzurovali X. Ste to vy, kto hovorí o vydieraní Elona Muska, o vyhrážaní sa sociálnym platformám, ak nevyhrávajú kandidáti, ktorých si vy prajete, aby vyhrávali. Dokiaľ vyhrávajú progresívci, dokiaľ vyhrávajú liberáli, dokiaľ sociálne siete cenzurujú ľudí len ako som ja. Ktorí síce môžu mať desaťtisíce ľudí napríklad na Facebooku, ale pred voľbami vám ho len tak bez dôvodu vypnú a neumožnia vám brániť sa. Vtedy je všetko v poriadku, vtedy chránite demokraciu. Ale keď v Rumunsku vyhrá kandidát, ktorý nemá názory ako vy, vtedy dochádza k ruskému zasahovaniu, na ktoré tu nikto nedal za celú debatu jeden

dôkaz. A zároveň dochádza k ohrozeniu demokracie. Aj malé dieťa už vidí, akí pokryteckí ste. Že sa Európska únia pod vašim vedením mení na totalitné nedemokratické monštrum. A tak ako každý nedemokratický totalitný režim v minulosti padol na základe hnevu a slobody ľudí, tak padne aj ten váš.

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

2-0246-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI), *blue-card question*. – Colleague, do you think that you yourself are promoting democracy given the political background that you come from? And would you be accepting restrictions on TikTok when, just to give you an example, someone would go on TikTok and ask everyone to kill all the blue-eyed, blonde-haired Slovak boys?

2-0247-0000

Milan Mazurek (NI), *odpoveď na otázku položenú zdvihnutím modrej karty*. – Vážená pani predsedajúca, toto je úplne nádherný príklad človeka, ktorý má skutočne vymytý mozog a nevníma realitu od svojich vlastných snov. Nevie, čo viete o mojom politickom backgrounde, ako hovoríte, ale informácie z mainstreamových médií, do ktorých ľudia ako ja nemajú šancu sa tam dostať, nemajú šancu im odpovedať, ale radi o nich píšu, dávajú im nálepky. Tak tie informácie sú skutočnými dezinformáciami. Nikdy v živote som neobhajoval človeka, ktorý by verejne vyzýval na násilie, vraždenie, genocídy a niečo podobné. To samozrejme nesmie byť chránené slobodou prejavu. Ale to asi nie je príklad rumunského kandidáta, ktorý vyhral voľby a tu kolegom sa to nepáči.

2-0248-0000

Axel Voss (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Vizepräsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Praktiken von Social Media heute sind einfach zu einem echten Sicherheitsrisiko für unsere Demokratie geworden: Ob das X für Einflussnahme auf Wahlen ist, ob das Telegram für Sicherheitsaspekte ist oder ob das TikTok in einer Art staatlichem Auftrag ist – es ist eine Art hybride Kriegsführung geworden. Wir haben das gesehen während der US-Wahlen. Wir haben das gesehen bei der Europawahl. Wir haben es gesehen bei Rumänien. All das müssen wir versuchen, zu unterbinden. Und es kann auch nicht sein, dass Eigentümer von bestimmten Plattformen jedem Nutzer etwas zuschicken können, obwohl man ihm nicht folgt, wie das bei X in der US-Wahl passiert ist.

Gerade die jüngeren Generationen sind hier in diesem Fall natürlich auch einer Masse von Fehl- und Desinformationen ausgesetzt, wo es auch immer dann aufgrund von KI schwieriger wird, entsprechend durchzudringen. Zudem sind diese Inhalte zum Teil eben auch gesundheitlich belastend.

Es ist eben die Frage, wie kann man eigentlich entsprechend dagegen agieren? Und diese Frage sollten wir uns eigentlich viel häufiger stellen. Ist es Design von den Algorithmen? Sind es die Empfehlungssysteme? Ist es das Bewerten von Beiträgen? Ist es die Monetarisierung, die dort eine Rolle spielt? Soll man Geldstrafen entsprechend oder diese *war rooms* einführen? Oder sollen wir da einfach sagen: Posts gibt es eben nur für die Follower an sich? Das wäre dann im Grunde mal Demokratie, wo der Einzelne sich selber aussuchen kann, was für Informationen er auch entsprechend erhält.

2-0249-0000

Birgit Sippel (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Was sind denn die Effekte sogenannter sozialer Medien? Sie helfen, uns mit anderen zu verbinden, Informationen in unglaublich kurzer Zeit zu finden. Sie schaffen Räume für Debatten, für Bürgerbeteiligung und Engagement und spielen im öffentlichen Diskurs und auch bei Wahlen eine immer wichtigere Rolle.

Doch leider haben nicht erst die jüngsten Präsidentschaftswahlen in Rumänien gezeigt, wie unsere ständige und allzu oft unkritische Nutzung sozialer Medien von einzelnen Akteuren auch gegen uns gewendet werden kann. Unklare oder einseitige Filterung von Informationen, intransparente politische Werbung, koordinierte Desinformationskampagnen, sogar Nichtanerkennung von Wahlergebnissen sind nur einige Punkte.

Also: Social Media verbieten, aus der EU ausschließen? Nun, zunächst ist es unsere Aufgabe, Grundrechte wie Privatsphäre und Meinungsfreiheit zu sichern und gleichzeitig demokratische Prozesse und Gesellschaften als Ganzes zu schützen. Doch dazu müssen Plattformen ihre Verantwortung annehmen.

Wer Dienste in der EU anbietet, muss geltendes EU-Recht einhalten, und sie müssen zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden, wenn sie dies ignorieren. Kommission und Mitgliedstaaten sind gefordert, die Einhaltung von Regeln effektiv durchzusetzen mit allen ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Möglichkeiten, auch jenseits von Datenschutz, DSA, DMA, und wir müssen immer bereit sein, neue Herausforderungen proaktiv anzugehen. Ein Ausschluss von Plattformen vom EU-Markt bleibt dabei immer eine Option. Doch zusätzlich brauchen wir eine Zusammenarbeit mit Stakeholdern, Zivilgesellschaft, unabhängigen *watchdogs*, um das Vertrauen in öffentliche Debatten und politische Prozesse und demokratische Prozesse aufrechtzuerhalten.

Schließlich und schlussendlich ist es auch unsere Verantwortung, Social Media verantwortungsvoll zu nutzen, sogenannte Informationen kritisch zu hinterfragen. Medienkompetenz müssen wir allen vermitteln, von den Jüngsten bis zu den Ältesten.

(Die Rednerin lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ von Damian Boeselager ab.)

2-0250-0000

Susanna Ceccardi (Pfe). – *(start of speech off mic)* ... represents a threat to European democracies? Is it the sovereign peoples who freely choose their representatives through the ballot box or those self-proclaimed enlightened elites who consider themselves the sole bearers of truth?

From Brussels, regulations like the Digital Services Act are presented as tools to defend democracy, yet they risk stifling freedom of expression and silencing dissenting voices. The plurality of ideas – the cornerstone of any democracy – is being undermined in the name of a so-called greater good.

Today, in the digital age, social networks are the new public squares where free citizens engage in debate. Yet these platforms are under attack by those who seek to control information and silence dissent. A clear example example is Elon Musk, who has become a target for defending free speech.

And yet these platforms give a voice to millions, promoting the plurality of ideas, essential to a free society. Freedom of expression is non-negotiable. Limiting it means suppressing citizens' right to participate in public life.

The peoples of Europe are not an ignorant mass. Tick tock, tick tock, the time for hypocrisy is running out. It's time to defend truth, pluralism and authentic democracy.

2-0251-0000

SĒDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

Priekšsēdētāja vietnieks

2-0252-0000

President. – Colleagues, because I have all the time again the blue cards, I will use a system where I will give priority for those who didn't ask for a blue card during this debate. I will try to squeeze to one, otherwise it will be too much. First come, first served. So please be very quick if you would like to take a blue card.

So now you have a question from Thomas Bajada. Would you agree to take it? Yes.

2-0253-0000

Thomas Bajada (S&D), mistoqsija karta blu. – Sur President, allura, spjegali ftit int: qed tghid illi d-dritt ghal-libertà tal-kelma m'ghandu jkollu l-ebda struttura ta' responsabilità għall-azzjonijiet tagħna fuq il-pjattaformi soċjali? Ghidli int, trid li jkollok dritt mingħajr responsabilità għall-azzjonijiet tiegħek? Inti trid illi profil falz ikollu dritt, mingħajr responsabilità, li jifrex gideb, li jifrex nofs veritajiet manipulattivi u li jifrex mibiegħda mingħajr l-ebda kontabilità? Ifarrak iż-żgħażaġh tagħna bħalma jien kont imfarrak meta kont iżgħar? Cyberbullying tul tfuliti kollha! Hekk trid?

(Il-President irtira l-kelma lill-kelliem)

2-0254-0000

Susanna Ceccardi (Pfe), risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu". – Le rispondo anch'io nella mia lingua madre, l'italiano, che magari Lei capisce.

Guardi, la responsabilità è individuale. Nella vita, nella società, nella vita comune tutti noi siamo responsabili delle nostre azioni; se una persona si nasconde, vigliaccamente, dietro un profilo falso, un profilo *fake*, deve pagare ed è giusto che paghi per le sue responsabilità se offende ingiustamente altre persone.

Anche io stessa ho denunciato, alcuni li abbiamo trovati e sono stati condannati. Purtroppo non sempre è semplice trovare queste persone, ma la giustizia è giustizia. La legge è legge per tutti, anche sui social.

2-0255-0000

Gheorghe Piperea (ECR). – Domnule președinte, printr-o decizie fără precedent în istorie, alegerile prezidențiale din România au fost anulate în baza unor note informative ale serviciilor secrete, în baza unor supoziții, nu fapte dovedite. S-a vorbit despre ingerința unor actori statali nenumiți. Nu știm despre cine este vorba, despre ce este vorba. Sistemul de putere consideră că alegătorii pot fi manipulați prin TikTok să voteze un candidat ca și când ar fi duși cu forța în cabinele de vot.

Acest raționament, oameni buni, infantilizează milioane de alegători și anulează conceptul de vot universal ca element fundamental al democrației. Disprețuim, nu-i așa, ce se întâmplă în Belarus, Venezuela, Rusia sau China, unde președinții sunt înfiți pe viață la putere? Dar ce se întâmplă la noi acasă? Comisia Europeană îl felicită pe Klaus Werner Iohannis pentru că asigură stabilitatea

României, anulând alegerile cu prețul suprimării libertății de expresie și al distrugerii principiului democrației reprezentative, care afirmă că suveranitatea aparține poporului. Parlamentul European nu poate gira o asemenea alunecare...

(Președintele a retras cuvântul vorbitorului)

2-0256-0000

Morten Løkkegaard (Renew). – Hr. formand! Kære kolleger! Vores demokrati er under hårdt pres – meget hårdt pres. Hver dag året rundt bliver vi manipuleret med. Og det værste er, at manipulationen oftest sker med vilje og er meget velorganiseret. Vi er derfor i en form for eksistenskamp. Derfor skal vi alle forsvare vores demokrati, og alle dem, der ikke gør det, skal selvfølgelig mærke konsekvensen. EU har allerede taget et vigtigt skridt med ”digital service act”. Reglerne er så at sige på plads. Nu mangler der kun én ting, og det er håndhævelse. Det lyder jo nemt, men det er det ikke. Når autoritære regimer misbruger platforme som Facebook, Instagram og Tiktok, ja så kræver det mange ressourcer og megen kontrol at håndhæve de her regler. Men ikke desto mindre er det vores ansvar at sige fra, så voldsom er truslen nemlig nu. Og selv om nogle platforme har forbedret sig, så er det langt fra nok. Vi kommer til at se til, at techgiganter, der fortsat ikke gør nok for at forhindre manipulation og misinformation, bliver set efter i sømmene og bliver naglet til ansvaret. Alt andet vil være et historisk svigt for alle os, der har politisk ansvar.

2-0257-0000

David Cormand (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, mes chers collègues, décidément, TikTok n'est pas une application de danse. Derrière ses airs de divertissement inoffensif, TikTok, comme d'autres réseaux sociaux, est un cheval de Troie contre nos démocraties. TikTok n'est pas un vecteur de liberté, mais bien de soumission. Ses armes reposent sur la manipulation et la surveillance de masse des citoyens. Les récentes révélations sur l'ingérence de TikTok dans les élections en Roumanie sont une alerte. Et ce n'est pas un cas isolé! Pour des raisons de sécurité nationale, les États-Unis ont légiféré pour forcer sa maison-mère, sous contrôle de l'État chinois, à céder TikTok.

Nous sommes dans un moment décisif, où nos démocraties doivent apprendre à se défendre contre ceux qui veulent la corrompre, et les abattre. Le règlement sur les services numériques nous donne les moyens pour réguler ces plateformes, mais une loi sans mise en œuvre concrète n'est qu'un couteau sans lame. L'Europe doit se dresser, unie et déterminée, pour défendre farouchement ce qui nous est cher: notre souveraineté, nos démocraties, nos libertés et notre droit à la vie privée.

2-0258-0000

Catarina Martins (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, o que faz este Parlamento estar mais preocupado com o TikTok do que com o X ou o Meta? Segue a agenda da direita, da extrema-direita, a agenda de Trump, do belicismo americano, à guerra comercial com a China.

A questão da desinformação e do domínio da informação não é nova, é antiga. A dimensão é que é nova, com redes globais e investimentos de biliões que promovem a extrema-direita, porque os bilionários sabem quem os protege. Foi por isso que Musk investiu em Trump, para ganhar ainda mais.

No TikTok, Meta ou X, a autorregulação é só mais uma mentira. As redes censuram as palavras «genocídio» ou «Palestina» enquanto promovem todo o ódio misógino, xenófobo, homofóbico.

Recusar regras e transparência não é liberdade de expressão. É a destruição da democracia a favor do jogo dos bilionários.

2-0259-0000

Marc Jongen (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Man kann es sich nicht ausdenken: Gestern applaudiert dieses Parlament der Annullierung der demokratischen Präsidentenwahl in Rumänien. Wenn der falsche Kandidat vorne liegt, der den EU-Eliten nicht passt, dann muss er offenbar weg. Wir sind auf dem Weg in ein totalitäres System, meine Damen und Herren. Und was ist die Begründung? Manipulation der Bürger auf TikTok durch ausländische Agenten.

So wenig Urteilsvermögen trauen Sie den Bürgern zu. Sie sehen die Bürger als manipulierbare Masse. Das ist ein Offenbarungseid. Nach dieser Logik müssten in Deutschland alle Wahlen annulliert werden, denn die Staatsmedien manipulieren dort ohne Ende – dagegen wird nichts getan. Aber wenn ein 14-Jähriger etwas patriotisches auf TikTok postet, dann steht die Polizei morgens bei ihm vor der Tür. Wo sind wir hingekommen? Und nach dieser Logik könnten alle Wahlen nach Belieben annulliert werden. Denn wie kann die ausländische Einflussnahme jemals bewiesen werden?

Demokratie heißt, den Willen des Volkes zu akzeptieren, auch wenn er Ihnen nicht passt. Respektieren Sie das, wenn Sie Demokraten heißen wollen.

2-0260-0000

President. – I will not give a blue-card question to Mr Sieper, because I'm informed you already two times asked a question. I have to keep a rule. We will give a priority for those who did not ask a blue-card question until now.

2-0261-0000

Kateřina Konečná (NI). – Pane předsedající, vážené kolegyně, vážení kolegové, jsem upřímně zděšena, že zde máme situaci, kdy soud v Rumunsku jako členském státě Evropské unie zruší výsledky demokratických voleb a vy zde místo toho řešíte tzv. dezinformace na platformě TikTok. Roky tady posloucháme řeči o ohrožení demokracie. Zítřka tu budeme hlasovat o zřízení zvláštního výboru pro Evropský štít pro demokracii. Přijímáte jednu rezoluci za druhou kritizující vnitřní záležitosti Slovenska či Maďarska, a když v jednom z členských států dojde ke zrušení výsledků voleb, tak k tomu nechcete ani pípnout? To není ohrožení demokracie? V Rumunsku se opět ukázalo, že lidé mají plné zuby politiků, co neřeší rostoucí náklady na život. A vaším řešením není adresování těchto problémů, ale omezení možností o těchto problémech mluvit cenzurou či přímo zákazy sociálních sítí. Uvědomujete si, jaký vytváříte pro budoucnost problém? Já nechci žít v Evropě, kde se volby ruší, pokud nevyhraje kandidát establishmentu, a kde je veřejná debata cenzurována. Vyzývám vás, abychom udělali vše pro to, aby se z příkladu Rumunska nestal precedent.

(Řečnice souhlasila s tím, že odpoví na vystoupení na základě zvednutí modré karty)

2-0262-0000

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE), otázka položená zvednutím modré karty. – Já bych se chtěla zeptat na tohle Vaše srovnání, které jste do toho přinesla Vy. Mě by zajímalo: Proč se domníváte, že Ústavní soud v Rumunsku ohrožuje demokracii v Rumunsku více než čínská špionážní aplikace? Připomenu jenom, že není rumunská, je čínská, což je třetí země. Děkuji za vysvětlení.

2-0263-0000

Kateřina Konečná (NI), *odpověď na otázku položenou zvednutím modré karty*. – Děkuji za tento dotaz a děkuji za to vysvětlení, které můžu dát k Ústavnímu soudu. Ústavní soud napoprvé ty volby nezrušil, až po intervenci Spojených států amerických muselo dojít k tomu, že je zrušil. A já tomu rozumím, protože v Rumunsku je největší vojenská základna. Ústavní soud to navíc zrušil s tím, že se v podstatě odkázal na 700 účtů na platformě TikTok, které údajně vznikly v roce 2016. Víte, kdy vznikl TikTok? V roce 2017! Jste sami směšní!

2-0264-0000

Pablo Arias Echeverría (PPE). – Señor presidente, señora vicepresidenta Virkkunen, la lucha contra la desinformación es fundamental para proteger el proyecto europeo. Desde las instituciones y con base en la legislación en materia de transparencia, buscamos minimizar los ataques e injerencias en elecciones democráticas sin entrar a regular contenido o valorar qué es un bulo y qué no lo es.

Estos ataques se han incrementado exponencialmente debido a internet, las redes sociales y sus algoritmos, que premian ciertos contenidos. Las plataformas y los *influencers* se han convertido en instrumentos muy atractivos para aquellos que buscan socavar nuestras democracias. Por ello, el Plan de Acción para la Democracia Europea, presentado por la Comisión la legislatura pasada, es fundamental para salvaguardar nuestros valores e integridad democrática. En este sentido, aplaudo la reacción contundente de la Comisión en el caso de Rumanía bajo el amparo del Reglamento de Servicios Digitales.

Las plataformas no tienen límites, están centradas únicamente en generar más interacciones para aumentar sus ganancias, aun a costa de la privacidad de los ciudadanos y de sus opiniones. En este contexto, y con el objetivo de frenar estas prácticas, el Reglamento de Servicios Digitales se refuerza con el Reglamento sobre transparencia y segmentación en la publicidad política, aprobado en 2024 y que será aplicable a partir de octubre de 2025.

La buena aplicación de estas normas es y debe ser una prioridad. Son normas que no censuran ni prohíben. No van en contra de la libertad de expresión; al contrario, buscan la transparencia y se fundamentan en ella para garantizar la difusión de información veraz y contrastada.

Las normas deben cumplirse y debemos enviar un mensaje claro a las plataformas: si quieren operar en nuestro mercado europeo, deben cumplir rigurosamente con nuestros estándares de transparencia, con nuestras normas.

2-0265-0000

Sandro Ruotolo (S&D). – Signor Presidente, signora commissaria, TikTok è sotto la lente di ingrandimento della Commissione europea per potenziali violazioni del regolamento sui servizi digitali.

L'annullamento delle elezioni in Romania per le interferenze di TikTok dimostra la gravità della situazione: bene ha fatto la Commissione ad avviare un procedimento formale nei confronti di TikTok per sospetta violazione del *Digital Services Act*.

Ma anche la piattaforma X dovrebbe essere messa sotto osservazione, perché il suo proprietario, Elon Musk, non è più un semplice imprenditore americano, leader nello spazio, nelle vetture elettriche e nei social media: è anche, ormai, un soggetto politico perché ha un ruolo nell'amministrazione Trump.

L'Unione europea deve prenderne atto. Musk ha trasformato un potente strumento di comunicazione in un'arma per minare le istituzioni democratiche, manipolare il discorso pubblico e delegittimare le normative europee. Il signor Musk e Donald Trump, insieme, promuovono una visione del mondo in cui la democrazia rappresentativa – cioè i nostri valori – è vista come obsoleta.

Sotto la gestione Musk, X ha abbandonato qualsiasi pretesa di neutralità, manipolando gli algoritmi per amplificare narrazioni politiche favorevoli a lui e ai suoi alleati ideologici. Questa piattaforma, una volta simbolo di pluralismo, è ora il veicolo di narrazioni divisive, odio e manipolazioni ideologiche.

Gli attacchi alla magistratura italiana, le critiche alla divisione dei poteri nell'Unione europea e gli insulti a Breton non sono un caso. Definendo l'ex commissario europeo per il Mercato interno "promotore di politiche antidemocratiche" e pubblicando meme offensivi, Musk ha deliberatamente ignorato le disposizioni del *Digital Services Act*.

Questi attacchi rappresentano perciò una sfida diretta alla sovranità regolatoria dell'Unione europea e alla nostra capacità di proteggere i cittadini europei. L'Unione europea deve dimostrare che la trasparenza, la sicurezza e i diritti dei cittadini vengono prima degli interessi di un singolo individuo.

Questo vuole essere un appello all'Europa: liberiamoci dallo strapotere del signor Musk! La sua è una piattaforma ormai opaca, con conflitti di interessi enormi da parte del magnate americano.

2-0266-0000

Malika Sorel (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, le Parlement européen donne des leçons de démocratie au monde entier, mais est-il crédible dans ce rôle? La réponse est non. Il bafoue les principes fondamentaux de la démocratie. Défendre la démocratie, c'est respecter le suffrage universel et le pluralisme. Ici, le système d'Hondt a été violé, et notre collègue Roman Haider a été empêché de présider la commission des transports et moi-même celle de la culture.

Autre paradoxe: l'Union européenne se pose en gardienne de la démocratie, et en même temps elle attaque la liberté d'expression, qui lui est pourtant consubstantielle. Sur la base de soupçons de manipulations sur les réseaux sociaux, elle soutient l'annulation du choix des citoyens en Roumanie. Avec l'utilisation d'outils comme le règlement sur les services numériques, l'Union européenne entend contrôler les processus démocratiques.

Chers collègues, en 2022, à Stanford, Barack Obama lui-même déclarait être un défenseur absolu du premier amendement, qui consacre la liberté d'expression, selon lui, au cœur de toute société démocratique. Je vous encourage, chers collègues, à méditer les sages propos de Barack Obama.

2-0267-0000

Dick Erixon (Ecr). – Herr talman! Den här diskussionen skrämmer mig. De senaste 20 åren är det ingenting som har stärkt demokratin, gjort den bredare, mer tillgänglig, än internet och de sociala plattformarna.

Många tiotals, hundratals miljoner människor har kunnat uttrycka sig i de här medierna som inte har hörts förut, som inte fått sin röst hörd, som har kunnat börja delta i samhällsdebatten. Det är ett oerhört framsteg som internet och de sociala medierna har bidragit med för att stärka demokratin.

Men här i kammaren hör man från de gamla maktägande partierna att det är ett gift, att det är hjärntvätt, att det sänker demokratin. För mig låter det här som en medeltida inkquisition där man jagar kättare. Vanligt folk ska hålla käften. Det är den maktägande eliten som ska bestämma. Så kan vi inte ha det. Vi ska försvara och värna de sociala medierna.

2-0268-0000

Irena Joveva (Renew). – Gospod predsednik! Podcenjevanje, kolegice in kolegi. Dogaja se nam podcenjevanje nevarnosti vpliva družbenih omrežij na - tudi - rezultate volitev. Z dovolj oglaševalskega denarja lahko dosežeš marsikoga, ki ga sicer ne bi. Medtem vse več ljudi novice, takšne in drugačne, dobiva samo prek družbenih omrežij, niti ne toliko, žal, prek profesionalnih medijev.

Nedavni primer v Romuniji je le najbolj izrazil ali skrajen, ni pa edini. Avtokratski režimi tujih držav zlorablajo odprtost naše družbe, in to uporabljajo proti nam samim, skupaj, seveda, z domačimi populistami, ki so interes države pripravljeni prodati za lastno oblast. Ampak Komisija se ne more sprenevedati; imamo zakonodajo o spletnem oglaševanju, algoritmih, ki pa očitno ne deluje. In sploh ne gre za cenzuro, ta niti ni potrebna. Potrebno je samo jasno razkritje teh primerov. Torej, kdo je v ozadju neke objave.

Za delovanje demokratične družbe potrebuješ informirane ljudi. Dezinformacije lahko uniči samo tisti, ki zna ločiti to od resnice. Ne podcenjujmo še tega. Resnica je edina, ki potrebuje zagovornike.

2-0269-0000

Nela Riehl (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, where do we go when we do not know something? Well – online. For me personally, it's Google, some might also go on TikTok. Particularly for the younger generation, social media platforms are the place to gather information also on politics. Social media is where elections are decided nowadays. We cannot deny this, but we need to respond to this. We need to make sure that this does not compromise the democratic process, that the algorithmic logic of which content does well is not a deciding factor on electoral outcomes.

With TikTok we risk overseeing the Trojan horse coming for our democracy. Yes, parties and politicians should meet people where they are and speak to them in a way they want to be spoken to. But no, that does not mean that facts become relative or that truth is a question of the most clicked video. One first step was the DSA calling out negative effects on elections.

So for the Bundestagswahl: Lasst uns bitte nicht über Haustierverbote und Genderwahn sprechen, sondern über Klimakrise und soziale Gerechtigkeit.

2-0271-0000

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Monsieur le Président, en mode *full boomers*, certains d'entre vous viennent critiquer TikTok sans jamais l'avoir utilisé. Comme cela, vous découvrez aujourd'hui qu'il y a un problème avec des algorithmes bizarres? Et là, c'est la panique. La députée macroniste Loiseau vient ici de traiter tous les jeunes qui utilisent TikTok d'imbéciles. En Roumanie, ils ont carrément annulé une élection présidentielle parce que TikTok y aurait joué un rôle. C'est possible! Mais imaginez-vous un instant si cela s'était passé, par exemple en Chine, au Venezuela, ou que sais-je. On aurait tous crié au scandale démocratique!

Enfin, peut-être plus maintenant, parce qu'apparemment, même la Commission européenne essaye d'influencer illégalement des électeurs aux Pays-Bas par l'intermédiaire des réseaux. Mais bon, bienvenue dans le monde des réseaux sociaux, chers collègues! Oui, il y a de la manipulation. Sur X, Elon Musk le milliardaire m'impose ses Tweets, même si je ne le suis pas. Sur Instagram, c'est l'autre milliardaire Zuckerberg qui fait la loi. Et tant sur Instagram que sur TikTok, des publications en soutien à la Palestine, confrontée au génocide israélien, font l'objet d'une censure discrète, mais bien réelle.

Le vrai problème, ce ne sont pas les applis en soi, c'est le contrôle que ces quelques milliardaires exercent sur ces réseaux de communication. Alors, chers camarades, libérons les réseaux des milliardaires!

2-0272-0000

Tomasz Froelich (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Wahlen verlieren, dann Wahlen annullieren, anschließend Social Media zensieren und dann einen oppositionellen Fernsehsender abschalten. Wer so etwas tut, der rettet nicht die Demokratie. Wer so etwas tut, der schafft die Demokratie ab. Das ist das, was gerade in Rumänien passiert. Der größte Wahlskandal in der Geschichte der EU, unterstützt von Brüssel, verschwiegen von den Medien – einfach nur beschämend. Begründet wird dieser Wahlbetrug mit fremder Einmischung auf TikTok. Belege dafür? Fehlanzeige. Nur vage Behauptungen.

Die Rumänen sind ein stolzes Volk, die Rumänen sind ein kluges Volk, aber man erklärt sie gerade zu infantilen Vollidioten ohne freien Wählerwillen, denen TikTok das Wahlrecht absaugt. Wir dürfen diesen Staatsstreich nicht hinnehmen, denn hier soll ein Präzedenzfall geschaffen werden. Jede Wahl mit unerwünschtem Wahlergebnis könnte künftig annulliert werden. Heute sind es die Rumänen, die ihrer Stimme beraubt werden, morgen könnten wir es sein.

Der Kampf der Rumänen für die Demokratie in ihrem Land ist daher auch der Kampf für Demokratie in ganz Europa. Wir stehen an ihrer Seite, und wir stehen an der Seite ihres wahren Präsidenten Călin Georgescu.

2-0273-0000

Friedrich Pürner (NI). – Herr Präsident! Werte Kollegen und Kolleginnen! In Rumänien war es also angeblich möglich, dass ein Präsidentschaftskandidat durch TikTok-Videos seine Bekanntheit wahlentscheidend beeinflussen konnte. Tatsächlich, ist es so?

Und nun? Ist jede Wahlwerbung, die nur leere Versprechungen enthält, Desinformation? Das müssen wir uns fragen. Der rumänische Kandidat zeigte sich traditionell gekleidet auf einem Pferd, Bahnen schwimmend im Schwimmbad und beim Kampfsporttraining. Wie groß muss die Unzufriedenheit in Rumänien sein, dass solche Videos für einen Wahlsieg ausreichen?

Die Vorstellung allein, dass Videos Wahlen beeinflussen, ist so absurd wie der Glaube, dass Katzenvideos die Weltregierung kontrollieren. Hier werden Ursache und Wirkung verwechselt: Unzufriedenheit und schlechte Politik erhöhen nämlich das Risiko für Überraschungsergebnisse bei Wahlen. Es wird lediglich ein Vorwand für Zensur und Einschränkung der Meinungsfreiheit gesucht. So schaut es aus, das ist die Wahrheit!

Folgen Sie mir bitte auf X, TikTok und Instagram!

2-0274-0000

Paulo Cunha (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Caros Colegas, acredito que temos vivido mais do que uma luta contra a desinformação. Vivemos numa dualidade constante.

De um lado, temos os princípios basilares da democracia: a liberdade, a transparência, a participação consciente dos cidadãos. Do outro, a crescente aposta na manipulação e no controlo através das redes sociais, para minar a confiança nos processos democráticos e nas instituições.

As recentes interferências nos processos democráticos não representam simples casos isolados. São sinais de uma estratégia concertada que visa exportar modelos autoritários, orientados pelo controlo e pela repressão para as nossas democracias.

Embora o TikTok proíba conteúdos políticos na publicidade, está a tornar-se uma ferramenta cada vez mais procurada para atrair e manipular eleitores mais jovens.

A Europa tem de responder de forma firme e inequívoca. Temos de dotar os nossos cidadãos das ferramentas necessárias para reconhecer e resistir à manipulação. Temos de exigir mais das plataformas de comunicação que, muitas vezes, se tornam cúmplices dessas estratégias, e exigir responsabilidade.

A distorção da realidade não pode reinar, não pode vencer. Este é um debate sobre o futuro das nossas democracias. Hoje, temos de dar provas da nossa resiliência.

2-0275-0000

Christel Schaldemose (S&D). – Mr President, as the rapporteur on the Digital Services Act, my message to the EU Commission is clear: it is time to step up. We cannot wait for TikTok and the rest of the Big Tech to finally decide to follow our rules. Don't get me wrong, TikTok and Big Tech, they have to remove illegal content from their platforms, and they have to actively contribute to counteract disinformation and harmful content. But it is the responsibility of the Commission to enforce our rules, and when Big Tech refuses to comply with our laws, then the Commission needs to act as an enforcer.

We cannot ignore that Big Tech knowingly dodges the framework of the Digital Services Act. As we have seen in Romania, evidence points towards TikTok being responsible for damaging the electoral credibility of a democratic election. TikTok has failed to effectively implement content moderation and showed unwillingness to combat the spread of disinformation and even refuse to conduct proper fact checking, which has proven to be a perfect opportunity for foreign interference.

The election in Romania must be a reminder for all of us to be vigilant and proactive in our efforts to regulate Big Tech, and that is why we in the European Parliament need to take our responsibility. We need to make sure that the Commission is doing what they have to do, and enforce our rules and use the opportunities we have in the Digital Services Act to a full extent. I don't think that that is what happens today. Illegal content needs to be removed and harmful content needs to be risk mitigated and we need to have full transparency. We haven't really seen so much of this.

So I really, really urge the EU Commission please step up now. Use the opportunities we have in the Digital Services Act. We need to use it in order to protect our society and democracy. It is time to act now.

2-0276-0000

Alexandre Varaut (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, dans l'histoire des prises du pouvoir, il y eut d'abord les plus forts, ensuite les plus nobles, les plus riches, les plus éloquentes, et il semblerait que Cicéron ait laissé la place à TikTok. La vérité n'est pas connue, l'enquête à peine commencée, et déjà l'élection est annulée et notre Parlement s'agite. Ne faudrait-il pas, dans un État de droit, que l'épreuve précède la peine? Faut-il redouter que les candidats ne soient plus libres et que la liberté des électeurs soit méconnue, puisqu'on les considère comme des moutons suivant le mouvement – tik tok tik tok tik tok...?

S'il y a une ingérence d'un pays étranger, elle est scandaleuse et justifie une annulation a posteriori, pas a priori. S'il faut interdire les commentaires politiques sur les réseaux, faisons-le, par la loi, a priori, pas a posteriori. Ce précédent témoigne d'une tendance croissante des juges à se substituer au peuple. La vérité, la liberté n'aurait qu'un seul camp. «Si le peuple vote mal, il faut dissoudre le peuple», dit le tyran déguisé en démocrate. Faisons confiance à nos peuples.

2-0277-0000

Paolo Inselvini (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la volontà popolare è accettata sempre, qui dentro, o solo quando i risultati garbano alla sinistra e alle élite?

Domanda spontanea dopo la decisione della Corte rumena, a maggior ragione dopo le tante reazioni che ne sono conseguite da chi vorrebbe utilizzare questi metodi anche in altri paesi, portando la censura in tutta Europa.

Quello che è accaduto è preoccupante: le elezioni presidenziali annullate per le presunte ingerenze attraverso TikTok rappresentano un precedente pericoloso per tutta l'Europa e per il nostro diritto alla libertà di espressione.

A confermarlo, a dirlo, è la stessa candidata Lasconi, che parla di una decisione illegale e immorale e che schiaccia l'essenza stessa della democrazia, sostenendo che si sarebbe dovuto andare avanti perché – piaccia o meno – milioni di cittadini hanno espresso il loro voto liberamente.

Spero dunque che tutti, qui dentro, siate d'accordo con me nell'accettare il voto dei cittadini e soprattutto nell'avere fiducia nella loro capacità di discernimento. Le elezioni non possono andare bene, quindi, solo quando vince la sinistra, altrimenti, parafrasando Orwell, vorrebbe dire che qualcuno pensa che le elezioni sono uguali per tutti – sì, ma per qualcuno sono più uguali che per gli altri.

2-0278-0000

Moritz Körner (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Die Meinungsfreiheit ist die Grundlage unserer Demokratie. Der Austausch unterschiedlicher Meinungen und Argumente, der Wettbewerb darüber, der sorgt für Kompromisse in einer Gesellschaft. Aber dieser Wettbewerb muss fair sein. Genau das macht unsere offene Demokratie aus, das macht liberale Demokratien aus.

Wenn aber von außen versucht wird, das zu beeinflussen – Anne Applebaum nennt das in ihrem neuen Buch die „Autocracy, Inc.“, die Autokraten dieser Welt, die zusammenarbeiten und bewusst versuchen, unsere liberalen Demokratien zu beeinflussen –, dann ist das nicht mehr fairer Wettbewerb von Meinungen, dann ist das auch nicht Meinungsfreiheit, sondern dann wird die freie und offene Gesellschaft benutzt, um im Sinne der Autokraten dieser Welt unsere Meinungen zu beeinflussen.

Dagegen müssen wir vorgehen, nicht indem wir Meinungsfreiheit massiv beschneiden. Das ist auch nicht Teil des DSA. Sondern indem wir maximale Transparenz schaffen über die Algorithmen und über den Einfluss, der von außen da ist. Weil die Rednerin der AfD vorhin mich gefragt hat, welchen Einfluss, welchen Herren ich dienen würde, kann ich nur sagen: Ich diene meinen Wählerinnen und Wählern. Ich habe im Gegensatz zur AfD keine Gelder von Russland bekommen.

2-0279-0000

Mārtiņš Staķis (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, our children are not for sale. As parents across Europe, we must be confident that the platforms our children use are safe, not a tool for exploitation or harm. And unfortunately, TikTok failed this test. This platform bombards children with addictive algorithms and toxic content, material that would never be allowed in China, where strict time limits and educational videos protect young users. So why should European children be treated with less care?

But the danger does not stop there. TikTok has become a tool for spreading disinformation, even influencing elections, as we saw in Romania.

Now, TikTok has published an expensive ad in *Politico*, promising billions in investment for security and privacy. But trust isn't built on PR campaigns – it's built on actions, and TikTok has repeatedly failed to deliver on this front. Europe must take a stand. If TikTok refuses to respect our rules on privacy, safety and transparency, it has no place in Europe.

2-0280-0000

President. – Just to remind you, you cannot show anything from this place. I didn't notice when I was looking at my paper; otherwise, I would be very strict.

2-0281-0000

Luboš Blaha (NI). – Vážený pán predsedajúci, každý totalitný režim si vytvára svoju vlastnú definíciu, ako definovať dezinformáciu len preto, aby mohol obmedzovať slobodu slova a zavádzať cenzúru. Takisto to dnes robí aj Európska únia a čoraz viac sa podobá na prachsprostú totalitu. Ja vám poviem, čo je to skutočná dezinformácia. Dezinformácia bolo, keď sa hovorilo, že Rusko sa tlačí na naše hranice. V skutočnosti Západ a NATO sa tlačil k hraniciam Ruska. Dezinformáciou bolo, keď sa hovorilo, že vakcína prinesie slobodu od covidu. V skutočnosti to tak nebolo a iba sme podstupovali medicínsky experiment. Dezinformácia bola, keď sa tvrdilo, že Izrael má právo páchať genocídu na Palestíne. Aj to je obrovská lož, ale tá najsmutnejšia dezinformácia bola, keď nám po roku 89 hovorili, že liberálny kapitalizmus nám prinesie slobodu. Nie, kapitalizmus priniesol chudobu, nerovnosť, rozvrat a dnes prináša aj totalitu.

2-0282-0000

Seán Kelly (PPE). – A *Uachtarán, a Choimisinéir Mac Raith*, only a month ago, Russia emerged as the real winners of Georgia's parliamentary elections, after alleged widespread Russian disinformation likely led to Georgian Dream's claim to victory. In Moldova, evidence suggests that Russia was behind cyberattacks, ballot-box stuffing, vote rigging, illegal transportation of voters to the polls and the purchasing of up to 300 000 votes. We turn to Romania and the facts are sobering: hundreds of TikTok accounts set up by Russia, activated to support Călin Georgescu, and thousands of accounts activated two weeks before the first round.

The sophistication of Russia's web of mis- and disinformation to upend political processes is a threat to democracies everywhere. As Russia attempts to pick off European countries one by one,

it is also time for Ireland to reflect on our own resilience against foreign meddling. It would be a mistake to think that Ireland is immune to Russian attempts to influence public discourse.

As the host country of the European headquarters of many social media companies, including TikTok, Ireland has a large part to play in ensuring their compliance with the Digital Services Act. TikTok must be held accountable for any infringements of the act if found guilty, and I express my full trust in Coimisiún na Meán to carry out a thorough investigation.

2-0283-0000

Hannes Heide (S&D). – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar! Mit dem *Digital Services Act* hat die Europäische Union unter Beteiligung von gewählten Parlamentarierinnen und Parlamentariern dieses Parlaments für große Plattformen wie TikTok, Meta und X ganz klare Regeln aufgestellt. Sie müssen Verantwortung übernehmen und sicherstellen, dass ihre Dienste nicht für schädliche und irreführende Inhalte missbraucht werden. Aber die Realität sieht ganz anders aus: Trotz dieser Vorschriften erleben wir immer wieder, dass Manipulationen auf den größten sozialen Netzwerken in der EU ungehindert verbreitet werden können – ausländische Einflussnahme beim vom Verfassungsgericht annullierten Wahlgang in Rumänien.

Trolle und Fakeprofile verbreiten Falschinformationen auf Facebook. Auf X erhalte ich immer mehr radikale Inhalte. Auf TikTok kann ich gar nicht zugreifen, weil ich angeblich vorgebe, jemand zu sein, der ich nicht bin. Wir sehen uns in einem erschreckend hohen Ausmaß mit Desinformation konfrontiert, die auf dramatische Weise unsere politische Landschaft destabilisiert.

Und weil wir nicht weiterhin tatenlos zusehen dürfen und können, ist eine konsequente Umsetzung des *Digital Services Act* notwendig. Wir müssen entschieden gegen Plattformen vorgehen, die ihre Verantwortung einfach nicht wahrnehmen. Wenn diese Plattformen nicht in der Lage sind, ihre eigenen Regeln durchzusetzen, müssen wir als Gesetzgeber eingreifen.

Und um Wahlen vor Desinformationskampagnen auch wirklich wirksam zu schützen, reicht es nicht aus, nur Gesetze zu erlassen, sie müssen auch durchgesetzt werden. Politische Werbung muss klar erkennbar und transparent sein. Algorithmen, die der Verbreitung von Fake News dienen, müssen geändert werden. Und Social-Media-Plattformen müssen verpflichtet werden, aktiv gegen die gezielte Manipulation vorzugehen. Keine Kompromisse bei der Demokratie! Es ist alarmierend, dass Plattformen sich bewusst aus dem EU-Verhaltenskodex zurückgezogen haben. Und der Rechtsrahmen muss stark genug sein, um diese Unternehmen zur Einhaltung der Standards zu zwingen.

Social-Media-Plattformen sind die Hauptquelle von Informationen der jungen Generation, und deshalb müssen wir gezielt in Medienkompetenz und Aufklärung investieren, junge Menschen widerstandsfähiger gegen Fake News machen. Die Verbreitung von Desinformation ist nicht nur eine technische Herausforderung, sie ist vor allen Dingen ein politisches Problem, und die EU hat eine Vorreiterrolle im Kampf gegen Desinformation zu übernehmen und mit entschlossenem Handeln dafür zu sorgen, dass der digitale Raum sicher und transparent wird.

2-0284-0000

Ernő Schaller-Baross (PFE). – Elnök Úr! A digitális szolgáltatásokra vonatkozó uniós rendelet kulcsfontosságú. Ugyanakkor elengedhetetlen, hogy minden ilyen szabályozás figyelembe vegye a vélemény szabadság alapvető jogát is. Nem engedhetjük meg, hogy politikai hatások alapján különbséget tegyünk vizsgálatok között, hiszen a szabályozásnak pártatlannak és átláthatónak kell lennie és maradnia.

Az Európai Unió nem egy cenzor. A szabad véleménynyilvánítás központi korlátozását minden körülmények között el kell kerülnünk. Az Európai Bizottság Elon Muskot ért kritikája a digitális szabályozás kapcsán téves irányba vezet. Ezek a támadások nem csupán a digitális szabályozásról szólnak, hanem tágabb politikai összefüggésekben is értelmezhetőek. A szólásszabadság védelme és a digitális tér felelősségteljes működtetése nem zárja ki egymást, sőt, éppen az egyik biztosítja is a másikat. Egy demokratikus társadalomban mindkét elem szükséges ahhoz, hogy a polgárok szabadon élhessenek jogaikkal, ugyanakkor ne lehessenek manipulációk áldozatai.

Tisztelt Képviselőtársaim! Mindent meg kell tenni annak érdekében, hogy egyensúlyt teremtsünk a szabadság és a felelősség között, és hogy a szólásszabadságot mint alapvető demokratikus értéket mindig szem előtt tartjuk. Az Unió számára a szabad véleménynyilvánítás biztosítása kell, hogy minden intézkedésünk alapja legyen. És miután utoljára szólok fel ebben a teremben idén, engedjék meg, hogy áldott karácsonyt kívánjak mindenkinek.

2-0285-0000

Stephen Nikola Bartulica (ECR). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kupnjom Twittera i stvaranjem platforme X Elon Musk je podigao razinu slobode govora na novu razinu. Dok EU svojim aktima želi ograničavati slobodu govora i određivati nama svima što je istina. Danas na X-u su korisnici oni koji stvaraju sadržaj i vijesti koji se u realnom vremenu provjeravaju i koji su relevantni. Čujem da je Europska federacija novinara najavila prestanak objavljivanja na X-u. Dobro za njih, ionako su zamaskirani lijevi aktivisti koji glume novinare. Takozvani *fact-checkeri* njihova su produžena ruka u zemljama članicama. Određuju što će se govoriti, kako, kada i tko će, povrh toga, što je istina i što nije. Do te mjere da se nedavno gospodin Zuckerberg morao ispričati. I na kraju presedan, poništavanje izbora u Rumunjskoj, pokazuje do kuda to sve vodi. Nije samo cenzura dovoljna, nego se treba, kad je potrebno, i otkazati izbore.

2-0286-0000

Bart Groothuis (Renew). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, when they use TikTok to change the course of a nation like in Romania, or when they buy votes to block the sovereign will of a country like in Moldova, or when they forge elections to keep control over a sovereign nation like in Georgia, what does that mean? It means the Russians are merely dry swimming and practising for the German elections to come next year, so we know what's at stake.

The Commission has been given the tools to counter malign foreign interference: the Digital Services Act, the Code of Practice, the law on political advertising. So now it's up to the Commission to finish the job before the German elections, uphold the laws we agreed on, because it is the best guarantee for freedom of speech.

And, President, if you allow me in Dutch to say one or two words to my colleague Sander Smit from the BBB, the BoerBurgerBeweging.

De heer Smith maakte gewag van één stupide, domme actie van de Europese Commissie om de opinie te beïnvloeden in Nederland. Daar vindt hij mij aan zijn zijde. Hij stelt het echter gelijk aan de miljoenen pogingen waarvoor president Poetin miljarden betaalt om onze democratie onderuit te halen. Dat kan nooit gebeuren.

(De spreker stemt ermee in om te antwoorden op een “blauwe kaart”-vraag)

2-0288-0000

Bogdan Rzońca (ECR), *pytanie zadane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki*. – Wiele razy wymienił Pan nazwisko Putina w swojej wypowiedzi. Dobrze, że mówimy dzisiaj o złym wpływie TikToka na decyzje generalnie. A co Pan robił wtedy, kiedy zawierano porozumienie między Putinem, między Rosją a Niemcami w sprawie Nord Stream? Kiedy w 2005 roku zawierano to porozumienie, to właśnie wtedy rozpoczęła się wojna przeciwko Ukrainie. Gdzie Pan był wtedy z Pana formacją polityczną? Chciałem się Pana zapytać, czy Pan uważa, że rzeczywiście tylko TikTok zakłóca...

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

2-0289-0000

Bart Groothuis (Renew), *blue-card answer*. – I'll tell you what I did, I protested, sir. I protest again against the completely irresponsible way we are delivering ourselves in the hands of China, including TikTok. So should you. Foreign interference is not something you ridicule about. It's not whataboutism – do something about it. This Commission has the tools – finish the job in order to keep us safe now and in the long-term future. That you're playing with your future is your problem, not ours.

2-0290-0000

Benedetta Scuderi (Verts/ALE). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, "deportiamoli tutti": così inneggia all'odio su TikTok il gruppo giovanile di estrema destra dell'AFD.

"Il COVID non esiste": milioni di condivisioni per video che negavano la pandemia, mentre migliaia di persone morivano.

Questi sono solo alcuni esempi ma ogni giorno siamo bombardati da immagini e video presentati come verità assolute, la cui popolarità e la cui adeguatezza sono decise da qualche miliardario come Elon Musk o da uno Stato terzo.

La mancanza di trasparenza degli algoritmi e la possibilità di creare account falsi stanno chiaramente minando i nostri processi democratici. Siamo stanchi di parlare di libertà di parola di chi reprime ogni dissenso e ci impedisce di parlare di genocidio; siamo stanchi di parlare di libertà di parola quando l'unica cosa che si fa è inneggiare all'odio. La libertà di parola non è libertà di diffondere notizie scientificamente false.

La nostra democrazia funziona per le regole sociali che ci siamo dati e queste devono riguardare anche, e soprattutto, i mezzi di informazione. Come facciamo a scegliere liberamente se non sappiamo che quella notizia ce l'hanno voluta far vedere ed è verificatamente falsa?

Garantire la democraticità dei social e la trasparenza degli algoritmi è essenziale per tutelare la nostra...

(Il Presidente toglie la parola all'oratrice)

2-0291-0000

Νικόλαος Αναδιώτης (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ενδεχομένως διαμορφώνουν την κοινή γνώμη. Έχουμε το ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα των πρόσφατων προεδρικών εκλογών στη Ρουμανία, όπου οι επικριτές του πρώτου σε ψήφους κ. Γκεοργκέσκου εργαλειοποίησαν την πλατφόρμα του Tiktok για να ακυρώσουν την εκλογική διαδικασία.

Η παραπληροφόρηση και οι ψευδείς πληροφορίες είναι αδιαμφισβήτητα θλιβερό και άκρως ανησυχητικό γεγονός. Αποτελεί μέγιστη και πολυεπίπεδη απειλή. Και τούτο όμως δεν αφορά μόνο το Tiktok, αλλά όλες τις πλατφόρμες των μέσων κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, το Facebook, το Instagram και τα υπόλοιπα.

Η στοχευμένη, υποκινούμενη ίσως από συγκεκριμένες ιδεολογίες και ιδεοληψίες αναφορά στο tiktok είναι επικίνδυνη, καθώς ελλοχεύει ο κίνδυνος υποβάθμισης του συνολικού φαινομένου, το οποίο έχει πολλαπλές επιπτώσεις στη δημοκρατία μας.

Εάν, λοιπόν, μας ενδιαφέρει πραγματικά να ακούγεται με δημοκρατικό και διαφανή τρόπο η φωνή και η βούληση του λαού σε κάθε εκλογική διαδικασία, δεν πρέπει ασφαλώς να φιμώσουμε τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, αλλά να εξετάσουμε το ζήτημα της παραπληροφόρησης συνολικά και χωρίς παρωπίδες.

Άλλωστε όλοι μας έχουμε στραφεί στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, αφού πρώτα απαξιώσαμε την υποκειμενικότητα και μεροληψία των μέσων μαζικής ενημέρωσης.

2-0292-0000

Adina Vălean (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, disinformation and misinformation are like cracks in a foundation. Small at first, almost invisible, but if left unchecked, they can spread and erode trust, weakening the very structures that hold our societies together.

Today, the cracks are amplified on very large online platforms – the town squares of our digital age. Over the last decade, the role of these platforms has grown immensely. They are no longer just tools for entertainment. They have become gatekeepers of information, influencing elections and even shaping global events. With such immense influence comes immense responsibility. Platforms must take ownership of their power they hold and ensure their digital spaces are safe, transparent and accountable.

Here, in the European Union, we have one of the most advanced regulatory frameworks in the world. Yet a rule book is like a compass: it points us in the right direction, but the real work lies in taking action.

The challenge now, first, is ensuring effective enforcement and implementation, starting by building expertise at the institutional level across the European Union. Second, social networks cannot afford to stand on the sidelines. If they are to function in the European Union market, they must become partners – partners to the institutions, authorities and society as a whole.

And this is not a regulatory requirement. It is a shared responsibility.

2-0293-0000

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Mr President, dear colleagues, more and more of our citizens use social media for information. It is normal because this is accessible to everyone. It is also a reflection of our society searching for faster solutions, where we, as individuals, are more and more isolated while still being connected all the time.

We have been talking about this for many years in this House, but it seems that our democracies have been taken by surprise once again. The problem is not social media by itself. The real problem is that we have individuals, groups and external non-democratic powers using social platforms to misinform us, manipulate us to destroy our democracies.

Imagine that, due to algorithm manipulation, you get bombarded by false information, paid posts and mass messaging. This is social engineering and this has been done while illegally using money for the political campaign.

Acting illegally is not freedom of speech. This is what happened in Romania. This is what the report presented by the Moldovan authorities shows happened to them. The decision of the European Commission to open an investigation today confirms what happened.

Our mechanisms have not been efficient enough. Our coordination needs to improve. Platforms need to pay for their mistakes and recognise their failure, so that we can rebuild better and faster.

Everyone needs to respect the rules in time for the next Romanian and German elections. They need to start sharing information and presenting themselves in front of the European Parliament, as they have done in front of the US Congress.

Dear colleagues, it is not about left and right, about traditional or new parties. If you fail with Romania, your countries will be next.

2-0294-0000

Sebastian Kruis (PFE). – Voorzitter, daar staan we weer. De linkse maffia gaat steeds een stapje verder om concurrenten uit de weg te ruimen. Niet alleen moeten social media nog verder worden gecensureerd, ook democratische verkiezingen moeten nu opnieuw, als de uitslag niet bevalt, zoals in Roemenië.

Het zijn de partijen die over elkaar heen struikelen om landen als Hongarije, Polen, Nederland en andere landen de maat te nemen over democratie en rechtsstaat, bijvoorbeeld als het gaat om de aanpak van illegale immigratie, die nu wel staan te juichen toen de uitslag van de democratisch verlopen verkiezingen in Roemenië ongedaan werd gemaakt. Hypocrisie om duizelig van te worden.

Natuurlijk maak ik mij ook zorgen over Russische inmenging in Europa, maar ook over hoe makkelijk links de democratie opzij zet als het even tegenzit. Want dit schept natuurlijk een precedent. Nu is het Roemenië, maar volgende keer vindt een andere partij in Europa een paardenkop in zijn bed. Want blijkbaar geldt de bescherming van de rechtsstaat alleen als je van de juiste politieke kleur bent. Anders wordt de rechtsstaat als wapen tegen je ingezet. Zoals tegen Geert Wilders, Matteo Salvini of Marine Le Pen. Voor de uitslag in Roemenië zal het waarschijnlijk niet zoveel uitmaken. Maar wat ik al vaker heb gezegd tegen links: censuur is niet de oplossing om jullie ondergang te voorkomen. Je kunt verkiezingen honderd keer opnieuw doen, de opmars van patriottische partijen is niet te stoppen.

2-0295-0000

Adrian-George Axinia (ECR). – Domnule președinte, modul în care această dezbatere se poartă reprezintă o pantă alunecoasă pentru viitorul democrației europene. Discutând deschis despre interzicerea unor platforme media doar pentru că *establishmentul* politic nu mai poate controla narativul, ajungem să nu mai facem diferențe între sistemul nostru democratic și ce se întâmplă în dictaturi sau sisteme autocratice.

Cenzura, oricâte justificări îi găsiți, nu este acceptabilă. Vă reamintesc că atunci când Putin a atacat Ucraina, în Rusia s-a pus interdicție pe Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp și Google.

În România, mult mai periculoasă este anularea alegerilor libere de către puterea politică prin intermediul unor instituții politizate la maximum, precum Curtea Constituțională. Dacă vreți să discutăm despre acțiuni imorale, să vă uitați și la cele aproximativ 100 de milioane de euro pe care, din banii cetățenilor, partidele vechi din România le-au dat mass-mediei tradiționale pentru promovarea propriului discurs. În timp ce în online există un schimb de idei, în presa clasică se vede doar narativul puterii, așa arată spălarea pe creier.

2-0296-0000

Veronika Cifrová Ostrihoňová (Renew). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, we often think of platforms like TikTok, but not only TikTok as free spaces, as neutral arenas where some bureaucratic rules are imposed. But this simply is not true. These platforms already are controlled ecosystems. Algorithms drive them, as we heard, and dark forces exploit them. Disinformation, foreign interference and large-scale manipulation flourish there.

This is where the EU and the EU citizens have power. These networks profit from our use; they must also respect our demand for greater transparency online. Transparency and accountability are not optional. We should not allow for chaos to reign in the digital sphere, because there is no free speech if networks are hijacked by forces we don't understand. Freedom is the power of our citizens and it must thrive in openness, not in the shadows.

2-0297-0000

Gordan Bosanac (Verts/ALE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovani povjereniče, kolegice i kolege, nažalost, moram podijeliti s vama najnovije iskustvo iz moje zemlje Hrvatske u kojoj je u tijeku samo finale predsjedničke kampanje. Dakle, nakon Rumunjske i u Hrvatskoj pratimo čitav niz plasiranja lažnih vijesti o jednoj kandidatkinji. Metoda je već viđena. Anonimni profili na TikToku, Instagramu, Fejsu i X-u redovno plasiraju lažne informacije. Dio toga prenose *mainstream* mediji i na taj način se stvara iskrivljena slika. Važno je uočiti da u ovom slučaju se najvjerojatnije ne radi o vanjskom utjecaju, već o utjecaju osoba i političkih opcija koje imaju direktne, financijske ili druge privatne interese u kampanji. Mislim da je važno prepoznati i boriti se i protiv takvih dezinformacijskih kampanja, koliko god one bile povezane s unutarnjim, a ne s vanjskim akterima. Zbog toga ovim putem pozivam društvene mreže i regulatore u Hrvatskoj i EU-u da žurno poduzmu korake kako bi predsjednička kampanja ostala unutar demokratskih okvira te da se kazne odgovorni.

2-0298-0000

Erik Kaliňák (NI). – Vážený pán predsedajúci, to tu fakt nikomu nie je trápne v tieto posledné dni? Mesiace tu kádrujeme jednu krajinu za druhou za porušovanie princípov právneho štátu. Čím ďalej od nás, tým tvrdšie uznesenie. A potom príde to najflagrantnejšie porušenie právneho štátu, keď dosluhujúci prezident nášho spojenca, USA, udelí en bloc amnestiu svojmu skorumpovanému, prefetovanému a pedofilnému synovi za akýkoľvek trestný čin, čo mohol spáchať za posledných desať rokov a Európsky parlament, etalón morálky, mlčí?! Žiadne uznesenie, odsúdenie či pohoršenie? Čo ste zrazu všetci stratili chuť mudrovať do interných záležitostí cudzích štátov? Alebo sa len všetci šetríte na zajtrajšiu debatu o Kirgizsku? Tam si dupnete čo?! Ale ku skorumpovanému komisárovi Reyndersovi ani slovo, že? Toto je presne ten dvojitý kilometer, čo Európa predvádza na medzinárodnej úrovni. A prečo sme zvyšku sveta na smiech. Ale v pohode. Prosím, pokračujme v tejto päťhodinovej debate o tom, ako je zlý TikTok. Lebo na rozdiel od zapredaných médií necenzuruje všetok politicky nepohodlný obsah.

2-0299-0000

Danuše Nerudová (PPE). – Mr President, colleagues, do you believe that Ukrainians will steal our European jobs and homes? Do you really believe that women are not smart enough to be top managers or politicians? Disinformation and hate such as these are infecting our society, spreading like a virus on social media.

These are not random distortions. They are deliberate attacks on our values, orchestrated by foreign actors to weaken us. This is not just a problem of online trolling. It is a matter of security. Disinformation is a weapon. We are under attack. We know where much of this interference comes from: Russia has built an empire of lies, pumping money and influence into disinformation campaigns aimed at dividing and destabilising us. They exploit anonymity, target our youth and erode trust in institutions.

Ladies and gentlemen, democracy is not about tolerating everything. It is about informed citizens, empowered to make real choices about their future. The solution is clear: more education, more accountability of platforms and more dismantling of sources of disinformation. The truth is our strongest weapon. We must defend it, amplify it and ensure it rises above the noise.

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

2-0300-0000

Kateřina Konečná (NI), otázka položená zvednutím modré karty. – Paní kolegyně, pořád si ještě myslíte, že ruské rakety zabily dva nevinné v Polsku? To byl totiž Váš tweet a jasná dezinformace, kterou jste Vy sama použila. Takže když mluvíme o těch informacích a Vy nás tady zkoušíte z těch dezinformací, jenom si uvědomte, že někdy je to prostě jenom o tom, že ta pravda se ukáže později. Vy jste svým tweetem způsobila v České republice strach a paniku. Nikdy jste se za něj neomluvila. Prosím, když mluvíte o dezinformacích, mluvte také o těch Vašich dezinformacích.

2-0301-0000

Danuše Nerudová (PPE), odpověď na otázku položenou zvednutím modré karty. – Já jsem ve své informaci vycházela z informace ministryně obrany České republiky. Vy máte právo na svůj názor, ale nemáte právo na svoje fakta.

2-0302-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario McGrath, la desinformación en las grandes plataformas tecnológicas supone un lado oscuro y una amenaza contra los valores y los derechos europeos, no solamente para la integridad de los procesos electorales —como han puesto de manifiesto las elecciones presidenciales en Rumanía—, sino para la totalidad del marco europeo del Estado de Derecho, los derechos fundamentales y la democracia: contra el Estado de Derecho porque las plataformas tecnológicas resisten la obediencia y la sujeción al derecho regulado por la Unión Europea, incluso cuando lo hace con ambición de escala global, y particularmente en esos casos; contra los derechos fundamentales porque arrasan con la dignidad de las personas, con la confidencialidad de los datos personales y con el derecho a la propia imagen, maximizado por la inteligencia artificial; y contra la democracia, porque impiden la deliberación racional, el intercambio de ideas y, consiguientemente, el pluralismo político a través del vértigo invasivo de algoritmos adictivos que trivializan segmentos de la sociedad cada vez más intransigentes e incompatibles entre sí.

Por tanto, nos encontramos ante una amenaza ante la que la Unión Europea tiene que actuar y ante la que solo la Unión Europea puede actuar, con educación digital y con un derecho fuerte antimonopolios que combata el lado oligopolístico de las grandes plataformas sociales, pero

también empleando a fondo el derecho sancionador e incluso penal frente a los incumplimientos flagrantes de la regulación europea en los que incurren los magnates que están detrás de las plataformas digitales, habitualmente de ultraderecha.

2-0303-0000

Ondřej Knotek (PFE). – Pane předsedající, cenzura není způsob, jak ochránit volby. Sociální sítě jsou nástrojem, ne příčinou. Jejich cenzura není řešení. Tak proč se o ni snažíte? Já vám to povím. Díky sociálním sítím mohou lidé hromadně sdílet, co si skutečně myslí. A to váš mocenský kartel složený z tradičních politiků, bruselských úředníků a některých neziskovek a médií nechce. Děláte všechno pro to, abyste Patriots, kteří hájí zájmy lidí, jako jsou Marine Le Pen, Andrej Babiš či Matteo Salvini, dostali z politiky. Ale to se vám nepodaří. Patriots boj za lidi nevzdávají. Stejně tak se vám nepodaří umlčet lidi skrze cenzuru sociálních sítí. Že se bojíte o demokratičnost voleb? Ne, vy se bojíte o váš volební výsledek. Léta postupně utahujete smyčku kolem lidí, berete jim bezpečí, prosperitu, národní identitu a svobodu. A teď se bojíte, protože jsou zde Patriots a sociální sítě, díky kterým se moc vrátí zpět lidem. Lidé neporazíte! Lidé vás mají plné zuby! Bojíte se právem!

2-0304-0000

Nicolas Bay (ECR). – Monsieur le Président, vendredi, deux jours avant le deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle roumaine, la Cour constitutionnelle a purement et simplement annulé l'élection. En cause, une action massive et méthodique sur les réseaux sociaux, en particulier TikTok, au bénéfice de Călin Georgescu, candidat arrivé en tête lors du premier tour et visiblement soutenu par la Russie. La volonté d'influence sur le scrutin semble évidente. Les manipulations de ce genre existent d'ailleurs dans beaucoup de pays. Elles proviennent d'autres États ou organisations et méritent d'être dénoncées.

Néanmoins, comment croire qu'elles ont pu faire passer le candidat Georgescu de 1 % dans les sondages fin octobre à 24 % le soir du premier tour? Les sondages du second tour le donnaient gagnant. Cette annulation est évidemment un déni de démocratie scandaleux. Elle aurait été condamné avec force si elle avait eu lieu dans n'importe quel pays d'Europe de l'Ouest.

Mon ami George Simion, président du parti AUR, qui a obtenu 14 % des voix au premier tour, n'est pas un proche de Georgescu. Mais il a évidemment dénoncé ce coup d'État: des juges politiques ne devrait pas pouvoir annuler la volonté des peuples. L'arrêt de la Cour constitutionnelle doit être annulé. Le processus électoral doit reprendre immédiatement. La volonté souveraine du peuple roumain doit être respectée.

2-0305-0000

Stéphanie Yon-Courtin (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, l'élection présidentielle roumaine a mis en avant un danger grave pour nos démocraties: l'ascension fulgurante d'un candidat choisi par une puissance étrangère, la Russie, et dont la candidature a été stimulée par les algorithmes des plateformes en ligne. Faux comptes, influenceurs politiques dissimulés, campagnes de manipulation: les citoyens roumains ont été nourris en flux continu par des influenceurs fantômes qui manipulent l'information et l'opinion.

La manipulation électorale, même 2.0, n'est pas une innovation technologique: c'est une attaque directe contre nos démocraties. Ces pratiques témoignent d'un mépris flagrant des règles européennes et d'une incapacité à garantir la transparence que le règlement sur les services numériques exige. Un grand pouvoir implique de grandes responsabilités, et quand une plateforme devient un outil d'ingérence, elle cesse d'être un réseau social pour devenir une arme politique – et ça, on ne peut pas l'accepter.

L'intégrité de nos démocraties est en jeu. TikTok ne peut s'en laver les mains. L'Europe n'est pas un terrain de jeu pour les marchands de chaos, et j'attends impatiemment les résultats de l'enquête lancée par la Commission européenne aujourd'hui pour agir et sanctionner TikTok à la hauteur du préjudice.

2-0306-0000

Reinier Van Lanschot (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, we welcomed a Trojan horse into Europe, into our homes, into our pockets. Social media platforms started as a fantastic tool to connect, but have now become secret weapons. In a toxic cocktail of company monopolies, foreign actors, greed of shareholders and lack of regulation, algorithms push extreme content and bot accounts spread fake news, especially during elections.

Dear colleagues, like Troy, we focus on the enemy we can see. We focus on finally building European defence. And we should! But if we ignore the Trojan horse sent by hostile foreign powers, it will be useless. Sending Trojan horses is cheaper and can be effective. We cannot allow China, Russia or any unchecked force to influence our elections.

We have to enforce the Digital Service Act, create independent audits and transparency on algorithms, and force social media companies to take responsibility if they want to operate in Europe. Only then, the Trojan Horse is dismantled and becomes a tool for entertainment, information and connection again.

2-0307-0000

Ondřej Dostál (NI). – Pane předsedající, vážení kolegové, tento Parlament se rozhodl ve svých usneseních, že ví lépe než Venezuelci, kdo má vládnout ve Venezuele, a lépe než Gruzínci, kdo má vládnout v Gruzii. Chvilku jsme tady dokonce věděli lépe, kdo má vládnout v Americe. Teď musíme ten trapas vůči spojenci zamlčet. Nikomu naopak nevádí, že českému prezidentovi organizoval kampaň a dodnes mu radí lobbista americké firmy. Nikomu nevádí, že na Slovensku jsou sociální sítě plné nenávistných projevů od neziskovek placených končící Bidenovou administrativou, ani atentát na slovenského premiéra, který byl plodem této nenávisti. Můj návrh je: „Cizí státy nechme na pokoji. V členských státech chraňme svobodu projevu.“ Lidé nejsou hloupí a lépe ví než Jourové nebo Nerudové nebo Gregorové, co si mohou myslet. Jestli chceme něco zlepšit, přijmeme raději zákon FARA jako ve Spojených státech nebo v Gruzii. Ať si každý říká, co chce, ale ať je vidět, když je placen z ciziny. O mnoha neziskovkách i o mnoha demokratech nám to totiž řekne vše, co potřebujeme vědět.

(Řečník souhlasil s tím, že odpoví na vystoupení na základě zvednutí modré karty)

2-0308-0000

Danuše Nerudová (PPE), otázka položená zvednutím modré karty. – Děkuji za to, že jste přijal moji otázku. Od komunisty jsme tady slyšeli něco o svobodě slova. Já jsem zvědavá, co se dneska ještě dozvím, tak bych se ráda zeptala: Odsoudíte na půdě tohoto Parlamentu ruskou agresi na Ukrajině? Odsoudíte to, co dělá Rusko, že vraždí nevinné a unáší děti?

2-0309-0000

Ondřej Dostál (NI), odpověď na otázku položenou zvednutím modré karty. – Paní poslankyně opět začala dezinformací, neboť nejsem komunistou, byť komunisté jsou našimi váženými koaličními partnery. V mezinárodních věcech zastávám názor, že se pohybujeme od unipolárního světa k

multipolárnímu a měli bychom se starat o evropské záležitosti, nikoliv se vměšovat do záležitostí mezi nečlenskými státy.

2-0310-0000

Magdalena Adamowicz (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Dezinformacja to broń masowego rażenia i tak musimy ją wreszcie zacząć traktować. Kłamstwa, sianie nienawiści i teorii spiskowych, podburzanie jednych grup społecznych przeciwko drugim i rozpalenie ekstremizmów to wielkie zło. Atakuje bez ustanku setki milionów obywateli Unii Europejskiej, przynosząc także ofiary śmiertelne. Musimy zrozumieć, że dezinformacja jest wyjątkowo skuteczną i śmiertelną bronią w wojnie hybrydowej wypowiedzianej nam, wolnym i demokratycznym narodom, przez autorytarne reżimy Moskwy, Pekinu i Teheranu.

Skoro to wiemy, to wreszcie musimy zdecydowanie rozwinąć unijny mechanizm identyfikacji dezinformacji, pochodzącej szczególnie od wrogich, despotycznych tyranów i szczególnie w okresach wyborczych. Potrzebujemy systemowej edukacji, i to zarówno w obszarze umiejętności technicznych, jak i zdolności krytycznego myślenia. Posiadanie tych umiejętności zadziała jak szczepionka na dezinformację i wtedy jej zwalczanie będzie dużo prostsze. Nie możemy pozwolić, by nasza demokracja została oddana bez walki. Nie wolno nam zrezygnować z obrony naszej demokracji.

2-0311-0000

Timo Wölken (S&D). – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Diese Debatte um Desinformation und Missinformation ist verdammt wichtig, denn wir sehen doch immer mehr Wahlbeeinflussung und Beeinflussung der Themen auf diesen Plattformen. Wir hatten ursprünglich in dieser Debatte vorgesehen, dass wir über TikTok und X reden, und dann wollte auf einmal die rechte Seite des Hauses X nicht mehr im Titel haben. Sie wollten also lieber die europäische Debatte über Social-Media-Plattformen und echte Transparenz beschränken und zensieren, um sich bei Elon Musk anzubiedern – und das ist im Kampf gegen Online-Desinformation genau der falsche Weg.

Wir brauchen eine offene Debatte darüber, wie auf diesen Plattformen die Demokratie, aber eben auch der öffentliche Diskurs zerstört wird. Und dieser öffentliche Diskurs ist das höchste Gut in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft. Deswegen bin ich stolz darauf, dass wir hier im Europäischen Parlament im letzten Jahr mit dem *Digital Services Act*, dem europäischen Grundgesetz, ein Werkzeug geschaffen haben, das Zensur aus der Debatte raushält, die Plattformen aber verpflichtet, bei Gewaltaufrufen und anderen strafbaren Handlungen tätig zu werden.

Nur leider ist die Kommission bisher immer noch im Schlafwagen unterwegs. Heute mal wieder eine weitere Untersuchung zu eröffnen, obwohl wir doch bereits wissen, dass TikTok und X eine Gefahr für die Demokratie darstellen, ist zu wenig. Und wir dürfen uns deswegen nicht weiter erpressen lassen. Und vor allen Dingen dürfen wir uns nicht auf einen Kuhhandel einlassen, nur weil Musk von Trump jetzt einen *payback* für seine Unterstützung im Wahlkampf erwartet.

2-0312-0000

Anna Bryłka (NI). – Panie Przewodniczący! Według was demokratyczne i uczciwe wybory są wtedy, kiedy wygrywają wasi kandydaci, a waszych krytyków i opozycję cenzurujecie i niszczyacie. To jest definicja unijnej demokracji prezentowana przez brukselską elitę. Pokazaliście to, kiedy społeczeństwa Francji i Holandii odrzuciły Konstytucję dla Europy w 2005 roku. Pokazaliście to, wprowadzając instrumenty szantażu finansowego, manipulując wyborami w Polsce. Przecież to

wasza koleżanka Katarina Barley wprost powiedziała, że Polskę i Węgry trzeba zagłodzić finansowo. Niszczycie wolność słowa i swobodę debaty politycznej w Europie.

Jestem w grupie, którą umieściliście w kordonie sanitarnym, aby wykluczyć nas z pracy w Parlamencie Europejskim. Ursula von der Leyen jest dziś cesarzową Europy tak bardzo, że w imię niemieckich interesów podpisała umowę z Mercosur wbrew Francji i Polsce. Prowadzicie europejską gospodarkę do katastrofy ekonomicznej, a społeczeństwo – do biedy. Jeżeli gdzieś jest problem z demokracją w Europie, to na pewno w instytucjach Unii Europejskiej. Dziś cieszy się, że narodowi rumuńskiemu skradziono wybory, bo wygrał tam człowiek, którego nie lubicie, który nie tańczy, jak mu zagracie. Waszym marzeniem nie jest demokracja, ale cenzura mediów, polityków, a nawet zwykłych obywateli.

Unia Europejska jest ostatnią organizacją, która ma prawo pouczania narodów Europy o praworządności i demokracji. Uwaga! Już wkrótce wolne narody europejskie rozliczą wasze afery, machlojki i waszą hipokryzję.

2-0313-0000

Lara Magoni (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, una corretta informazione e un sistema mediatico imparziale, plurale e trasparente sono pilastri fondamentali della democrazia e della cultura europea.

Uno dei problemi più urgenti che l'Unione europea deve affrontare è rappresentato dalla disinformazione e dalle *fake news* online, che costituiscono una minaccia crescente per la vita democratica del nostro paese.

È essenziale che l'Unione europea elabori una strategia incisiva e mirata, in grado di garantire ai cittadini un accesso libero alle vere informazioni, combattendo tutto ciò che voglia distogliere dalla realtà delle cose.

Va riconosciuto un rischio altrettanto grave: quello di trasformare la lotta alla disinformazione in un pretesto per silenziare il dissenso o colpire avversari politici. Spesso le misure adottate per combattere le *fake news* finiscono per limitare il dibattito pubblico, censurando opinioni che non si conformano al pensiero dominante, come capita in Italia e in diversi Stati membri.

Questo atteggiamento non solo mina il pluralismo che vogliamo e dobbiamo difendere, ma rischia di erodere ulteriormente la fiducia dei cittadini.

La nostra sfida consiste nel raggiungere il giusto equilibrio tra la lotta alla disinformazione e il rispetto...

(Il Presidente toglie la parola all'oratrice)

2-0314-0000

Anna-Maja Henriksson (Renew). – Fru talman! Det viktigaste vi människor har är vår frihet. Frihet att rösta. Frihet att påverka. Frihet att välja våra liv. Fria och rättvisa val är också grundbulten i våra europeiska länder. Alla kandidater måste behandlas jämlikt och vi måste kunna vara säkra på att inte externa aktörer påverkar våra valprocesser.

De sociala medieplattformarna, som till exempel TikTok, för med sig både hot och möjligheter för våra samhällen. Vi människor påverkas av den information vi får se, läsa och höra. Plattformarna får inte bli ett hot mot vår demokrati.

Yttrandefriheten är inte heller en rätt för till exempel Ryssland att skapa fejkkonton för att påverka våra europeiska val eller för att manipulera väljare. Nu är det upp till kommissionen att utreda de misstankar som finns och att se till att våra regler efterlevs. Vi får inte vara naiva. Vår demokrati måste försvaras varje dag.

2-0315-0000

Aura Salla (PPE). – Mr President, TikTok is a danger to European democracy and security. Every user of this Chinese platform should understand that the second you log in to TikTok, you start giving your behavioural data to the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda machine for them to develop their services. When you click that cat video on TikTok or scroll to see your favourite influencer's page, you help terrorist countries like Russia to have a more impactful and more harmful tool to spread their disinformation, the concrete results of which we now see in Romania.

For years we have been super worried about data flows to US companies developing their social media platforms with European data. At the same time our kids and my fellow colleagues in this House are giving free access to their data to help the Chinese regime and Putin. We have a data transfer agreement with the US. We don't have an agreement with China and I think it is realistic to say that we will never have. The EU's digital regulation is powerless in addressing the comprehensive security threat TikTok is posing. We must stop being naive, allowing such a platform open to Russian exploitation to undermine our democracy. We should ban TikTok in Europe until we can ensure it cannot be weaponised to distort democracy and spread Russian propaganda.

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

2-0316-0000

Petr Bystron (ESN), *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“.* – Vielen Dank, dass Sie die Frage annehmen, das ist sehr nett von Ihnen.

Sie haben TikTok als große Gefahr für die Demokratie bezeichnet. Da wurde angeblich Demokratie untergraben. Jetzt wurde mein TikTok-Kanal als demokratisch gewählter Abgeordneter des Deutschen Bundestages abgeschaltet. Und als wir gefragt haben, warum, da hat uns der chinesische Betreiber mitgeteilt: auf Druck der deutschen Bundesregierung, weil ich die deutsche Regierung kritisiert habe in meinen Beiträgen.

Halten Sie das nicht für eine größere Gefahr für die Demokratie, wenn eine Regierung eine freie Plattform zensiert?

2-0317-0000

Aura Salla (PPE), *vastaus sinisen kortin kysymykseen.* – Kiinan laki on selvä: jos Kiinan valtio pyytää kiinalaiselta yritykseltä dataa käyttöönsä, sen on se saatava. Ja tästä pitää olla erittäin huolissaan. Meillä on datasopimus jenkkien kanssa. Meillä ei ole sitä Kiinan kanssa, ja me emme voi luottaa Kiinan viranomaisiin. Siitä syystä TikTok aiheuttaa aivan toisenlaisen turvallisuusuhan kuin mikään muu sosiaalisen median alusta.

2-0318-0000

Vasile Dîncu (S&D). – Domnule președinte, democrația funcționează pe bază de reguli și de responsabilitate, altfel este haos. De aceea, cred că discuția despre TikTok și rețele nu este numai o afacere românească, cum tinde să devină, ci este o problemă a întregii Uniuni Europene.

Aș vrea să spun un lucru, e adevărat că TikTok simplifică excesiv și polarizează comunicarea politică, dar să nu dăm vina doar pe platforme pentru ceea ce se întâmplă, pentru atitudini sau comportamente politice, pentru că și noi în politică simplificăm foarte mult. Și vă dau un exemplu: suntem împărțiți și în România, și aici, în Parlament, în proeuropeni și suveraniști sau patrioți. A lăsa eticheta de proeuropeni înseamnă că ceilalți nu sunt cu Europa sau că Europa ar avea ceva care este împotriva intereselor naționale. Ambele afirmații sunt false, deci aceasta este o simplificare.

De aceea cred că trebuie să trecem la reglementări fără a face cenzură și fără a interzice rețelele. Meta, de exemplu, Facebook nu a respectat legislația UE. De exemplu, un studiu independent din România a arătat că au existat 25 de pagini de Facebook care au fost vizionate de 160 de milioane de ori și au făcut propagandă pentru un anumit candidat, pentru candidatul Georgescu.

De asemenea, cred că legislația este cu adevărat importantă. Ar trebui să creăm o celulă de criză la nivelul Uniunii Europene, de la *Cybersecurity Agency*, care să colaboreze cu alte țări pentru a vedea ce avem de făcut în viitor. Sigur, trebuie și alte reglementări, dar acestea vor veni cu siguranță.

2-0319-0000

András László (PFE). – Elnök Úr! A baloldalnak a régi, jól bevált módszere, hogy a nekik nem tetsző véleményeket megpróbálják elhallgattatni. A Twitter korábban egy baloldali cenzúráról hemzsegő platform volt. A cenzorok tízszer annyi jobboldali fiókot függesztettek fel, mint baloldalit – beleértve az amerikai elnökét, Donald Trumpét –, és a baloldal üdvözölte ezt a cenzúrárt. Amikor Elon Musk kirúgta a baloldali cenzorokat, akkor egyből baloldali ösztűz zúdult rá. Még a Bizottság is cenzúrával fenyegette meg. Teljesen abszurd.

Biztos Úr, kérem, ne kövesse elődjének a rossz példáját. Ha egy országban a baloldalnak nem megfelelő választási eredmény születik, az nem azért van, mert a demokrácia sérül. A választóknak egész egyszerűen elégük van a baloldali hazugságokból. Ideje lenne, hogy végre megértsék: az európai emberek nem kérnek a cenzúrából, és nem kérnek az elhibázott baloldali politikákból.

2-0320-0000

Georgiana Teodorescu (ECR). – Domnule președinte, articolul 10 din Convenția Europeană a Drepturilor Omului consacră libertatea de exprimare. Orice persoană are dreptul la libertate de exprimare. Acest drept cuprinde libertatea de opinie și libertatea de a primi sau de a comunica informații ori idei, fără amestecul autorităților publice și fără a ține seama de frontiere.

Singurele îngrădiri permise ale acestui drept esențial al ființei umane vizează securitatea națională, integritatea teritorială sau siguranța publică, apărarea ordinii, precum și prevenirea infracțiunilor, protecția sănătății sau a moralei, protecția reputației sau a drepturilor altora.

Platformele online de tip TikTok, Facebook, Instagram, X reprezintă mijloace contemporane de exprimare, ele înlocuind treptat mijloacele clasice. Astăzi, nu doar jurnaliștii sau persoanele publice pot emite cu ușurință opinii în spațiul public, ci orice cetățean prin intermediul lor.

Astăzi, mai mult ca niciodată, opinia oricui contează. O limitare a dreptului la liberă exprimare, bazată doar pe supoziții, fără dovezi concrete că ne regăsim pe tărâmul îngrădirilor permise de CEDO, transformă libertatea în cenzură și democrația în dictatură.

2-0321-0000

Eugen Tomac (Renew). – Domnule președinte, vreau să prezint succint ce s-a întâmplat de fapt în România la ultimele alegeri prezidențiale, pentru că în mod clar, alegerile au fost influențate și a existat un interes direct al Federației Ruse ca acest lucru să se întâmple.

Cum? Foarte simplu. Este imposibil ca un candidat aflat cu 5 %, cu doar două săptămâni înainte de alegeri, să ajungă pe locul 9 la nivel mondial în trendurile video pe TikTok, în condițiile în care această aplicație are un miliard de utilizatori.

Singura presă care a aplaudat această victorie a fost presa de la Moscova. Însuși Putin a criticat decizia autorităților de a renumăra buletinele de vot. Interesul Rusiei de a-și plasa un om în fruntea statului român a fost evident și, în momentul de față, nu ce se întâmplă în România trebuie să dezbatem, ci ce se întâmplă cu această platformă în Europa, pentru că democrația este în mod real amenințată.

2-0322-0000

Sunčana Glavak (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, društvene mreže nedvojbeno se koriste i za utjecaj na političke procese, uključujući izbore u Europi. Podsjetit ću vas samo. Širenje dezinformacija i lažnih vijesti tijekom kampanja za europske izbore – Njemačka, Francuska, Italija. Dezinformacijske kampanje bile su prisutne na društvenim mrežama. Botovi, lažni profili, organizirane kampanje. Strani utjecaji, hibridno ratovanje, posebno Rusija. Društvene mreže korištene su za utjecaj na izbore u Europi. Sjetite se samo Brexit referenduma. Sjetite se izbora u Francuskoj. A jednako tako hakerski napadi i curenje informacija. Sjetite se Macron Leaksa 2017. Mikrociljanje birača i manipulacija. Skandal s Cambridge Analyticom pokazao je kako se privatni podaci mogu zloupotrijebiti za manipulaciju biračima. Polarizacija i eho komore, gdje korisnici vide samo informacije koje potvrđuju njihove postojeće stavove, što produbljuje podjele unutar društva. Ovo je samo podsjetnik na ono što se već događalo.

Čuli smo danas da EASA obvezuje velike *online* platforme da vode detaljnu evidenciju o političkim oglasima i kriterijima njihova ciljanja, što smo svjedoci da se ne događa stalno. Posebno izvješće koje su potpisnice Kodeksa dobre prakse u suzbijanju dezinformacija podijelile nakon europskih izbora pokazuje poražavajuće činjenice – koliko je moralo biti skinuto podataka, koliko je brz razvoj taktika dezinformacije i koliko se uključuje upotreba *deep fake* sadržaja i sadržaja generiranog umjetnom inteligencijom. S obzirom da niste primijetili moj *blue card*, sada ću zamoliti da mi dozvolite deset sekundi kako bih odgovorila kolegi kojeg nažalost nema ovdje više u dvorani da budu u svojim političkim djelovanjima odgovorni, da odrastu i da ne koriste *deep fake* sadr...

(Predsjedavajući je govornici oduzeo riječ)

2-0323-0000

Sabrina Repp (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Der Brexit, die Wiederwahl von Trump und die Wahlen in Rumänien: Der Einfluss von Plattformen wie TikTok und anderen sozialen Medien auf unsere Demokratie ist unübersehbar. Diese Ereignisse zeigen, welche Konsequenzen es haben kann, wenn Algorithmen – gesteuert von Autokraten – entscheiden, welche Inhalte wir sehen. Gezielt versuchen Autokratinnen und Autokraten insbesondere junge Menschen über die sozialen Medien durch antidemokratische, menschenverachtende Videos zu radikalieren und eine Parallelwelt, gekennzeichnet durch Hass, Hetze und die Verbreitung von Angstsznarien, zu erschaffen.

Wo Rechten sonst niemand zuhört, erhalten sie in den sozialen Medien einen uneingeschränkten Zugang zu einem großen Publikum, ohne dabei mit einer tatsächlichen Kontrollinstanz konfrontiert zu sein. Es kommt mehr und mehr zur Enthemmung rechter Meinungen und Symboliken, getreu dem Motto „Raus aus dem digitalen Raum, rein in die Realität“. Es braucht zentrale Aufklärungskampagnen, Medienkompetenz. Es braucht eine bessere Verfolgung und Überwachung von Hass im Netz, eine konsequente Strafverfolgung von Straftaten im Zusammenhang mit Hassrede, Fake News und Gewaltaufrufen.

Soziale Medien sollten keine Ängste schüren und Hass und Hetze verbreiten. Sie sind da, um Brücken zu bauen, um einander näher zu bringen, um uns zu inspirieren. Dabei endet Demokratie weder an nationalen Grenzen noch im Internet. Das bedeutet für uns, auch dort den Autokratinnen und Autokraten den Kampf anzusagen und uns nicht von der Tageslaune eines Elon Musk, eines Mark Zuckerberg oder gar eines Wladimir Putin abhängig zu machen.

2-0324-0000

Tiago Moreira de Sá (PFE). – Senhor Presidente, este debate é tanto sobre o TikTok como contra as redes sociais e o medo do poder que elas dão ao cidadão comum.

Se o século XX foi chamado «o século do povo», o século XXI vai ficar na história como o século do poder do povo. E isso deve-se essencialmente ao X, ao Instagram, ao Facebook, ao TikTok.

Sob o pretexto de se combater a desinformação e o discurso de ódio ou de impedir ingerências externas, o que verdadeiramente se pretende é destruir a revolução política que as redes sociais estão a levar a cabo, ao aumentarem, de forma sem precedentes, o poder do povo, ao mesmo tempo que reduzem o poder dos representantes.

O que está em causa é a reação da atual elite do poder à passagem da democracia representativa para a democracia participativa. O que está em causa é o medo que as elites têm do povo.

Mas este debate é também contra todos os protagonistas da atual revolução política e tecnológica. É contra Donald Trump, é contra Elon Musk, é contra os partidos políticos hoje agrupados no Patriots for Europe. E, pior que tudo, este debate é sobre o medo da liberdade, o combustível de todas as tiranias.

Voltemos, pois, a Karl Popper, à sua defesa da sociedade aberta e ao seu paradoxo da tolerância que se referia, convém lembrar, a «punhos e pistolas», não a opiniões e ideias.

(O orador aceita responder a uma pergunta «cartão azul»)

2-0325-0000

Bruno Gonçalves (S&D), Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhor Deputado, aqui não faz uma apologia da liberdade, faz uma apologia da vítima, em que a vítima são os seus eleitores, é o Senhor Deputado e é o seu grupo político.

Ora, a liberdade que tanto fala é a liberdade para a intolerância, é a liberdade para o ódio, é a liberdade para as contas falsas. Como eu entendo que o Senhor Deputado não entende a linguagem da liberdade de Soares e de tantos outros, falarei na sua linguagem, na linguagem da segurança e na linguagem das famílias.

Eu acho que o Senhor Deputado reconhece que as famílias, quando não deixam crianças sair de casa com desconhecidos, o fazem por segurança. Então porque é que o deveriam fazer nas redes

sociais, quando há 25 000 contas, como nas eleições da Roménia, que aparecem dez dias antes? Porque é que o devem fazer para a tolerância do ódio? E porque é que o devem fazer quando todos os utilizadores do TikTok não toleram mais do que os seus próprios?

2-0326-0000

Tiago Moreira de Sá (PFE), *Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul»*. – Senhor Deputado, muito obrigado pela pergunta. De vítima não, pelo contrário, de confiança, a confiança de quem não tem medo das redes sociais e de quem não tem medo da liberdade.

E a resposta à sua pergunta é uma só: é a confiança no povo, no discernimento do povo, no bom senso do povo, na inteligência do povo. Sendo que, além de tudo o resto, a alternativa, que é proibir e censurar, é sempre muito pior do que os riscos que a liberdade eventualmente tenha, segundo a sua pergunta.

Eu penso que a liberdade não tem riscos. A liberdade deve ser total e é sempre bem-vinda.

2-0327-0000

Fernand Kartheiser (ECR). – Monsieur le Président, les événements en Roumanie sont plus que préoccupants. En prenant comme prétexte une éventuelle ingérence étrangère par le biais de TikTok, des élections démocratiques ont été annulées avec l'accord de la Commission et en violation de la Constitution roumaine. Or, une ingérence via TikTok n'est pas encore établie, alors qu'en même temps, il y a eu de nombreuses ingérences politiques occidentales dans la campagne électorale roumaine.

Par son règlement sur les services numériques, la Commission européenne s'immisce elle-même dans le processus démocratique en Roumanie et viole la souveraineté de cet État membre dans l'intention d'éliminer un candidat qui ne lui convient pas. Au lieu de censurer les réseaux sociaux, nous ferions mieux de censurer la Commission européenne. Il faut abolir les instruments autoritaires et antidémocratiques dans le règlement sur les services numériques. La Roumanie ne doit pas devenir un précédent pour permettre un totalitarisme de la part de la Commission européenne.

2-0328-0000

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Mr President, colleagues, the EU and its democracy is under attack. It is under attack from nefarious third countries who simply do not like our way of life and the values that we cherish here: the rule of law, democracy, equality, media and judicial independence.

And it is being facilitated by social media platforms who wilfully allow the spread of misinformation and disinformation. We saw firsthand how it can skew elections following the recent Romanian presidential election, where an unknown far-right candidate was catapulted into first place through the use of TikTok. We saw it in Ireland when X's owner, Elon Musk, attempted to fan the flames of discord and amplify the voices of extreme candidates, parties and opinions.

In Ireland, we were lucky. The Irish people saw through what was happening and no far-right candidates were elected. But will we be lucky every time? Will we be lucky in the next election? Europe needs to act. I look forward to the work of the Special Committee on the European Democracy Shield, and I am confident that you, Commissioner McGrath, will ensure that our democracy and our electoral systems are fit for purpose, safe, secure and transparent.

2-0329-0000

PREȘEDINȚIA: VICTOR NEGRESCU*Vicepreședinte*

2-0330-0000

Wouter Beke (PPE). – Voorzitter, collega's, commissaris, onze westerse democratie, die valt of staat met het vertrouwen van verkiezingen en in verkiezingen. Objectieve, eerlijke, onpartijdige verkiezingen vormen het absolute fundament van een westerse democratische samenleving. Zoals Nelson Mandela ooit terecht zei: "een vrije pers, vrije mening". Vrije media is essentieel voor het functioneren van onze democratie.

Voor velen van ons is die pers vandaag ook sociale media. Het is dan ook onacceptabel dat sociale mediaplatformen die cruciale rol niet vervullen. Het feit dat ze zich laten misbruiken door figuren als Vladimir Poetin is simpelweg onaanvaardbaar.

Voor de invoering van de Digital Service Act kon de Commissie zich nog verschuilen achter een gebrek aan instrumenten, een gebrek aan tools om op te treden. Vandaag kan ze dit niet meer. Daarom roep ik de Commissie op om deze kwestie tot op het bot uit te zoeken. De verantwoordelijkheid van platformen zoals TikTok in de beïnvloeding van de Roemeense verkiezingen moet duidelijk in kaart gebracht worden en vervolgens moeten er sancties komen, juiste sancties en maatregelen. Wie toelaat dat een autocraat, een oorlogsmisdadiger, zich mengt in verkiezingen in Europa, die kan net zo goed de democratie en de vrije verkiezingen opdoeken.

Laten we er samen voor zorgen dat onze verkiezingen vrij en eerlijk blijven, en beschermd tegen buitenlandse inmenging en misbruiken van sociale mediaplatformen. Onze democratie, die verdient niets minder.

2-0331-0000

Matjaž Nemeč (S&D). – Gospod predsednik! Spoštovani visoki zbor! Soočamo se s poplavo dezinformacij, ki so vse večja grožnja demokraciji, predvsem pa volilnim procesom.

To smo med drugim videli tudi že pri brexitreferendumu leta 2016. In čeprav se današnja razprava osredotoča predvsem na omrežje TikTok, ni nič manj, ampak je morda celo še bolj problematičen, Muskov X -platforma, ki je pod pretvezo svobode govora in brez pravih mehanizmov preverjanja dejstev postala leglo manipulacij in lažnih novic.

Spoštovani, nova tehnologija in družbena omrežja omogočajo hitrejše in bolj usmerjeno širjenje napačnih informacij. Manipulacija z državljani še nikoli ni bila tako preprosta, njen učinek pa katastrofalen. Nedavne volitve v Romuniji so eklatanten primer tujega vmešavanja v volilni proces preko TikToka, zaradi česar je ustavno sodišče celo razveljavilo predsedniške volitve.

Ta primer razgalja, da očitno še nismo uspeli povsem zavarovati naših državljanek in državljanov in naše demokracije. Dosledno spoštovanje prelomnih evropskih pravil o digitalnih storitvah je zato ključno, spoštovani. Zato pozdravljam tudi današnjo odločitev Komisije glede formalnega postopka preverjanja TikToka.

Prevečkrat smo priča, da platforme prepočasi ali pa sploh ne ukrepajo. S tem pa hote ali nehote neposredno tudi vplivajo na odločitev ljudi. Spoštovane kolegice in kolegi, naš demokratični proces je preveč dragocen, da bi ga prepustili v nemilost zavajajočih informacij in neodgovornosti. Zato je potrebno ustrezno ukrepati.

2-0332-0000

Catherine Griset (PFE). – Monsieur le Président, lorsque la Commission parle de désinformation, elle sait de quoi elle parle, elle qui multiplie les mécanismes de contrôle des médias et des réseaux sociaux pour imposer sa pensée unique. En Roumanie, la Cour constitutionnelle a récemment invalidé des élections sous prétexte que les citoyens auraient été manipulés par des vidéos sur TikTok. Qui peut croire une telle absurdité?

Oui, les ingérences étrangères dans les élections existent. Mais l'Union européenne n'est-elle pas la première à s'ingérer dans les élections, comme on l'a vu en Moldavie, en Géorgie, et maintenant en Roumanie? Le Parlement européen lui-même a organisé une formation pour des influenceurs de gauche et d'extrême gauche pendant les élections européennes. Et voilà qu'on annule désormais des élections au sein de l'Union pour suspicion d'ingérence.

On croyait ces méthodes réservées aux régimes totalitaires. L'instrumentalisation de la lutte contre la désinformation pourrait bien devenir le tombeau des européistes. La censure d'informations est déjà une ligne rouge inacceptable, mais s'attaquer à la souveraineté du vote des Européens dépasse toutes les limites.

2-0333-0000

Piotr Müller (ECR). – Szanowni Państwo! Wolność słowa to podstawa każdego systemu demokratycznego. Ja mam wrażenie, że na tej sali są ludzie, którzy by chcieli naruszyć fundamenty demokracji, właśnie naruszając wolność słowa, w tym wypadku wolność słowa w internecie. Część z Państwa na tej sali bardzo by chciała, żeby w jakiś cudowny sposób Komisja Europejska lub inne instytucje unijne działały w taki oświecony sposób i prewencyjnie pewnych treści zakazywały.

Któż miałby o tym decydować, Szanowni Państwo? Urzędnicy z Komisji Europejskiej? Państwo po lewej stronie chcieliby o tym decydować? Właśnie nie. To ma być wolność słowa, czyli krótko mówiąc wolność wypowiedzi w różnych warunkach.

Jeżeli chcecie walczyć z dezinformacją, to skupmy się na działaniach edukacyjnych. Pokażmy, w jaki sposób należy z nią walczyć, jak tłumaczyć *fake newsy*, które się pojawiają. Ale nie idźcie instrumentami cenzury, którą niestety bardzo dobrze znamy z czasów komunistycznych w Polsce.

Pana Komisarza, natomiast, bym bardzo prosił, żeby udzielił odpowiedzi na pytanie dotyczące tych działań, które podejmowała poprzednia Komisja wobec platformy X, bo do tej pory nie otrzymałem odpowiedzi w tej sprawie.

2-0334-0000

Engin Eroglu (Renew). – Sehr geehrter Herr Vizepräsident, sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar! Sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar, ich möchte heute vor allem zu Ihnen sprechen. In der Europäischen Union sind wir für vieles verantwortlich, vor allem für die Gesundheit, die körperliche Gesundheit und auch für die geistige Gesundheit der Menschen. In der körperlichen Gesundheit sind wir völlig überreguliert. Wenn wir uns anschauen, welche Regulierungen wir dabei haben, wenn ein Stückchen Käse hergestellt wird, von der Kuh, was sie zu essen bekommt im Stall, bis zu dem, was aus der Kuh hinten rauskommt, bis zu dem Produkt mit Zutatenliste im Supermarkt – immer wieder Kontrollen, Kontrollen. Und wenn dann einmal in einem Stück Käse etwas Kunststoff ist, ziehen wir Tonnen von Käse wieder zurück und vernichten ihn, damit bloß keine körperliche Versehrtheit entsteht.

Und bei der geistigen Gesundheit, da schauen wir weg, Herr Kommissar. Und Sie haben es in der Hand. Sie haben in der Hand, wie die geistige Gesundheit der künftigen Generationen ist. Wenn wir die Zutatenliste, den Algorithmus von TikTok nicht bekommen, dann fordere ich Sie auf, TikTok zu verbieten! Bei jedem Lebensmittel machen wir das, aber nicht beim Algorithmus – und das ist in Ihrer Verantwortung.

2-0335-0000

Sandra Kalniete (PPE). – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Godātie kolēģi! Rumānijas prezidenta vēlēšanās notikušais nav pārsteigums. Iepriekšējā mandātā par šādu scenāriju brīdināja INGE komitejas ziņojumi.

Putina kandidāta uzvara tika panākta ar tiešu agresorvalsts iejaukšanos vēlēšanās, kampaņā iepludinot miljoniem dolāru, lai finansētu influenserus, manipulējot ar sociālo mediju platformu algoritmiem un viltojot kontus.

Nebūsim naivi! Pirmais mēģinājums bija Moldovā, kur šis scenārijs nenostādāja. Taču Kremlis to uzlabos un turpmāk atkārtos katrās nākamajās vēlēšanās kādā Eiropas Savienības valstī. Mums ir nopietni jāgatavojas šādiem uzbrukumiem, konsekventi jāsauc pie atbildības e-platformas, arī TikTok, par politisko kampaņu nelikumīgu finansējumu. Digitālā servisa akts paredz naudas sodus, taču pagaidām personas, kas nodarbojas ar šīm nelikumīgajām darbībām, netiek sankcionētas. Tā ir likuma nepilnība, kura ir jālabo. Tikpat svarīgi ir neitralizēt pašu ļaunuma sakni, tāpēc mums ir neatlaidīgi jāvēlās Kremli, gan atbalstot Ukrainu, gan vērsot pret to smacējošas ekonomiskās sankcijas, līdz Putina režīms sabrūk. Demokrātija nav pašsaprotama, mūsu pienākums ir to sargāt no naidīgiem uzbrukumiem.

2-0336-0000

Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, quelques chiffres: 85 000 cyberattaques, 8 millions d'abonnés des plus de 100 influenceurs qui ont été mobilisés pour promouvoir la campagne du candidat prorusse Georgescu, 25 000, soit le nombre de comptes actifs sur lequel s'est appuyée la stratégie de manipulation de l'information. Crédité de 1 % des intentions de vote à quatre semaines du scrutin, ce candidat remporte près de 23 % des voix au premier tour de l'élection présidentielle. Mais pas la moindre réaction de TikTok quand les services roumains ont alerté la plateforme sur l'opération de déstabilisation en cours.

Alors, dans ce débat, j'entends les voix de ces pseudo-patriotes de l'extrême droite qui ne sont absolument pas dérangés par les ingérences étrangères et russes, en particulier dans nos élections. Mais protéger la souveraineté de nos nations, c'est d'abord protéger la capacité de nos peuples à s'exprimer librement sans être les victimes de manipulations étrangères grâce à des plateformes qui sapent nos démocraties.

L'attaque contre la démocratie roumaine fait partie de la guerre hybride lancée contre nos démocraties par le régime de Poutine. Pendant cinq ans, quand j'étais à la tête de la commission spéciale sur les ingérences étrangères, j'ai alerté mes collègues pour tenter de leur faire comprendre la gravité de la situation. La Roumanie n'est pas un cas isolé. C'est notre avenir à tous qui est menacé si nous ne nous réveillons pas.

TikTok, présenté comme une simple plateforme de divertissement, est un outil puissant de manipulation. Des acteurs étrangers, au premier rang desquels la Russie, exploitent ses algorithmes pour fausser notre débat public et semer le chaos dans nos pays. Il faut désormais que ces plateformes obéissent à nos règles, ou alors nous devons les interdire.

2-0337-0000

Roman Haider (PFE). – Herr Präsident! Hat es eine ausländische Beeinflussung der Wahl in Rumänien gegeben? Möglicherweise. Sind dafür Social-Media-Kanäle genutzt worden? Auch gut möglich.

Die gezielte Beeinflussung von Wählern durch Medien ist so alt wie die Demokratie selbst. Jeder mündige Bürger sollte sich dessen bewusst sein, und dann ist das auch nicht problematisch für die Demokratie. Eins ist aber ohne jede Frage eine ernste Gefahr für die Demokratie, und das ist Zensur, staatliche Zensur, die Einschränkung der Medienfreiheit durch Zensur.

Genau das praktiziert die EU mit dem *Digital Services Act*. Hier wird eine rote Linie überschritten. Es ist legitim, sich gegen ausländische Beeinflussung zu wehren, aber Zensur darf niemals das Mittel der Wahl sein. Die EU hat sich hier leider auf einen hochproblematischen Weg begeben. Mit Verboten und mit Zensur wird man die Demokratie nicht retten; mit Verboten und mit Zensur wird man die Demokratie zerstören.

2-0338-0000

Marco Squarta (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la lotta contro la disinformazione rappresenta una sfida cruciale e urgente.

Viviamo in un'epoca in cui piattaforme come TikTok e i social network stanno ridefinendo il nostro spazio pubblico, influenzando profondamente il dibattito e la formazione dell'opinione pubblica.

Eppure l'Unione europea non sta ancora investendo abbastanza in educazione mediatica, uno strumento essenziale per preparare i nostri giovani a riconoscere, analizzare e interpretare le informazioni in modo critico.

Ma c'è di più: le piattaforme devono essere responsabili, soprattutto durante i periodi elettorali, ma senza trasformare questa responsabilità in un controllo ipertrofico che soffochi innovazione e libera iniziativa.

La risposta alla disinformazione non può e non deve mai tradursi in una dittatura culturale: in nome della sicurezza troppo spesso, infatti, assistiamo a derive che portano alla censura ideologica o alla limitazione della libertà di espressione.

L'Unione europea non deve ergersi a giudice supremo della verità, perché è proprio nella pluralità, anche quella più difficile da accettare, che risiede la forza della nostra democrazia europea.

2-0339-0000

Helmut Brandstätter (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Russland und China mischen sich in unsere Demokratie, mischen sich in unsere Wahlen ein. Die Rechtsextremisten stört das nicht, sondern sie freuen sich sogar darüber, und dann kommen sie und reden von Zensur.

Das Interessante ist: Sie verwenden dieselben Formulierungen, die die Putin-Propagandisten verwenden. Wir sehen hier einen starken Zusammenhang. Das sind also Putins Freunde, die hier ihre Meinung vertreten, nein, Putins Meinung vertreten. Soziale Medien sind natürlich

Information, sie sind Unterhaltung. Aber von diesen Leuten – von Putin – werden sie auch als Waffen verwendet und da sage ich: Endlich aufwachen! Wir müssen uns dagegen wehren.

Wir wissen, dass es Menschen gibt, die auf unseren sozialen Medien publizieren – obwohl sie ja sanktioniert sind, weil sie Diktaturen vertreten, weil sie zum Genozid gegen die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer aufrufen. Das ist auch strafrechtlich verboten. Und wie können sie herauskommen und sagen: „Das soll alles gesagt werden dürfen“? Nein, es gibt ein Strafrecht, es gibt Anstand! Mit dem haben sie offensichtlich nichts zu tun.

Weil Karl Popper erwähnt wurde, der Österreicher Sir Karl Popper, noch ein letztes Wort: Optimismus ist Pflicht.

2-0340-0000

Arba Kokalari (PPE). – Mr President, colleagues, we have war in Europe and we are fighting the battle both on the ground and online.

In Romania, we see the results of the Russian attacks on European countries and our elections enabled by Chinese social media platform TikTok.

This must be stopped because next year we have new elections in Europe: in Germany, in Denmark, in Austria, in Poland, Portugal, Romania, Ireland, Czechia.

It's a long list and they are also under the risk to be attacked by Russia. It's enough now with the fine nice words and the excuses from TikTok. TikTok must follow the EU laws and if TikTok does not take actions against Russian disinformation, we will take actions against TikTok. It's enough now.

2-0341-0000

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, dezbaterem de câteva ore o problemă esențială. E adevărat că mulți nu s-au uitat la titlul dezbaterii și au vorbit despre cu totul altceva. Aici vorbim, domnule comisar, de rolul comisiei conform tratatelor, rolul de gardian, de a verifica dacă se respectă sau nu regulile, pentru că mulți eurodeputați din extrema dreaptă ar dori să fie așa, un fel de haos.

Cred că trebuie să le dăm o carte cu definiția democrației, cu ce înseamnă dreptul la exprimare. Libera exprimare nu înseamnă să încalce dreptul mie, spunând despre mine ceva, încălcându-mi dreptul la imagine.

De asemenea, s-a vorbit aici de faptul că se restrâng drepturile platformelor. Nu, există un regulament și toate platformele, nu numai TikTok, trebuie să respecte acest regulament. Noi am spus aici și am votat: tot ce este în offline trebuie să fie și în online, tot ce intră din țări terțe în piața internă a Uniunii Europene, tocmai am sărbătorit 30 de ani, trebuie să respecte standardele și regulile din Uniunea Europeană.

Despre asta este vorba, stimați colegi, îmi pare rău că au fost dezinformări făcute de eurodeputați și este trist că am ajuns în 2024 ca eurodeputați să dezinformeze cetățenii. Asta cer, domnule comisar, să analizați, să se aplice regulamentele.

2-0342-0000

Juan Carlos Girauta Vidal (PFE). – Señor presidente, estoy oyendo aquí una especie de amenazas sobre cerrar las redes. Miren, si cierran TikTok, a mí personalmente me parecerá fantástico, porque es una empresa cuya matriz está en Pekín y, por lo tanto, es una red llena de datos de miles de millones de personas que en realidad está controlada por un régimen comunista feroz.

Pero ese no es el caso de otras redes sociales. Estoy oyendo cosas que suenan muy poco democráticas. ¿Cómo van a hacer para detener ciertas publicaciones en una red como X, por ejemplo, donde las notas de la comunidad permiten corregir las falsedades que otros usuarios puedan publicar? Ustedes creen poco en la complejidad. La forma de organizarse de los sistemas complejos, cuando aparecen mentiras flagrantes, es justamente la autoorganización, cosa en la que creen poco los dirigistas.

2-0343-0000

Kosma Złotowski (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Próby wpływania na wyniki wyborów w Europie przez naszych wrogów nie są nowym problemem. Internet sprawia, że jest to po prostu dużo łatwiejsze niż dawniej. Mamy narzędzia, by z tym walczyć. Rozumiemy też, jak działa rosyjska dezinformacja. Służby państwowe muszą być skuteczniejsze w tym, do czego zostały powołane. Istnieje jednak pokusa, której ulega wielu, polegająca na tłumaczeniu dezinformacją każdej politycznej porażki.

Młodzi politycy, dopiero rozpoczynający swoje kariery, potrafią umiejętnie korzystać z mediów społecznościowych i budzą tym zazdrość. W reakcji na to próbuje się używać hasła dezinformacja jako pretekstu do zwalczania politycznych rywali. Od wyroków demokratycznych nie ma odwołania. Obawy przed zagraniczną ingerencją w wybory nie mogą dawać prawa do unieważnienia ich wyników bezpodstawnie. To, że wynik wyborów jest niezgodny z oczekiwaniami, to także, a czasem przede wszystkim, wina przegranego.

My w Prawie i Sprawiedliwości wiemy coś o tym. A wybory w demokracjach trzeba umieć wygrywać i przegrywać.

2-0344-0000

Michał Kobosko (Renew). – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, fake news, manipulation and simple lies pose a serious threat to the integrity of our democracies. These threats are not abstract. We can see how disinformation is being used today to divide societies, undermine citizens' trust in politicians and state institutions, or even influence scientific achievements.

There are numerous examples, from false information on vaccines to manipulation regarding climate change. A single fake video or a manipulated post can destabilise democracy and elections in our Member States.

This is not just a TikTok problem in Romania. Just yesterday, reports emerged that before the 2023 parliamentary elections in Poland, hackers – likely acting on behalf of Russian secret service – sent out nearly 200 000 text messages urging votes for the then ruling Law and Justice Party. They unsuccessfully attempted to send another 600 000 messages.

Our response has to be strong. Democracy cannot survive if citizens do not have access to the truthful information. We must create effective regulations that will target those who deliberately spread lies and disinformation.

2-0345-0000

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, ως Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο έχουμε την ευθύνη να διαφυλάξουμε τη δημοκρατία και να ασκήσουμε τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα σε έναν κόσμο που αλλάζει ραγδαία.

Τα social media είναι όπως το μαχαίρι. Εξαρτάται σε ποιου το χέρι θα βρεθεί. Αν χρησιμοποιηθούν σωστά, προάγουν τη δημοκρατία. Αν χρησιμοποιηθούν για άλλους σκοπούς, μπορεί ακόμη και να την καταλύσουν. Ψεύτικες ειδήσεις, αλγόριθμοι που προωθούν το ακραίο και κατευθυνόμενες αφηγήσεις υπονομεύουν τη δημοκρατία μας και το δικαίωμα των Ευρωπαίων πολιτών στην αλήθεια.

Από την άλλη, κανείς δεν μπορεί να παραγνωρίσει ότι αποτελούν πηγή πληροφόρησης, ενισχύοντας το δικαίωμα των πολιτών να είναι ενήμεροι για τα πάντα. Λέγοντας αυτά, υποστηρίζω σθεναρά ότι η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση πρέπει να δράσει άμεσα και να επιβάλει κανόνες διαφάνειας και λογοδοσίας στις ψηφιακές πλατφόρμες. Οι πολίτες αξίζουν έναν δημόσιο διάλογο βασισμένο στην αλήθεια. Και εμείς ως Ευρωκοινοβούλιο οφείλουμε να τον διασφαλίσουμε.

2-0346-0000

Evin Incir (S&D). – Mr President, Commissioner McGrath, colleagues, disinformation is a real threat to our Union, to all of our democracies, and to our peace and security. It is a cynical, but effective, tool used by hostile foreign powers as well as right-wing political parties, unfortunately. The troll farm in Sweden, for example, belongs to the Sweden Democrats – a part of the ECR Group. It was exposed earlier this year and is a troubling example. Such activities, echoed by far-right movements across Europe, use disinformation and misinformation to spread lies and manipulate to try to influence our citizens during, for example, election times.

Yet social media platforms also bear significant responsibility for this use and for this issue. Their algorithms prioritise engagement over truth and often allow disinformation campaigns to thrive unchecked. So not only do we need to ensure the Digital Service Act is quickly and ambitiously enforced, but we also need to ensure that social media platforms take their responsibility. The year is 2024, and even criminal gangs can recruit young people into organised crime. This is unacceptable.

2-0347-0000

Julien Sanchez (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, parfois, dans ce Parlement, vous voudriez nous faire croire que vous vous battez pour les libertés. Alors, comme tout à l'heure avec le prix Sakharov, vous faites venir des gens ici, dans le public. Vous les faites applaudir – à juste titre – pour leurs actions en faveur des libertés dans le monde, sachant que vous seriez souvent incapables de faire ce qu'ils font, car c'est la peur qui guide aujourd'hui le plus grand nombre des politiques européennes.

Puis vous vous apercevez que la liberté d'expression permet aussi à vos adversaires de s'exprimer. Et alors là, la liberté devient un crime, et vous tentez de reprendre le contrôle sur les populations. Ainsi, en ce moment, en Roumanie, vous voudriez nous faire croire que TikTok aurait ordonné aux électeurs d'aller voter pour un candidat. Vous soutenez même l'annulation des élections démocratiques pour cette seule raison. Incroyable! Comme si les citoyens étaient suffisamment stupides pour aller voter en fonction de TikTok... Vous rendez-vous compte de l'infantilisation absolument délirante que vous et vos amis commettez?

Nous croyons, nous, aux Patriotes pour l'Europe, à l'exercice du sens critique de chacun. C'est aux citoyens de recevoir les informations, de les trier et de les choisir. Ce n'est pas à vous de modérer

TikTok aujourd'hui ou la presse demain. Sinon, cela s'appelle soit de la censure, soit une dictature, soit une secte. Et nous ne souhaitons pas avoir de gourou.

2-0348-0000

Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, înainte de a vorbi despre anularea alegerilor prezidențiale din România, cred că ar fi indicat pentru toți cei care iau cuvântul pe această temă să citească hotărârea Curții Constituționale din România, pentru că ceea ce am auzit în cadrul acestei dezbateri este absolut halucinant.

Am auzit pe unii spunând că e imperativă cenzurarea platformei TikTok în Europa și pe alții spunând că a existat un atac la democrație prin hotărârea respectivă. Citesc un paragraf pentru a înțelege cu toții ceea ce s-a întâmplat cu adevărat în România: „A avut loc o manipulare a votului alegătorilor și distorsionarea egalității de șanse a competitorilor electorali prin utilizarea netransparentă și cu încălcarea legislației electorale, a tehnologiei digitale și a inteligenței artificiale în desfășurarea campaniei electorale, precum și prin finanțarea din surse nedeclarate a campaniei online.”

Avem, așadar, finanțare nedeclarată și utilizarea împotriva sau cu încălcarea legii a tehnologiei informatice. Aceasta este problema. Înainte de a vorbi despre cenzură, este important să ne asigurăm că finanțarea tuturor campaniilor electorale este transparentă.

2-0349-0000

Ana Vasconcelos (Renew). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, in the early days of social media, there was hope that millions of people living under oppressive regimes would be empowered with different points of view and even inspired to fight for their freedoms. Now, social media is considered one of the main threats against democracies because they are wielded as a weapon by those who wish to destabilise and weaken our free societies.

If one really cares about democracy and freedom, in particular freedom of speech, one must defend transparency and accountability of those who spread any kind of information, be they government, be they political candidates, be they traditional media, be they social platforms, especially during electoral periods. That is why, historically, we've had laws that are more demanding in electoral periods.

In a new, fast-evolving information ecosystem, we must make sure that citizens are empowered to make informed choices, that they know who is behind the information that reaches them, how it is financed and promoted. Let us not lose sight that the aim should always be to empower citizens, not to empower platforms or governments, especially not foreign governments who suppress the freedom of the people they rule over.

2-0350-0000

Dirk Gotink (PPE). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, the geopolitical symbolism of Romania's presidential election could not be greater: an ambitious European nation thrown into an unprecedented democratic crisis by a tech platform and totalitarian regimes from outside the EU. After letting the fire rage online for weeks, TikTok finally reacted. But when the fire started, they did nothing, despite having election protocols and almost 100 Romanian language moderators.

I welcome the investigation by the Commission, and I commend the involvement of the Irish supervisor, who has a significant responsibility for all of Europe in enforcing the DSA. However,

dear Commissioner, the DSA cannot only be a reactive instrument. By the time the ECJ confirms that TikTok has in fact breached EU law, the online world will have radically changed already.

Europe's naivety and slowness is our biggest weakness and the greatest threat to the livelihoods of our citizens. At best, the platforms pursue profits with addictive designs, especially targeted at our children. At worst, they're used by foreign powers to attack our freedoms and democratic institutions. This is simply an unacceptable status quo.

We must enforce a technological level playing field and force platforms to integrate similar speed limits for content. Just as we regulate car engines, we should regulate algorithms. If we don't, our laws, our institutions and democratic culture will be replaced by them.

2-0351-0000

Maria Guzenina (S&D). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, in light of current developments, it is crucial that the EU strengthens its resilience against disinformation. Russia has announced that they are preparing a war against NATO in the next 10 years. Shame on those in this House that make way to Putin to gain a foothold across European societies. This is not a time to surrender. This is a time to demonstrate our values of freedom, democracy and just society.

There should be no room for disinformation that corrupts the minds of our innocent and weak, our children, our youth. It is unacceptable that platforms such as TikTok and X deny their responsibility where it is evident that their aim is not to uphold democratic values, but, on the contrary, to cause chaos and damage to our European way of life.

2-0352-0000

Fabrice Leggeri (PFE). – Monsieur le Président, aujourd'hui, les réseaux sociaux comme X ou TikTok sont devenus des champs de bataille pour notre démocratie. Mais ne soyons pas naïfs: derrière les beaux discours de Bruxelles sur la lutte contre la désinformation, il y a une volonté claire de museler ceux qui défendent réellement le peuple face à un système qui confisque les libertés. La Commission européenne prétend protéger nos démocraties, mais ses solutions consistent toujours à surveiller, censurer et contrôler. Supprimer l'anonymat ou filtrer les contenus, c'est un pas de plus vers une société de censure, et les citoyens le savent: 64 % des Français estiment que les atteintes aux libertés individuelles se sont aggravées ces dix dernières années, selon un chiffre du Sénat.

Aujourd'hui, l'état d'esprit promu par la Commission européenne aboutit à des situations inédites, où une élection est interrompue entre deux tours, sans preuves formelles. Voilà ce qui se passe aujourd'hui en Roumanie. Mais soyons clairs, c'est un précédent qui pourrait se reproduire ailleurs dans l'Union pour imposer la pensée unique du système. Nous, les Patriotes, nous défendons un débat public libre et une information accessible. Les réseaux sociaux doivent rester des espaces où chacun peut s'exprimer librement, sans crainte d'être bâillonné par une machine bruxelloise de contrôle idéologique.

(L'orateur accepte une question carton bleu)

2-0353-0000

Dirk Gotink (PPE), blue-card question. – Mr Leggeri, you said some very serious things about the decision of the highest court in Romania and that it was somehow baseless. Do you think Romania is a state where the rule of law exists? Do you believe in the institutions of this European

Member State? Because it appears that you actually don't. And instead of implying it, maybe you should say it explicitly in this House.

2-0354-0000

Fabrice Leggeri (Pfe), *réponse carton bleu*. – J'espère que l'état de droit existe en Roumanie, et c'est pour qu'il continue à exister que j'exprime ce que je viens de dire. Il est absolument stupéfiant de voir, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, me semble-t-il – en tout cas depuis de nombreuses années –, qu'une élection présidentielle dans cette partie de l'Europe est annulée entre les deux tours – et, au moment où elle a été annulée, il n'y avait pas de base, en tout cas pas de preuve, ce n'étaient que des allégations.

Donc, en général, le juge de l'élection, lorsqu'il s'agit du Conseil constitutionnel, statue une fois que le deuxième tour est terminé. Voilà ce que j'ai voulu dire.

2-0355-0000

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Arvoisa puhemies, ilman sananvapautta meillä ei ole mitään. Katsokaa nyt tuota otsikkoa: Mis- ja disinformaatio somessa ja niiden riski vaalien rehellisyydelle. Täällä ihan pakkana keskustellaan keinoista lisätä sensuuria somessa, jotta meillä olisi vapaat vaalit. Täällä vallitsee Pohjois-Korean meininki.

TikTokin kiinalaisen omistuspohjan vaihtamista voidaan edellyttää turvallisuusnäkökulmasta, mutta täällä puhutaan kaikista someista ja informaation levittämisen katkaisemisesta, oli se kenenkin mielestä väärää tai oikeaa. Jos vain oikeaa informaatiota saa levittää, on vain yksi totuus, ja jonkun se on määriteltävä. Se on vastoin kaikkia periaatteita, joihin uskomme.

Kuinka kateellinen olenkaan USA:lle, koska siellä ymmärretään, että demokratian kehoon kuuluu myös paksu nahka. Lause "Maahanmuutto pelastaa Euroopan" on disinformaatiota. Mutta annetaan senkin levitä ja jos kansa uskoo sen, sitten se saa kärsiä seuraukset, kuten nyt on käynyt. Demokratia kyllä tiputtaa disinformaation levittäjät, kun kansa saa tarpeekseen.

2-0356-0000

Maravillas Abadía Jover (PPE). – Señor presidente, la gran plaza pública digital ha revolucionado nuestra sociedad, abriendo oportunidades enormes, pero también exponiéndonos a serios riesgos. Este debate es crucial porque, a diferencia de quienes luchamos por un debate público, saludable y de calidad, respetando la libertad de expresión de quienes usan la desinformación como mecanismo de manipulación social, hoy nos encontramos con graves vulnerabilidades asociadas a las granjas de bots que han operado en TikTok durante las elecciones en Rumanía.

La Unión Europea se dotó en la legislatura anterior de herramientas jurídicas para combatir este tipo de situaciones a través del Reglamento de Servicios Digitales y ya está actuando. Este Reglamento proporciona un marco para exigir transparencia y responsabilidad a las plataformas digitales. Es fundamental que estas herramientas se utilicen no solo para reaccionar ante incidentes, sino también para prevenir la manipulación de futuros procesos democráticos.

La educación en competencias digitales y la promoción del pensamiento crítico son pilares fundamentales para que los ciudadanos puedan discernir entre lo verdadero y lo falso en el tumulto de la información digital. Por tanto, abogo por una política de libertad de expresión que sea inclusiva y equitativa.

Para que podamos construir una verdadera democracia digital en Europa, necesitamos plataformas que sean transparentes, que apliquen el Reglamento de Servicios Digitales y que luchan contra las injerencias extranjeras. Los españoles lo vivimos en Cataluña y hoy es Rumanía quien lo sufre. Porque la diversidad de ideas es la esencia de la democracia, pero la manipulación es la raíz de su muerte.

2-0357-0000

Elio Di Rupo (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Elon Musk, comme vous le savez, possède plus de 7 000 satellites qui gravitent autour de la Terre, soit plus de 60 % de l'ensemble des satellites dans l'espace. Un seul homme détient donc un pouvoir exorbitant. Il possède X et il peut manipuler les algorithmes pour imposer sa vérité. Or, aujourd'hui, nos connexions numériques sont devenues existentielles. La question est simple: les autorités publiques peuvent-elles laisser ce pouvoir sans contrôle?

En Roumanie, on en a beaucoup parlé, TikTok a propulsé un complotiste auprès de 9 millions d'utilisateurs. Ces faits ne sont pas des exceptions. Ils révèlent une dérive vertigineuse. La désinformation et la mésinformation rongent gravement nos démocraties et nos libertés. Pour moi, Monsieur le Commissaire, la transparence des algorithmes et les modalités d'utilisation doivent devenir une exigence absolue de l'Union. Et pour cela, on compte sur vous!

2-0358-0000

Adam Bielan (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Rozmawiamy dzisiaj o kampaniach dezinformujących przed rozmaitymi wyborami w Europie w ostatnim czasie. W ostatnich dniach wypłynęły dowody na to, że Rosjanie próbowali ingerować w kampanię wyborczą przed wyborami parlamentarnymi w Polsce w październiku 2023 roku. Nie kto inny, tylko liberalne media – Gazeta Wyborcza, którą trudno oskarżać o współpracę z moją partią Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – opublikowały dowody na to, że kilkaset tysięcy SMS-ów rozesłali najprawdopodobniej rosyjscy hakerzy. SMS-ów, które miały zaatakować rządzące Prawo i Sprawiedliwość.

Jednocześnie mamy informacje o tym, że z kont firm zarejestrowanych w Estonii i na Węgrzech organizowano oficjalnie kampanię, która zmierzała do tego, żeby zwiększyć frekwencję w tych wyborach. A znowu spoty atakowały przede wszystkim rządzące konserwatywne ugrupowanie. Ugrupowanie, które skończyło z błędną polityką resetu z Władimirem Putinem i w relacjach z rosyjskim przywódcą oraz niosło największą pomoc walczącej Ukrainie. Czy to był przypadek, że Rosjanie atakowali rząd Prawa i Sprawiedliwości przed wyborami parlamentarnymi? Apeluję o mniej hipokryzji w tej Izbie i o przyjrzenie się faktom.

2-0359-0000

Michał Szczęcha (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Akt o usługach cyfrowych DSA miał być europejskim zabezpieczeniem przed dezinformacją w internecie. Ostatnie wydarzenia potwierdziły, że ta regulacja nie wystarcza. Wybory w Rumunii to przedsmak tego, z czym niedługo i na znacznie większą skalę mogą mierzyć się pozostałe kraje członkowskie, w tym moja ojczyzna, Polska, w przyszłorocznych wyborach prezydenckich. Odporność społeczna to jedno z kluczowych wyzwań dla nowej Komisji, ale także dla polskiej prezydencji. Żaden kraj, żadne media społecznościowe, żadne pieniądze wpompowane w chińską platformę nie mogą bezkarnie wpływać na demokratyczny proces wyborczy. System nie zabezpiecza naszego społeczeństwa przed kłamstwem i dezinformacją.

Naszym wspólnym obowiązkiem jest wyciągnąć wnioski z tej gorzkiej rumuńskiej lekcji. Powinniśmy się zastanowić, co zrobić z podmiotami, które nie kontrolują przepływu informacji, a tak mocno ingerują w nasze codzienne wybory. Chciałbym zwrócić uwagę na to, że bardzo istotne jest to, jakie narzędzia wykorzystuje dezinformacja. To jest *deepfake*, to są zmanipulowane dane, to są przywłaszczone informacje. One trafiają w ludzką nieufność i niewiedzę. Mają potężny wpływ na postawy i na wybory.

Musimy zadbać o to, by te media społecznościowe dostarczały informacje, która są prawdziwe, i reagowały na nieprawdziwe informacje i kłamstwa.

2-0360-0000

Joanna Scheuring-Wielgus (S&D). – Panie Przewodniczący! Przysłuchuję się tej debacie już od kilku godzin i naprawdę ręce mi opadają, kiedy słucham tutaj tego, co mówi prawa strona. I dziwię się, że w XXI wieku musimy nadal kolegom tłumaczyć, co znaczy wolność słowa. Przysłuchuje się naszej debacie młodzież. Wolność słowa, oczywiście, że tak, ale wolność słowa nie może być używana do dzielenia ludzi, do niszczenia zaufania, do siania strachu, do wywoływania gniewu czy poczucia niesprawiedliwości. Po co wy to robicie? Dlaczego nie jesteście wyedukowani, ale lubicie dezinformować. Bo dezinformacja powoduje to, że ludzie są podatni na informacje, które nie powinny do nich dotrzeć. To jest oczywiście w waszym interesie. I bardzo dobrze było to widać na przykładzie Rumunii, która bardzo często była tutaj dzisiaj przywoływana.

Do Pana Komisarza mam pytanie. Przed nami w Polsce wybory prezydenckie. Obawiamy się, że scenariusz rumuński może się również spełnić w wyborach prezydenckich w Polsce. Co mamy w tej kwestii zrobić?

2-0361-0000

Nina Carberry (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner McGrath, imagine a friend scrolling through TikTok or Instagram, stumbling upon disinformation that influences how they vote. This isn't a fantasy; it is our reality.

In recent elections across Europe, we have witnessed first hand the impact of unchecked disinformation. Social media platforms have often failed to detect and address the spread of false narratives, leaving our democratic processes vulnerable. Disinformation campaigns are not just about spreading lies. They are deliberate attempts to sow division, erode trust and weaken the democratic values that unite us as Europeans.

This pan-European crisis demands a coordinated EU-wide response. The Digital Services Act represents a crucial opportunity to counter this growing threat. By holding social media platforms accountable for the spread of disinformation and hate speech, the DSA can serve as a robust tool to protect our democracies.

However, tackling this issue effectively requires more than regulation. We must also equip our citizens of all ages with the tools and education to identify and challenge disinformation. Strengthening verification procedures is equally essential to ensure information integrity. This isn't just about elections; it's about safeguarding our democracy.

2-0362-0000

Aodhán Ó Ríordáin (S&D). – Mr President, our democracies are under attack. Europe has Trump to one side of us and Putin to the other, and in the middle we have Elon Musk, who is using

X to fuel their hateful ideologies. Platforms like X and TikTok are inflaming division and hatred in our societies. I am particularly worried about the impact racist, misogynistic, homophobic and transphobic content is having on young men. Large swathes of this cohort are being radicalised through their social media feeds.

We have to solve this problem. In the EU, we now have the Digital Services Act, which was put in place to stop the spread of harmful content on platforms. The Commission needs to use this law to hold these companies to account. But we have to look to and learn from what others are doing in different jurisdictions, for example the social media ban recently introduced in Australia for those under 16 years of age. The threat is existential. We need to act now, before it is too late for many of our young people.

2-0363-0000

Sebastião Bugalho (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, a Comissão Europeia deu hoje início a um processo contra o TikTok por suspeita de violação do Regulamento dos Serviços Digitais.

A ordem de retenção, emitida em dezembro, e a investigação hoje iniciada foram acertadas no tempo e no modo. No modo, pela flagrante violação do Regulamento por parte do TikTok e pela indisponibilidade para prestar os devidos esclarecimentos a este Parlamento e à Comissão Europeia. Mas, sobretudo, pelos princípios que nos distinguem como comunidade defensora da democracia e reguladora do mercado.

Se há algo que ficou claro das respostas, ou não respostas, do TikTok é que não está ao lado de nenhum destes princípios. A audição dos seus representantes neste Parlamento comprovou-o. O TikTok comporta-se como o condutor de um carro que jura que tem travões, mas não consegue identificar o pedal. Quer andar na estrada, mas não vê os outros carros a passar. Não cumpre o código, mas quer continuar a ter carta.

Quando perguntámos ao TikTok se tem regras específicas para as eleições, disseram-nos que sim, mas não as mostram. Quando perguntámos se avaliam o cumprimento dessas regras, em particular nas eleições na Roménia, disseram que sim, mas mais uma vez não o mostraram.

Para citar um senador romano: «Até quando, Catilina, abusarás da nossa paciência?» Por pouco tempo, foi o que esta União respondeu hoje.

Podemos não ser tão rápidos a ferir a democracia quanto os nossos inimigos, mas se há algo que esta Comissão já mostrou é que não seremos lentos, nos próximos cinco anos, a sair em defesa da democracia seja contra quem for.

2-0364-0000

Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, las redes sociales acercan el mundo a los jóvenes. Para ellos, tienen un efecto similar al que tuvo la televisión en mi generación, con el añadido de la introducción de un mayor número de voces al debate político. Pero entre estas voces se cuelan actores con el único objetivo de manipular y difundir desinformación en su propio beneficio: lo hemos visto en X o en TikTok.

Debemos establecer mecanismos para que la integridad electoral se garantice en las redes sociales: aumentar la transparencia y la orientación política de los comunicadores e introducir medidas para luchar contra la desinformación en tiempo real, a pesar de la rapidez de los contenidos. Además, debemos ofrecer a los jóvenes europeos una alfabetización mediática y digital que les permita desarrollar un pensamiento crítico para acceder a información verificada y diversa. Es

urgente implementar adecuadamente el Reglamento de Servicios Digitales aprobado en este Parlamento. Si queremos conservar la calidad de las democracias, es fundamental garantizar unas redes sociales seguras y sanas para nuestros jóvenes.

2-0365-0000

Oliver Schenk (PPE). – Herr Präsident! Herr Kommissar, meine Damen und Herren! Soziale Medien haben einen enormen Einfluss auf unsere Gesellschaft. In wenigen Jahren haben sie unser Informationsverhalten und unsere Art, Debatten zu führen, radikal verändert.

Gleichzeitig sehen wir, wie die neuen Informationsmonopole bislang etablierte Medien gefährden oder sie sogar zerstören. Für unsere Demokratie, die auf gute Medien angewiesen ist, ist das ein Alarmzeichen, das wir nicht ignorieren dürfen. An die Stelle von journalistisch gut recherchierten Inhalten treten zu oft Filterblasen, in denen Fake News und Verschwörungstheorien aufblühen. Anstelle von Transparenz haben wir Algorithmen, anstelle von Verlegern und Chefredakteuren die Verantwortlichkeit der Interessen der Plattformbesitzer. So werden die freiheitlichen Demokratien weltweit angegriffen – in Europa und andernorts.

Informationswüsten und Fake News waren laut Timothy Snyder auch wichtige Gründe, warum in den USA die Menschen das Kapitol gestürmt haben. Sie waren schlecht informiert in den Echokammern des Netzes. Unsere politische Antwort braucht zwei Stoßrichtungen: Erstens, wir müssen verstehen, dass der Raum der sozialen Medien kein rein privater Raum, sondern auch ein öffentlicher Raum ist. Der Rechtsstaat muss Hasskriminalität auf Plattformen konsequent verfolgen und von den Anbietern unmissverständlich fordern, strafbare Inhalte zu löschen.

Zweitens, unsere freiheitliche Demokratie lebt von freien Medien. Wir brauchen unabhängige Medien mit Vielfalt und gut bezahlten Journalisten. Dazu gehören starke private Anbieter genauso wie ein starker öffentlicher Rundfunk. Was wir derzeit in anderen Ländern sehen, muss daher für uns ein Weckruf sein, unsere Medien vor Monopolisierung und unsere Gesellschaft vor Fake News und gesteuerten Algorithmen zu schützen.

2-0366-0000

Pierre Jovet (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, nos démocraties sont attaquées. Elles sont attaquées, et nous ne ripostons plus. Depuis des heures, nous entendons dans cet hémicycle l'extrême droite se relayer à ce pupitre pour dire que la liberté d'expression est attaquée.

Eh bien, je nous alerte: quand l'extrême droite dénonce une attaque à la liberté d'expression, la réalité, c'est que l'extrême droite préfère défendre des intérêts étrangers qui viennent attaquer directement nos démocraties. L'extrême droite préfère défendre ici, dans cet hémicycle, les régimes dictatoriaux qui viennent mettre à mal notre continent européen. L'extrême droite préfère se mettre dans la main de TikTok, de X et de toutes ces plateformes qui n'ont qu'un intérêt: venir désinformer nos concitoyens, venir déstabiliser nos nations. Ce ne sont plus des patriotes, ce sont des représentants des intérêts de ces plateformes de réseaux sociaux qui désinforment.

Il est temps, Monsieur le Commissaire, que nos règles s'appliquent, sinon nous devons – enfin! – mettre fin à ces plateformes de désinformation.

2-0367-0000

Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! W Europie to obywatele decydują, kto wygra wybory. Nie Moskwa, nie Pekin, nie algorytm TikToka. To, co widzieliśmy w Rumunii, to

jest atak na demokrację i na samą Europę, bo tak wygląda w praktyce rosyjska wojna hybrydowa. W tej wojnie media społecznościowe stały się bronią służącą do prowokacji, manipulowania wyborami, siania chaosu, do niszczenia naszej demokracji.

800 fałszywych kont, armia botów, ponad milion euro, setki opłaconych influencerów. 85 tysięcy cyberataków to są elementy rosyjskiego ataku w Rumunii, który spowodował wypromowanie w ciągu trzech tygodni przychylnego im kandydata.

I z podobnymi atakami mamy do czynienia w Europie, także w Polsce. Wczoraj polskie media podały, że rok temu, podczas wyborów parlamentarnych mieliśmy do czynienia z masową akcją hackerską, podczas której wysłano 187 tysięcy SMS-ów z agitacją dotyczącą ówczesnie rządzącej partii. Przejęto kontrolę nad ekranami w 20 galeriach handlowych. Wolność słowa nie oznacza przyzwolenia na manipulację i zakłamywanie rzeczywistości.

Za 5 miesięcy wybory prezydenckie w Polsce. Ochrona wyborów to jest ochrona demokracji i naszą odpowiedzialnością jest zadbać o to, aby obywatele Unii mieli dostęp do prawdziwych informacji, mogli podejmować decyzje samodzielnie, a nie by podjął je za nie algorytm TikToka. Cieszy mnie dzisiejsza decyzja Komisji. Nie możemy być bierni. To jest wojna, musimy się bronić.

2-0368-0000

Matthias Ecke (S&D). – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir blicken in den Schlund eines Monsters. Der Bruderkuss von Donald Trump und Elon Musk. Die autoritäre Achse von Kreml zu TikTok. Die radikale Verbindung von *big money* und autoritärer Staatsmacht in der Plattformökonomie ist eine massive Bedrohung für unsere Freiheit und Demokratie. Mit dem Gesetz über digitale Märkte wollten wir Marktmacht einschränken und Plattformen regulieren, damit ihre Dominanz sich nicht ungehindert für kommerzielle Interessen einsetzen kann.

Doch die Gefahr ist doch gewachsen. Die Plattformen, politische Eliten und autoritäre Regierungen sind heute eng miteinander verflochten. Es sind Machtinstrumente entstanden wie Waffen, um die politische Deutungshoheit zu erlangen. Und dieser geballten Macht müssen wir was entgegensetzen. Da reichen Regulierungen allein nicht aus; wir brauchen europäische Alternativen.

Ich denke daran, dass wir föderierte *Open-Source*-Netzwerke aus ihrer Nische herausholen, dass wir eine europäische Plattform auf Basis von *Open-Source*-Protokollen entwickeln oder Hybridmodelle, die private Innovation und öffentliche Interessen verbinden. Meine Damen und Herren, soziale Medien müssen sich ändern – wir brauchen europäische Alternativen.

2-0369-0000

Dan-Ștefan Motreanu (PPE). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, alegerile libere și corecte reprezintă fundamentul procesului nostru democratic. Cetățenii trebuie să poată vota în deplină libertate, fără ingerințe externe, manipulări sau campanii de dezinformare. Aceasta este una dintre cele mai mari provocări cu care se confruntă democrația noastră într-o eră digitală.

Comisia Europeană a adoptat deja o serie de măsuri pentru a preveni dezinformarea și atacurile cibernetice în timpul alegerilor. Cu toate acestea, atacul hibrid împotriva alegerilor prezidențiale din România a expus vulnerabilitățile democrației în Uniunea Europeană și capacitatea actorilor ostili de a exploata tehnologiile moderne pentru a influența rezultatele alegerilor.

Astfel de atacuri hibride au fost deja testate în Republica Moldova, Georgia și Ucraina. Riscul replicării acestor tactici într-un alt stat membru al Uniunii Europene este cât se poate de real.

Prin urmare, solicit Comisiei Europene garanții pentru alegeri libere prin monitorizare riguroasă și aplicare strictă a prevederilor privind combaterea dezinformării pe parcursul perioadelor de precampanie și campanie electorală pentru toate rîndurile de alegeri, în toate statele membre, pentru a putea detecta, preveni și combate într-un timp real orice tentativă de ingerință ostilă în procesele electorale.

Vă cer ca platformele digitale care facilitează sau permit răspîndirea de *fake news*-uri să fie trase la răspundere și sancționate drastic, pentru că altfel pierderea democrației este pasul către pierderea libertății.

2-0370-0000

Leire Pajín (S&D). – Señor presidente, en 1932, Hitler ganó las elecciones en Alemania: este es un fenómeno que se ha estudiado en muchas ocasiones, pero fue una sorpresa para quienes pensaban que no tenía el apoyo del principal medio de comunicación, que entonces era la prensa. Utilizó tres elementos fundamentales: el primero, un nuevo medio de comunicación que no se conocía tanto, la radio; el segundo, la propaganda o la desinformación, y, un tercer elemento, aprovecharse del descontento político en una situación de crisis económica.

Hoy asistimos a la consolidación de nuevos medios de comunicación que escapan a las reglas democráticas. Este es el debate, señorías: este no es un debate sobre la libertad de expresión ni sobre la injerencia de la libertad en internet, este es un debate sobre reglas democráticas, como ha ocurrido en Rumanía, pero también ha ocurrido en Brasil. Necesitamos regular y necesitamos hacerles responsables de su uso, por eso hay que ir más allá: necesitamos educación y sensibilización, y regulación, porque lo que está hoy en juego, señorías, es nada más y nada menos que nuestra democracia.

2-0371-0000

Miriám Lexmann (PPE). – Vážený pán predsedajúci, hrozby, ktoré prináša sociálna sieť TikTok, rozhodne nie sú nové. Dlhodobo som aj ja na ne upozorňovala a vyzývala európske inštitúcie a členské štáty, aby sme zasiahli. Mnohé štáty TikTok zakázali. Mnohé inštitúcie ho zablokovali na svojich zariadeniach a Európska únia sa stále spolieha na to, že TikTok možno raz, jedného dňa začne dodržiavať naše právo. Dokedy sa budeme pozerať na to, ako Čínska komunistická strana prostredníctvom tejto siete ničí duševné zdravie našich detí a podsúva im toxický obsah? Dokedy budeme tolerovať ich snahy podkopávania demokracie? Vážený kolegovia, už včera bolo neskoro. Moje opakované výzvy na Európsku komisiu neboli reflektované. Hoci ak by sa Komisia začala vážne hrozbami, ktoré TikTok predstavuje, zaoberať, možno by sme dnes nemuseli riešiť situáciu v Rumunsku. Pochopme konečne, že ak chceme chrániť demokraciu a zdravie našich detí, musíme voči tejto sieti zakročiť. Inak ešte viac ohrozíme už aj tak krehkú dôveru v inštitúcie. A dobre vieme, že tá je v dnešných časoch potrebná pre demokraciu ako soľ.

2-0372-0000

Γιάννης Μανιάτης (S&D). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης έχουν έναν πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο στη μετάδοση ιδεών, στη διαμόρφωση αντιλήψεων, στην ανταλλαγή απόψεων. Ιδιαίτερα στις εκλογές ο ρόλος τους είναι πάρα πολύ σημαντικός.

To ίδιο σημαντική όμως είναι και η ευθύνη που έχουν οι πάροχοι ψηφιακού περιεχομένου, ώστε να διασφαλίζουν ότι οι κανόνες θα είναι ίδιοι για όλους. Δεν μπορούμε να επιτρέψουμε την επικράτηση της «αλγοκρατίας», όπου αλγόριθμοι φτιαγμένοι από μεγιστάνες ή πολιτικές ελίτ ή ξένες κυβερνήσεις θα αποφασίζουν τι θα δούμε, τι θα ακούσουμε, ποιοι πολιτικοί θα έχουν προβολή και ποιοι όχι.

Οι πλατφόρμες κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, όπως και τα παραδοσιακά μέσα ενημέρωσης, πρέπει με συγκεκριμένους κανόνες να διασφαλίζουν το αδιάβλητο των εκλογών. Δεν μπορούμε να επιτρέψουμε την επανάληψη όσων συνέβησαν στη Ρουμανία, όπου κάποιοι αξιοποίησαν το TikTok για να επηρεάσουν το αποτέλεσμα των εκλογών.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή πρέπει να εφαρμόσει και να επεκτείνει με αυστηρότητα το δεσμικό πλαίσιο που έχουμε ψηφίσει για τις ψηφιακές υπηρεσίες, για την προστασία των προσωπικών δεδομένων, τελικά για την προστασία της ίδιας της δημοκρατίας.

2-0373-0000

Henrik Dahl (PPE). – Hr. formand! Hybridkrig er ikke et fremtidsfænomen, en risiko vi kan tale om, den er en realitet. Hver dag bliver vi udsat for hybride angreb af forskellig slags: russiske fly i vores luftrum, GPS-signaler som bliver jammet, eller sabotage mod vores kritiske infrastruktur som f.eks. kabler i Østersøen. Men den hybride krig er også flyttet over i vores telefoner. Rusland og Kina spreder systematisk misinformation online med det formål at skabe splittelse i den vestlige befolkning. For et splittet Vesten er ikke nogen trussel over for en samlet fjende. På venstrefløjen vil man sikkert foreslå nye store lovpakker, som skal forhindre og stoppe misinformation med flere regler og mere stat. Men her tror jeg, man skal slå koldt vand i blodet. I den sidste mandatperiode blev der vedtaget en stor mængde ny lovgivning lige præcis imod misinformation. Her vil jeg opfordre til, at man giver de gamle regler en chance først, i stedet for at komme med helt nye regler. Fordi man har en hammer, bliver ens problemer ikke nødvendigvis til søm, og fordi man kan lave nye regler, er det ikke sikkert, man skal.

2-0374-0000

Ștefan Mușoiu (S&D). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, în România democrația este încă destul de tânără, dar solidă. Nu ne putem compara cu alte state europene, cu democrații vechi de sute de ani, însă trebuie să admitem cu toții că România continuă cu succes procesul de democratizare și că recuperează decalajele și din acest domeniu prin eforturi constante.

Însă țara mea este și sub presiunea unor imixtiuni externe, care au utilizat acum la maxim aceste instrumente, rețelele de socializare, ca să aducă atingere democrației. Firește că am reacționat tocmai pentru a ne apăra țara și integritatea sa în fața gamei insidioase de manipulări și dezinformări, cel mai probabil venite dintr-un stat vecin, autocrat și represiv.

Concomitent, am apărât și memoria și crezul eroilor noștri, care și-au dat viața în decembrie 1989 ca să pună capăt regimului dictatorial al lui Nicolae Ceaușescu. Oamenii din țara mea sunt de bună-credință, iar această calitate din ce în ce mai greu de întâlnit în ziua de astăzi poate fi exploatată și în scopuri mai puțin ortodoxe, așa cum s-a întâmplat la aceste alegeri prezidențiale.

De aceea, eu sper să se ia deciziile cele mai adecvate la nivelul Comisiei Europene pentru a împiedica pe viitor aceste tipuri de imixtiuni politice externe în problemele naționale și chiar în cele ale Uniunii, dar și ca să ne putem proteja cu adevărat cetățenii.

Indiferent de modurile de intimidare folosite împotriva românilor, România nu se va abate de la parcursul său european. Suntem un popor curajos, care a învățat din trecut și care refuză vehement să mai ajungă victima oricărei dictaturi. Noi credem în democrație, protejăm libertatea de exprimare, însă urâm dictaturii și abuzurile lor. Din toate aceste considerente am și reacționat prompt și nu ca să generăm vreun precedent, însă semnalul de alarmă trebuia tras.

2-0375-0000

Loránt Vincze (PPE). – Elnök Úr! Üdvözlöm a Bizottság fellépését az online platformok ellen. Igen, ki kell vizsgálni, hogy mi történik a választások során. Románia az első ország, ahol kiderült, hogy a TikTok egyértelműen partizán álláspont felerősítésével, külföldi beavatkozással befolyásolta az elnökválasztás eredményét. A romániai elnökválasztás nyomán kialakult helyzetért azonban nem lehet kizárólagosan a TikTOKot és a külföldi beavatkozást megnevezni felelősnek. A történeteknek mélyebb társadalmi okai vannak, és nemzeti hatáskörben az elhárítással foglalkozó intézmények mulasztását is érdemes vizsgálni.

Amit most Romániában tenni kell: a polgárok elvárásait első helyen kezelő kormányzás, és tisztességesen lefolytatott elnökválasztási eljárás. Az EU-ban az online platformokat szabályozni kell, hiszen egyre inkább a klasszikus média helyét veszik át. Információkat szolgáltatnak, és választói opciót befolyásolnak. A klasszikus média szigorú szabályozásnak felel meg, ennek a platformokra is vonatkozni kell. Az internet szabad. Betiltani a platformokat nem lenne eredményes, már csak azért sem, mert rögtön megjelenne más néven, egy átalakított, új platform. Kedves Kollégák, a legtöbb tennivaló az iskolákban van. A polgárok kritikai szemlélete nélkül a demokráciának kevés esélye marad. A félrevezető, álhírek megkülönböztetésére vonatkozó készség elsajátítása a tagállami oktatási rendszerek része kell legyen. Hatalmas lemaradást kell behozni, ezért mihamarabb el kell kezdeni.

2-0376-0000

Intervenții la cerere

2-0377-0000

Daniel Buda (PPE). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, astăzi Rusia nu vine cu tancuri în fața noastră, dar infiltrază minciuni în telefoanele și mințile cetățenilor noștri. Aceasta este realitatea războiului modern. Algoritmii sunt transformați în arme, iar manipularea emoțiilor și a percepțiilor devine o tehnică standard.

Trebuie să înțelegem că manipularea și dezinformarea desfășurate prin platforme precum TikTok nu sunt incidente izolate, ci reprezintă strategii deliberate și perfide de subminare a proceselor democratice.

Nu este suficient însă să identificăm problema, ci trebuie să acționăm. Educația digitală trebuie să devină o prioritate, la fel și sancționarea campaniilor de dezinformare finanțate de Rusia și China. Rusia vrea să genereze confuzie în Uniunea Europeană și să slăbească încrederea cetățenilor în instituțiile statului și să fragmenteze societatea. Nu trebuie să le oferim această victorie.

Vă atrag atenția că astăzi este vorba despre România, dar mâine poate să fie vorba despre o altă țară. Este vorba despre Europa, despre libertatea și viitorul democrațiilor noastre. În fața acestui atac trebuie să rămânem fermi, uniți și să tăiem răul de la rădăcină.

2-0378-0000

Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Gerbiamas komisare M. McGrath, sveikinu, kad Komisija pradėjo procedūrą prieš „TikTok“ ir dabar Komisija turi iš tikrųjų parodyti visą savo jėgą kaip Lisabonos sutarčių sargo, kaip mūsų vertybių sargo ir kaip mūsų demokratijos sargo. Visiškai akivaizdu, kad skaitmeninių paslaugų platformos veikimas dabar turi būti labai išanalizuotas ir kiek įmanoma greičiau turėtumėte pateikti tuos žingsnius, kuriuos turėtumėte padaryti visi kartu ir ypač šalyse narėse, kada reikia reglamentuoti ir harmonizuoti skaitmeninių platformų panaudojimą rinkimų laikotarpiu. Monopolijos ir galimybės diktuoti ir manipuluoti žmonių sąmonę yra labai galingas ginklas. Ir mums dabar kaip niekad reikia labai aktyviai suderinti jėgas

тік шәліу нәріу лығыу рнкмұ һармонзәвмө, тәк ır Европос Сәжунгос масту. Тодәл свейкнәмө вусз жңнгснус ır лнкмө грейтұ әтсәкымұ.

2-0379-0000

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Mr President, Commissioner McGrath, for the last decade, democracy has been in retreat, and the idea of democratic recession is not new. Freedom House tells us that, in 2024, the year of elections, global freedom declined for the 18th consecutive year. Now, just 20 % of the global population live in fully free countries. And layered on this already serious problem of democratic backsliding is X, TikTok and others putting the interests of their companies ahead of the interests of the public.

We need to stop people being forced into narrower and narrower corridors of thought. We need a free marketplace of ideas and a Digital Services Act that's prepared to bear its teeth. I welcome the investigations into TikTok's risk assessment policy for new features and into its age verification practices.

Ahead of the Irish national election just a few weeks ago, an NGO, Global Witness, placed paid adverts on TikTok to test its capacity to stop disinformation. One video claimed that you needed two COVID vaccinations to vote, and it was approved by TikTok. This proves that the need for a very strong Digital Services Act remains very acute.

2-0380-0000

Grzegorz Braun (NI). – Mr President, this was really something, listening to the long debate. It gave me constant déjà vu feeling, because I was born under Soviet rule in Poland and I can remember censorship: books sent or smuggled from the Western democratic countries would be confiscated, Western radios would be jammed.

And here today, so many of you are so much in favour of censorship. And obviously you use your democratic 'Newspeak' language, Orwellian language. You are trying to overthrow, to cancel, the election in Romania. And obviously you talk about some democratic values. This is pathetic. This is ridiculous. And this is criminal. Euro-Soviet Union is going to fall down and its fall-down will be really great, and I hope to live to see it. This was ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0381-0000

President. – I have to interrupt because I asked everyone to respect the timing. And this means also respecting this House.

2-0382-0000

Dariusz Joński (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! To bardzo ważna debata i chcę bardzo wyraźnie to powiedzieć: dzisiaj wróg nie musi przekraczać granic Unii Europejskiej, żeby wejść do naszych domów. Może to zrobić właśnie przez telefon, telewizję czy gazety. I robił to, jak popatrzymy między innymi na brexit, na ostatnie wybory w Mołdawii, w Gruzji czy chociażby w Rumunii, a nawet w Polsce, w ostatnich wyborach parlamentarnych, wszędzie tam zobaczymy agencję rosyjską, która szerzyła dezinformację. W Mołdawii zainwestowali 100 mln euro, w Rumunii 70 mln euro tylko na szerzenie dezinformacji.

Chcę powiedzieć bardzo wyraźnie – Putin również rękoma tych, którzy są na tej sali, chce przejmować media. W Polsce premier Donald Tusk właśnie podjął decyzję, aby dwie największe stacje telewizyjne prywatnie wpisać na listę firm strategicznych, aby zablokować wrogie przejęcie.

Postawmy tamę, blokadę rosyjskiej dezinformacji. Razem, wszyscy.

2-0383-0000

Michał Wawrykiewicz (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu McGrath! Najpierw mała korekta. Kilkanaście minut temu poseł z ECR, z Prawa i Sprawiedliwości powiedział, że przed wyborami parlamentarnymi w 2023 r. mieliśmy do czynienia z atakiem hakerskim, jak doniosła Gazeta Wyborcza, przeciwko jego partii.

Było wręcz odwrotnie. Ten atak hakerski, 187 tysięcy SMS-ów oraz przejęcie w galeriach handlowych ekranów wyborczych, był agitacją za tą partią. W tych SMS-ach było napisane głosuj na PiS. I były wizerunki polityków PiS: Kaczyńskiego, Morawieckiego, Błaszczaka. Także tak wygląda właśnie między innymi dezinformacja.

Jest czas, abyśmy zadbali o nasze demokratyczne bezpieczeństwo. Zróbmy to skutecznie, zróbmy to mądrze. Systemowa, celowa, zorganizowana dezinformacja w mediach społecznościowych to jest plaga naszej demokracji.

2-0384-0000

(Înceierea intervențiilor la cerere)

2-0385-0000

Michael McGrath, Member of the Commission. – Dear president, dear honourable Members, thank you all so much for your contributions to this lengthy debate here this afternoon. It is a debate that has run for almost five hours, which I think is a reflection of the importance of this issue and also, if we are to be honest, the diversity of views that there are on some of the issues that have been discussed.

I want to be clear that the Commission remains steadfast in our commitment to promoting and protecting democracy across the European Union, including to helping ensure the integrity of electoral processes.

Free and fair elections are the very essence of democratic systems. They are our citizens' direct tool to make their voice heard and choice known for governing. It is essential that elections remain free from foreign interference, and that the information space serves to enhance citizens' knowledge based on facts, not fiction, based on lively debates where all views are heard, and not on manipulation.

It is also clear from today's debate that disinformation does not only happen on social media. I heard a number of honourable Members of this House claim the assertion today that the European Union – that the European Commission – had annulled elections within our Union, including in Romania, which is categorically not the case. The conduct of elections is a competence of individual Member States, and the decision in respect of the Romanian presidential election was made by the Romanian Constitutional Court, not any arm of the European Union.

The Commission fully recognises the challenges we face, both from outside but also from within our Union, and the Commission has significantly strengthened its toolbox to protect democracy, to fight disinformation, information manipulation and also foreign interference.

Executive Vice-President Virkkunen has provided a detailed overview of our actions so far at the start of today's debate. The Digital Services Act is a crucial legal instrument contributing to safeguarding democratic debate and the integrity of electoral processes in the online sphere, while protecting freedom of speech. And we will always protect our freedom of speech. Freedom of expression is a fundamental right enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and myself and my colleagues in the European Commission will stand over and defend that freedom all of the time.

The Commission is monitoring the situation for the upcoming elections in the European Union, and is fully committed to ensuring the full compliance with the Digital Services Act, working in close collaboration with the national digital services coordinators. As EVP Virkkunen said earlier, the conduct of elections is the responsibility of the individual Member States, but we work closely with the national electoral authorities to share information on national contexts, to learn quickly from each other and adapt to national measures. The European elections network offers a forum for hands-on exchanges and we are ready to step up this engagement. A meeting is ongoing today and we will look at whether we can make those exchanges even more operational, for example, by developing checklists and key actions which national authorities could take in the context of electoral preparations.

It is essential for Member States to prepare for the application of the new regulation on the transparency and targeting of political advertising. While formally the regulation only starts to apply in October of next year, nothing stands in the way of voluntarily front-loading its application. I would encourage Member States to look at what they can already do and to take steps now to implement the measures set out in the regulation, because it will make it easier for citizens to recognise political advertisements, to understand who is behind them and know whether they have received a targeted political advertisement.

This is about ensuring that our citizens are better placed to make informed choices, and will also ensure that political advertising takes place in full respect of the right of privacy and that the freedom of opinion and freedom of speech are protected. The Commission stands ready to facilitate its application through exchanges with national authorities and by developing operational guidance where needed.

And, of course, next year as well, in August, we will have the implementation of many of the measures in the European Media Freedom Act, designed to protect media freedom, to protect media pluralism, pluralism within the European Union. Again, there is nothing preventing Member States from implementing these measures at an earlier date.

In conclusion, and looking ahead, we are ready to start work on the democracy shield. I intend to lead the development of this initiative in an inclusive manner. I will build on what already exists, identify gaps, and pull ideas from all relevant policies to ensure that we develop a strong democracy shield that can respond to emerging challenges, to foreign interference, while respecting our fundamental rights.

This will require extensive consultation with a broad range of stakeholders. I look forward to the continued close and intensive contribution from this House, and I welcome the establishment – should you decide to vote accordingly tomorrow – of the Special Committee on the Democracy Shield, and I look forward to our joint engagement.

Debates like the one that we have had here today provide important opportunities to identify where the European Union action is most urgently needed. And again, I thank you all for your contributions here today, and I reassure you of the Commission's resolve to fully use all of the tools at its disposal – including through the Digital Services Act – to deal with misinformation and disinformation on media platforms and related risks to the integrity of elections in Europe, which, of course, is the title of today's debate.

2-0386-0000

President. – Before switching to the next debate, I want to inform you that Mr Lukas Sieper requested a personal statement at the end of this debate, according to Rule 180 of the European Parliament's Rules of Procedure, and this has been granted.

I want to remind you that Members making a personal statement may not speak on substantive matters.

2-0387-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Mr President, dear colleagues, I am sorry that I have to bother you with a personal matter. It is, of course, something that happened in this debate that we just had. I had asked Mr Milan Mazurek, a colleague of ours, for a blue card, and I asked him about his views on how social media platforms should be restricted. His answer to that was that I am, in fact, not able to divide between dream and reality, and that I am brainwashed. Thereby, he was denying me my stable and lucid state of mind.

And why is this wrong? Not only because I, as a person, was insulted, because I've been insulted a lot in my life. And it is not only wrong because Rule 10(4) of the Rules of Procedure clearly prohibits insulting behaviour. It is wrong because freedom of speech, my freedom of speech, and also your freedom of speech, is about the freedom of all opinions, and it is about the freedom of having different opinions.

And thereby freedom of speech also includes the freedom not to be insulted when you question your opponent. I just hope that everyone here takes this as an example of how we should not speak to each other in this house – that we should not insult each other just because we do not like what happens.

Just for the record, I think most of you all know that I can, in fact, divide between dream and reality. Because even though I live my dream here in this House, if it would be a dream, people who are deemed as political extremists would not be here. Therefore, I hope I don't get insulted in the future. I hope no one here gets insulted in the future.

And with all due respect, I would like to ask the Vice-President and all Vice-Presidents and the President of this House to immediately stop any insulting behaviour in any debate in the future.

2-0388-0000

IN THE CHAIR: CHRISTEL SCHALDEMOSE

Vice-President

2-0389-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

12. Request for consultation of the European Economic and Social Committee (Rule 151) (consent)

2-0391-0000

President. – The President has not received any request to put to the vote the request from the INTA Committee to consult the European Economic and Social Committee for it to issue an opinion on the trade-related aspects of the Draghi report, announced yesterday. The request is therefore deemed to have been approved, pursuant to Rule 151(2).

13. Corrigenda (Rule 251) (action taken)

2-0393-0000

President. – Pursuant to Rule 251(4) of the Rules of Procedure, I would like to inform you that there was no request to put to the vote the corrigendum announced in plenary on Monday, 16 December.

The corrigendum is therefore deemed to have been approved and it is published on the plenary website.

14. Use of rape as weapon of war, in particular in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan (debate)

2-0395-0000

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 the use of rape as a weapon of war, in particular in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan (2024/2987(RSP)).

2-0396-0000

Kaja Kallas, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Madam President, honourable Members, we will be speaking about horrific wars taking place today, where sexual violence is being used as a weapon.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) last year, Médecins sans Frontières helped treat over 25 000 victims and survivors of sexual violence across the country. That is more than two people every hour. In September this year, 80 % of displaced women in camps had reportedly suffered rape.

Sudan faces the greatest humanitarian crisis of the world. 25 million people who need support right now and the most basic needs, including food and water. But here too, rape and gender-based violence are also used as tactics on the battlefield. 6.7 million people are at risk of gender-based violence, with displaced refugee and migrant women and girls particularly vulnerable.

The two main parties to the conflict are accused of sexual violence, with Rapid Support Forces fighters and allied militias having committed sexual violence on a large scale, including multiple occurrences of sexual slavery. Sexual violence in conflict is a war crime. But in DRC and Sudan, it's part of daily life. It is under-reported and likely to be far worse than we imagine. Whatever the EU can do to change this, we must do.

In DRC, as we support regional peace initiatives, the Luanda and Nairobi processes, we have also sanctioned individuals who are known serious human rights violators to complement UN sanctions. The current list includes 23 people and one entity. Seven of these are linked to armed groups who have committed sexual violence.

They are subject to travel bans, which prevent them from entering or transiting through European Member States, and an asset freeze. EU citizens and companies are forbidden from making funds available to them and we sanction those who sustain, support or benefit from the armed conflict, instability or insecurity in the country. I want us to constantly review these lists and be ready to add to them with the agreement of all EU Member States.

In Sudan, we are also pushing for peace. Together with our regional and international partners, including the African Union and the United Nations, we call for an immediate ceasefire and sustainable political solution to the conflict.

But there must be accountability for crimes committed too. This is also a hugely important part of rebuilding post-war. We just issued the third package of sanctions yesterday in order to achieve these objectives and we will continue to support the work of the International Criminal Court (ICC). It must be free to investigate and prosecute those responsible for sexual violence and other atrocities in Sudan, as it did in the 2000s when the ICC issued arrest warrants for crimes committed in Darfur. And as we do in DRC, in Sudan, we should also support additional sanctions against the perpetrators of human rights violations and abuses.

For both the DRC and Sudan, the EU will remain a provider of humanitarian support. In DRC, the EU provided over EUR 112 million of funding for humanitarian aid this year. In response to the widespread prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence in the country, the EU is implementing a strategy specifically to address gender-based violence with a budget of over EUR 12 million. In Sudan, we have increased funding to humanitarian organisations, tackling gender-based violence, operating on the ground to almost 4 million in the last two years.

At the same time, we are working with our partners to ensure that their programs integrate protection services so that survivors receive adequate medical care, psychological support and any other relevant protection support. Globally, the EU has provided over EUR 50 million in the last two years alone to tackle gender-based violence in emergencies.

Looking forward, the EU must remain committed to a strong global response to conflict-related sexual violence. First, it is global condemnation and global response that will send the clearest message to perpetrators that their actions will be punished. Second, this requires strong legal systems to hold criminals to account: globally, four in five women and girls live in countries without substantial legal protection against gender-based violence. Third, it requires more humanitarian funding that explicitly addresses gender-based violence. We need to do much better than spending a meagre 1 % of global humanitarian funding to tackle violence against women and girls. And finally, for victims, the EU will keep funding initiatives across the globe that provides survivors with healthcare, legal assistance and psychological support, and we call on others to do so as well.

For victims, wherever you are, the EU's message is simple: you are not alone. Honourable Members, we must honour the courage of survivors by ensuring that their suffering is met with action and that their resilience inspires change.

2-0397-0000

Ingeborg Ter Laak, *namens de PPE-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, collega's, beste commissaris, wat als verkrachting in een conflict normaal is en je geen enkele mogelijkheid hebt om je ertegen te wapenen? Bovendien, als je slachtoffer wordt, kan je ook niet over je pijn en verdriet vertellen. Als je dat doet, loop je het risico om afgewezen te worden, om uitgesloten te worden uit je eigen gemeenschap. Dit is wat meisjes en vrouwen in Congo en Soedan overkomt. Meisjes, kinderen, zij zijn soms nog maar negen jaar oud.

Ik heb dit met eigen ogen gezien, twintig jaar geleden in Congo en helaas is het vandaag de dag nog steeds de realiteit. Seksueel geweld is een effectief en betrouwbaar wapen om een hele bevolking te vernederen en hele gemeenschappen te ontwrichten. Dit wapen is voor militaire groeperingen altijd gratis voorhanden en het wordt dan ook vaak ingezet. Seksueel geweld veroorzaakt niet alleen een levenslange mentale schade, maar ook bijna altijd een enorme fysieke schade. Zo maakte de VN recent bekend dat een meisje van elf overleed aan de verwondingen die ze opliep door verkrachting. Een vrouw is meer dan 35 dagen vastgehouden en verkracht door groepen mannen.

Vrouwen zouden nooit het tactisch wapen mogen zijn van een tegenstander, om de ander te vernederen en te controleren in oorlog. En laten we er bij het ontstaan van vredesinitiatieven voor zorgen dat vrouwen altijd aan de onderhandelingstafel zitten en zorgen dat seksueel geweld een onderwerp is van het gesprek, zodat de daders ter verantwoording worden geroepen en de slachtoffers gesteund.

2-0398-0000

Marit Maij, *namens de S&D-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, mevrouw de hoge vertegenwoordiger, collega's, seksueel geweld tegen vrouwen, verkrachting, wordt ingezet als een middel in de oorlog. Vrouwen en meisjes worden ingezet als middel in oorlogsvoering. Met die vrouwen en meisjes worden hele gemeenschappen gestraft, vernederd en ontwricht. Seksueel geweld in conflict is een oorlogsmisdaad en vrouwen en meisjes worden disproportioneel geraakt. 95% van de geregistreerde zaken betreft vrouwen en meisjes. Het veroorzaakt fysieke, emotionele en psychologische littekens bij de betrokkenen, maar ook in hun gemeenschappen. Slachtoffers en hun familieleden lopen het risico om geïsoleerd te raken, om buiten hun gemeenschap geplaatst te worden.

We hebben het vandaag over de DRC en Soedan. Maar laten we eerlijk zijn, dit gebeurt in alle situaties waar oorlog is, ook op andere continenten op dit moment. Het gaat om verkrachting, om groepsverkrachting, seksueel misbruik, seksuele slavernij, gedwongen prostitutie. De strijdkrachten maken zich daaraan schuldig in de DRC en in Congo, aan beide zijden.

Het is belangrijk dat de EU aan de slag gaat om vrouwen en meisjes, maar ook de mannen en jongens die hier slachtoffer van zijn, te beschermen, om internationaal recht te beschermen. Zero tolerance als het gaat om seksueel geweld. Obstakels voor humanitaire hulp wegnemen. Ik vraag daarom aan de EU om samen met de lidstaten te zorgen voor meer humanitaire hulp om te zorgen dat er gerichte hulp is voor de slachtoffers, om te zorgen dat er gerichte sancties zijn tegen de commandanten van de strijdkrachten die dit mogelijk maken, maar ook om ervoor te zorgen dat deze vrouwen en meisjes niet alleen beschermd worden, maar een plek krijgen aan de tafel. Dat zij geen middel zijn voor oorlogsvoering, maar dat zij bijdragen aan de vrede. Want dat is de belangrijkste taak die vrouwen en meisjes goed kunnen oppakken.

2-0399-0000

Thierry Mariani, *au nom du groupe PjE*. – Madame la Présidente, «désormais, aucune femme ne peut se rendre seule aux champs. Elles ont peur d'être violées et abusées.» Ce témoignage d'une Congolaise du Nord-Kivu laisse entrevoir l'enfer qu'est devenu le quotidien des femmes dans cette région. Car, en République démocratique du Congo, le viol est devenu une arme. Pas une stratégie isolée, mais une véritable tragédie de guerre. Qui en est l'architecte, Madame la Vice-Présidente? C'est Paul Kagamé, ce dictateur rwandais que la Commission européenne soutient contre Kinshasa, et qui a été brillamment réélu avec 99,13 % des voix – et là, on ne trouve rien à redire...

Et après, vous me permettez, j'ai écouté votre discours. Vous avez dit qu'il fallait prendre des sanctions contre tous ceux qui sont complices. J'ai peur que, pour vous, les sanctions, il ne faille commencer par les prendre ici, à Strasbourg et à Bruxelles. Pourquoi? Parce que, vous le savez très bien – ou peut-être allez-vous découvrir le dossier –, l'Union européenne a signé un accord que l'on présente comme exemplaire, et où, en réalité, on achète au Rwanda des minerais qu'il n'a pas, mais que, chacun le sait – l'ONU l'a confirmé dans son rapport en juin dernier –, il pille à la République démocratique du Congo, juste de l'autre côté de sa frontière. C'est-à-dire que, en réalité, on se sent coupable en étant receleur et en achetant ces minerais.

Voilà, si vous voulez prendre des sanctions, commencez par là, ou alors changez cet accord, qui, à mon avis, est un accord qui encourage ces viols.

2-0400-0000

Hilde Vautmans, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Mesdames et Messieurs, nous ne pouvons plus fermer les yeux sur les violences sexuelles utilisées comme arme de guerre. Rien qu'au Nord-Kivu, plus de 17 000 femmes et filles ont été violées les cinq derniers mois. C'est une réalité choquante, brutale, qui ne peut plus être ignorée. Comme aujourd'hui, nous avons, en 2014, décerné ici même le prix Sakharov au docteur Mukwege pour avoir soigné, ou plutôt réparé des femmes violées. Aujourd'hui, il répare les filles et les petites-filles des enfants issues de ces horribles viols. Et j'ai visité son hôpital. J'ai parlé avec ces filles. Leur corps était détruit, mais pas leurs rêves. Je leur ai demandé de quoi elles rêvaient. Et vous savez ce que l'une d'elles m'a répondu? Cette petite fille d'à peine 12 ans m'a dit: «Madame, je rêve d'avoir un homme et des enfants.» Pourtant, elle avait été violée pendant des semaines par des soldats. Elle était complètement détruite.

Alors, Madame Kallas, il est grand temps que l'Europe redonne toute sa force à l'accord-cadre d'Addis-Abeba. Vous avez certainement vu que, ce week-end, le processus de Luanda a encore une fois échoué. Vous savez très bien que les minerais stratégiques sont le moteur de ces conflits. Alors, sanctionnez tous les acteurs et les complices impliqués. L'histoire nous jugera selon nos actions d'aujourd'hui. *Amani kwenu*. Pour être à la hauteur de son rôle, l'Europe doit conditionner ses relations économiques avec le Rwanda.

2-0401-0000

Assita Kanko, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, I am very sorry that I had a little accident on my phone. I am grateful that we are having this debate. And as you see, it makes us nervous because we feel powerless. We have been speaking about this situation for so many years. Colleagues mentioned Doctor Denis Mukwege, who even won the Nobel Prize, and we should also mention the Yazidi victims who also went through so much.

Today the list is very long. Women are always the first victims of conflict – they are not only raped and kidnapped, but also sold and taken to be exploited as slaves. Their pain is neverending. It's not only a woman that is destroyed, but the whole community usually, a whole family. After that they

cannot stand up anymore. The women of Congo, the women of Sudan, they all need us, they are totally abandoned. But today we can also speak about the women of Ethiopia who are also suffering. We must fight against this, and we must prevent the conflicts that create space for women to be destroyed and for communities to be assaulted.

I am today also especially willing to have us remember the women who were also violated on 7 October and who were kidnapped, who were also raped. This was also rape as a weapon of war. We need to condemn it and some of them are still held as hostages.

I would like to finish by honouring a woman from my city called Nathalie. Nathalie loves to go running in the morning. When she went out in 2016 to run in Vilvoorde, where I live, someone beat her up, raped her and left her down as if she was dead. After that, she went through so much pain, but the perpetrator was free three years after. The pain was so intense that Natalie requested euthanasia and she was granted the right to have euthanasia because the pain is unbearable. This is what our system does to women who are victims. We need to wake up for all of them. There is a war against women. It's called rape.

2-0402-0000

Catarina Vieira, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear Ms Kallas, 'there is nothing anyone can do for justice; I just have to report to God'. These were the words of a survivor of sexual violence in Sudan. These are words of hopelessness. Amidst the horrible conflict in Sudan, women are raped, often by several men and in front of their families. In some cases, they are under age. In some cases, they are kept as sex slaves. Meanwhile, in Congo, every minute a woman is raped. In North Kivu, women have been targeted by soldiers when they were leaving displacement camps in search of food.

So rape as a method of warfare is not an act by individual soldiers, but a systematic, deliberate and cruel warfare tactic that terrorises victims. It tears entire communities apart, and it has the potential to leave irreparable damage and erase women and girls' participation in public life.

International humanitarian law is evolving, and rape is increasingly being identified as a war crime, a crime against humanity and an act contributing to genocide. This legal recognition, both in the EU and the UN, is extremely important, but we need to step up our efforts. We need to deploy missions to protect civilians, we must demand the investigation and prosecution of perpetrators, and we must ensure that women are full participants in all peace negotiations. Let us take our responsibility because we owe it to the survivors.

2-0403-0000

Merja Kyllönen, *The Left-ryhmän puolesta*. – Arvoisa puhemies, raiskausten käyttäminen sodankäynnin aseena on ihmisyyden alhaisinta pahuutta. Ukrainassa, Sudanissa, Kongon demokraattisessa tasavallassa ja monessa muussa paikassa erityisesti lapset ja naiset ovat joutuneet systemaattisen seksuaalisen väkivallan uhreiksi.

Sotien runtelemilla alueilla usein haavoittuvimmassa asemassa olevia ihmisiä sorretaan kaikkein eniten. Tämä on julmuutta, johon EU:n on vastattava päättäväisesti. Meidän on varmistettava, että kansainvälisillä toimijoilla on riittävät resurssit näiden järkyttävien rikosten torjumiseen, ennaltaehkäisyyn ja uhrien auttamiseen.

EU:n johtajuus mitataan teoissa. Meidän on lisättävä tukea kriisialueille suunnattuihin erityisohjelmiin, joilla torjutaan seksuaalista väkivaltaa ja vahvistetaan oikeusturvaa. Jokaisen

uhrin on oltava meille jotain muuta kuin numero tilastoissa. Tämä on testi inhimillisyydellemme. Meidän on pystyttävä parempaan ja toimittava nyt.

2-0404-0000

Marta Temido (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Alta Representante, há dez anos, nesta mesma sala, o Parlamento entregava o Prémio Sakharov a Denis Mukwege, o médico que tem dedicado a vida a curar o corpo das mulheres vítimas de violações de guerra na República Democrática do Congo.

Dizia o Dr. Mukwege que os corpos das mulheres se tornaram num verdadeiro campo de batalha no seu país e noutros, como o Sudão, de que hoje aqui também falamos.

O recurso à violência sexual é uma das mais violentas armas de guerra, porque agride e traumatiza as mulheres que dela são vítimas e, simultaneamente, fere toda a comunidade, acabando maioritariamente impune.

O Sudão surge, agora, como um novo campo de batalha no qual esta arma, barata, acessível e com efeito devastador, como a qualificava Mukwege, é usada por grupos armados para violar em massa mulheres, meninas e meninos.

Uma década passada sobre a consagração do Prémio Sakharov à luta contra a violação como arma de guerra, apelo aqui às autoridades destes dois países para que condenem, clara e inequivocamente estes crimes, responsabilizem judicialmente os culpados e facilitem a entrada de assistência humanitária para prestação de cuidados de saúde capazes de dar resposta a estes atos terríveis.

2-0405-0000

Charles Goerens (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Haute Représentante, notre débat d’aujourd’hui porte sur le viol comme arme de guerre au Congo et au Soudan. Ce qui s’y passe est absolument abominable. On aurait pu ajouter d’autres pays pour ne pas se limiter aux pays africains, parce qu’au cœur de l’Europe, nous déplorons l’existence du même fléau.

Tout doit être fait pour prévenir cette ignominie. Si un pays impliqué dans une guerre n’a rien fait pour prévenir cette indicible dérive, il sera non seulement complice, mais aussi coupable de la nature et de l’ampleur de ces crimes. Le viol apparaît dans des cas de conflits où le respect des droits de l’homme et la défense du plus faible ne sont pas assurés. Ceux qui assument les pouvoirs régaliens d’un État en guerre sont de toute évidence responsables, voire coupables, et ils doivent être traduits devant la Cour pénale internationale.

En attendant, il importe de bien documenter les preuves qui, tôt ou tard, pourront faire espérer les victimes, qui attendent que justice se fasse. Mettre fin à l’impunité est aussi une forme de prévention. C’est une question de morale, c’est une question de justice, c’est une question de responsabilité politique.

2-0406-0000

Mounir Satouri (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, par le viol, par le recours à l’esclavage sexuel, le corps des femmes est devenu un champ de bataille, au Soudan comme en RDC. C’est une véritable arme de guerre. Le viol est utilisé pour humilier et pour laisser des séquelles physiques, pour détruire psychologiquement les femmes et leur communauté.

Les fillettes ne sont pas épargnées. Au Soudan, des viols ont lieu sur des enfants de 8 ans. En RDC, le nombre de mineures qui accouchent à la suite de viols explose. Le viol est aussi utilisé par des puissances étrangères comme le Rwanda. Le but? Déplacer les populations pour piller les richesses minières.

Madame Kallas, le protocole d'accord signé avec Kigali passe sous silence les exactions du Rwanda en RDC. Je vous pose une question directe: l'Union européenne est-elle complice de ces crimes? Si oui, que comptez-vous faire pour mettre fin à cette complicité?

Je veux citer ici le docteur Mukwege, lauréat du prix Sakharov et Prix Nobel de la paix: «Ce ne sont pas seulement les auteurs de violences qui sont responsables de leurs crimes, mais aussi ceux qui choisissent de détourner le regard.» Madame Kallas, ne détournez pas le regard. Agissez!

2-0407-0000

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, la violence sexuelle est utilisée comme arme de guerre tant à l'est de la République démocratique du Congo qu'au Soudan. Les victimes sont innombrables, et les histoires, les témoignages des femmes et des filles sont horribles.

Aujourd'hui, ici, on dénonce ces crimes – il ne manquerait plus que cela! –, mais les paroles de certains d'entre vous me laissent un goût amer. Parce que, pendant qu'on blablate ici, pendant qu'on palabre, il y a des politiques européennes bien concrètes qui entretiennent, qui alimentent, en fait, ces guerres en Afrique.

Soyons francs, qu'avons-nous fait quand les Nations unies ont accusé le Rwanda de soutenir des groupes armés au Congo? L'Union européenne est allée signer un accord privilégié avec le Rwanda et elle a donné de l'argent public au Rwanda et à son armée. Pourquoi donc, aujourd'hui, y trouve-t-on des véhicules blindés et des armes européennes – même au Soudan! –, en dépit de l'embargo des Nations unies? Parce que, en Afrique, les matières premières importent plus à l'Europe que les droits de l'homme.

Il est temps d'en finir avec cette ingérence, avec cette déstabilisation en Afrique, et de respecter la souveraineté des peuples africains, pour que la paix revienne.

2-0408-0000

Hana Jalloul Muro (S&D). – Señora presidenta, la violencia sexual como arma de guerra es una de las caras más atroces y silenciadas de los conflictos. No se trata de actos aislados de soldados descontrolados, sino de una táctica deliberada que deconstruye a individuos, familias y comunidades enteras. Es una violencia que somete, aterroriza y desplaza, dejando secuelas físicas, psicológicas y sociales que duran generaciones.

En Sudán, combatientes de las Fuerzas de Apoyo Rápido han cometido violaciones en grupo y esclavitud sexual contra decenas de mujeres y niñas. Hay regiones donde las mujeres han sido violadas en presencia de sus familias e incluso secuestradas y sometidas a meses de abusos en bases militares. Estas atrocidades constituyen crímenes de guerra y crímenes de lesa humanidad.

En la República Democrática del Congo, la violencia sexual alcanza niveles desgarradores. Decenas de miles de mujeres son violadas cada año. Los combatientes utilizan esta brutalidad para sembrar el terror y desgarrar el tejido social, dejando comunidades enteras traumatizadas, silenciadas y divididas.

Ante esto, debemos ser claros: debemos acabar con las guerras que permiten estas atrocidades, así como garantizar la justicia y la reparación a las víctimas, poniendo fin a la impunidad. Por eso son tan importantes las direcciones generales como las de las víctimas ante la Corte Penal Internacional. Sobre todo, no más guerras, no más impunidad y no más silencio.

2-0409-0000

Barry Andrews (Renew). – Madam President, Ms Kallas, colleagues, just this morning, I met women peace activists from Israel and Palestine, both of whom emphasised the importance of UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. It's often said that truth is the first victim of war, when in reality women and children are the first victims.

The conflict in Sudan has been marked by grave violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, which, combined with a breakdown of basic services, is disproportionately affecting women and girls. Reports of conflict-related, gender-based violence have been widespread in Sudan. We are seeing similar scenes of mass rape and sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, with children as young as nine being victims of sexual violence.

But we have to put deeds with our words, and the reality is that our development aid budgets are shrinking across the EU Member States and here in the Commission. And we have to remember these speeches and these words when we decide on what our development aid budgets will be in the years to come.

2-0410-0000

Isabel Serra Sánchez (The Left). – Señora presidenta, la violencia sexual es un arma de guerra. Y hoy, en Sudán y en la República Democrática del Congo, muchísimas mujeres están sufriendo esta gravísima vulneración de los derechos humanos. También en Palestina, por cierto.

Pero, señorías, más allá de palabras vacías y de volver a constatar la normalización y la impunidad de la violencia sexual en nuestra sociedad, ¿qué debe hacer la Unión Europea?

En primer lugar, más ayuda humanitaria: es evidente —y así lo declaran las organizaciones de derechos humanos— que no está siendo suficiente.

En segundo lugar, dejar de invertir en más armas, en más militarización, en el negocio de empresas armamentísticas que fabrican armas que van a parar a la República Democrática del Congo o a Sudán. Aumentar el gasto militar nunca genera más seguridad.

En tercer lugar, dejar de impulsar una política colonialista y extractivista: lo llaman cooperación pero significa desviar ayuda oficial al desarrollo para que empresas europeas hagan negocio e impide la soberanía de los pueblos en el sur global, la democracia y los derechos.

En cuarto lugar, no pactar con una ultraderecha que niega la violencia contra las mujeres para formar un gobierno aquí en la Unión Europea.

Y, en quinto lugar, no hacer acuerdos con países que vulneran derechos humanos.

2-0411-0000

Nikos Papandreou (S&D). – Madam President, in the Congo and Sudan, men are drunk and evil. They live in a world of savagery. They themselves have been destroyed even as they destroy the women, the men and the children.

Every woman raped is an assault on our soul. We do have programmes for aid. We do have support for women. We have made endless efforts for peace. We have imposed sanctions on warlords. And yet I myself am at a loss at what we need to do.

Sometimes, in our dream world, I think, 'Give me an army. Let me solve it like that. Give me an army to save the women and save the men.'

We have resorted to violence with far less cause, unfortunately. Yet, is that the only solution? Violence with violence? Somewhere in the skies a devil is smiling. Somewhere in the skies an angel is crying.

2-0412-0000

Jan-Christoph Oetjen (Renew). – Frau Präsidentin, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Krieg ist schrecklich. Aber wenn wir uns vorstellen, was diese jungen Frauen, Kinder zum Teil, durchmachen müssen, dann ist das noch viel schrecklicher – das ist die Hölle auf Erden. Stellen Sie sich vor, Soldaten kommen in Ihr Dorf, in Ihr Heim, vergewaltigen Ihre Mutter, vergewaltigen die Kinder, einer nach dem anderen. Mädchen werden verschleppt, zwangsverheiratet, als Sklaven gehandelt. Das ist das, was gestern von *Human Rights Watch* in einem Bericht über den Sudan präsentiert wurde, und das ist leider dort die tägliche Realität.

Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wir dürfen da nicht wegschauen, sondern wir müssen gezielte Sanktionen auf den Weg bringen als Europäische Union gegenüber denen, die dafür verantwortlich sind, dass solche schrecklichen Taten geschehen. Und wir müssen dafür sorgen, dass der Internationale Gerichtshof in die Lage versetzt wird, solche Kriegsverbrechen, solche Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit tatsächlich aufzuklären und die Täter hinter Gitter zu bringen.

2-0413-0000

Hanna Gedin (The Left). – Fru talman! I många konflikter, bland annat i Sudan och Kongo, används våldtäkt som vapen. Det sexuella våldet drabbar kvinnor på plats i krigsområden, men också kvinnor på flykt. Men medan vi sitter i denna sal och diskuterar så finansierar faktiskt EU våld. I sin jakt på att lägga ut flyktingmottagandet på entreprenad till andra länder, göder EU konflikter och grova människorättsbrott.

Det finns påståenden om att EU-pengar gått till den paramilitära gruppen Rapid Support Forces i Sudan – en grupp som Human Rights Watch pekar ut för att återkommande använda just sexuellt våld i sin krigsföring.

Vi har även sett det i Libyen, vi har sett det i Tunisien, hur EU finansierar våld i syfte att hindra människor från att ta sig hit. Det här måste få ett slut. Inga mer skattepengar till att upprätthålla eller underlätta våld. Inga fler migrationspakter.

2-0414-0000

Elisabeth Grossmann (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Kommissarin, hohe Vertreterin, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Einsatz von Vergewaltigung als Kriegstaktik ist nicht nur ein grausames Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit, sondern ist auch geeignet, ganze Gesellschaften

zu destabilisieren. Vergewaltigung und sexuelle Gewalt im Krieg sind eben nicht nur ein Kriegsverbrechen – „nur“ –, sondern es ist auch ein Ausdruck eines tief verwurzelten patriarchalen Machtmissbrauchs. Hier muss sich die Europäische Union mit aller Entschlossenheit und mit allen Mitteln gegen diese Verbrechen einsetzen.

Wir hören immer wieder die erschütternden Berichte der überaus wichtigen Organisation Ärztinnen und Ärzte ohne Grenzen, dass die Zahl an Opfern stetig steigt. Auch im heurigen Jahr ist diese Zahl weiter gestiegen, und da ist es unsere Pflicht als Vertreterinnen und Vertreter europäischer Werte – eben der Humanität – nicht nur diese Taten mit Worten zu verurteilen, sondern auch entschlossene Taten zu setzen.

2-0415-0000

Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew). – Madam President, Madam High Representative, dear colleagues, I would like to ask you, Madam High Representative, to actually initiate a global initiative against weaponising of rape as a tool of war against women. Let us be taking the lead on this issue, because we all know the fact that women in Sudan are raped by different militias. We know that as a fact – we know that they are treated with no human dignity. We know that there are gang rapes against them. We know that girls are being treated the same way. We know that in the DRC, women have been suffering from sexual violence for such a long time, and still we are debating this over and over again. We have the tools, but no one is willing to actually do the job.

I do believe that you have the stamina, you have the competence, but also the the legitimacy to actually take this initiative globally and lead the world against the weaponisation of rape against women, because this is totally not acceptable for our standards, for our world. These women, they deserve to live a life in safety. They deserve to live a life in dignity. They deserve to have their whole bodies whole and not used as a tool of war.

2-0416-0000

Per Clausen (The Left). – Fru formand! Sudan, hvor vold og voldtægt bruges som krigsvåben mod kvinder og piger, er en forfærdelig plet på menneskeheden. Rapporter om gruppevoldtægter, seksuelt slaveri og vold påført civile er dybt foruroligende. Det er ikke kun en krænkelse af den menneskelige værdighed. Det er en krigsforbrydelse og en forbrydelse mod menneskeheden. Kvinders kroppe bliver slagmarker, hvor kulturelle og politiske, men ikke mindst økonomiske magtspil og kampe om ressourcer og råvarer udspilles. Men vi skal også huske, at kvinderne i Sudan ikke kun er ofre. De er også modstandere og overlever. Vi har et ansvar for at støtte dem i deres modstand i denne forfærdelige krig. Vi skal sikre, at der ikke kommer våben og penge til dem, der står bag forbrydelserne. Vi skal bruge ethvert diplomatisk, økonomisk og juridisk værktøj til at presse Sudans stridende fraktioner og afslutte denne groteske vold.

2-0417-0000

Rima Hassan (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, au Kivu, au Soudan et ailleurs, les corps des femmes sont transformés en champs de bataille, et le viol est utilisé comme arme de guerre. Les guerres sur fond de prédation des ressources et d'ingérence étrangère ont donné lieu au massacre de 6 millions de personnes en République démocratique du Congo, dans une indifférence et une impunité quasi totale. Au Soudan, les femmes sont elles aussi les cibles systématiques de violences sexuelles, alors même qu'en 2019, elles menaient en première ligne la révolution qui renversa le dictateur Omar el-Béchir. Dans ce pays, pour certaines femmes, être en sécurité, c'est être morte, comme en témoignent les suicides de femmes violées ou craignant de l'être. Pendant que les armes continuent d'affluer, les survivantes, elles, sont abandonnées, stigmatisées et privées de

justice. Selon l'ONU, ces violences sexuelles ont augmenté de 50 % en 2023 – une statistique qui demeure sous-estimée.

Ces crimes, qui visent à briser des communautés, ne cesseront pas tant que leurs auteurs ne seront pas poursuivis. Cette insupportable culture de l'impunité doit cesser, aussi bien en République démocratique du Congo qu'au Soudan ou ailleurs. Les États européens doivent mettre fin aux livraisons d'armes qui alimentent ces atrocités et exiger des comptes à celles de leurs entreprises qui s'en rendent complices. À celles qui ont survécu nous devons non seulement réparation, mais aussi une raison d'espérer. L'avenir ne pourra se construire sans elles.

2-0418-0000

Catch-the-eye procedure

2-0419-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear people of Europe, whenever I think about the stories that I read about the weaponization of rape in Sudan and Congo quite some months ago, I don't know what I can say anymore and it sends a shiver down my spine.

But I would like to touch on one thing that our dear colleague, Mr Oetjen, said. He said we need to enable the international court – I think he meant the International Criminal Court – to actually do something against this, and I want to agree with all my heart.

I think it is time. It is because of crimes like this, as well as because of other crimes, that we actually enable international criminal law institutions to enact international law. You can call it 'blue helmets', you can call it a 'world police' – I don't care. But in a situation where people weaponize rape as a weapon of war, there need to be other people with guns who can stop those people.

2-0420-0000

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

2-0421-0000

Kaja Kallas, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Madam President, thank you for this debate. I was also in this plenary when Doctor Mukwege got the Sakharov Prize and I remember how he explained what is really happening on the ground. It was so devastating that I couldn't sleep afterwards because the descriptions were just so, so horrific.

It is clear that the European Union is resolute in condemnation of sexual violence, and if we look at international humanitarian law, it also says very clearly that this is a war crime and it has to be prosecuted as such. This requires strong legal frameworks through which perpetrators can be held to account. There I definitely think that we need to work harder.

The EU will continue to collaborate with the United Nations, also the NGOs and other stakeholders to build the capacity to do this. In the DRC, the EU has been supporting several international partners including UNFPA, Save the Children, Solidarités International, DanChurchAid, all of which have numerous local Congolese partners distributing to the response and whose capacity is being built up with our support. At the same time we also focus on supporting survivors with the initiatives that provide survivors healthcare, legal assistance and psychological support, but the problem is it's so massive and this is really very horrific.

I want to underline my commitment in this role to do more and I want the EU to contribute to stronger global response to conflict-related sexual violence. This also includes but is not limited to, our global human rights sanctions regime. Here we target those responsible for serious violations. But it's clear that this is not the fight of any nation or institution that can take it alone. It requires united global efforts to strengthen accountability mechanisms, enhanced protections for vulnerable populations, and building societies to uphold the dignity and equality of all people.

I really here call on the men also to understand the worry and the problem, how big it is. I mean, I was counting how many men spoke on this topic – the majority were women, and I know that in this plenary, the majority are not women. As long as this is a female issue, then there will not be a change. Please men speak up – it can be your mothers, it can be your sisters, it can be your daughters that are attacked here.

2-0422-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

15. Russia's disinformation and historical falsification to justify its war of aggression against Ukraine (debate)

2-0424-0000

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 Russia's disinformation and historical falsification to justify its war of aggression against Ukraine (2024/2988(RSP)).

2-0425-0000

Kaja Kallas, Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, there is no rewriting of history that can ever explain away the invasion of another country today, but some people just don't care. Putin's justification for his war on Ukraine is steeped in lies. Ukrainians are fighting back every second of every day, and we will continue to support them until they win this war.

But there is also a war taking place off the battlefield. It is Russia's war of disinformation. Disinformation is a fundamental part of Russian military activities, and this is what we are here to discuss.

When Russia illegally annexed the Crimean Peninsula, it began with the disinformation campaign based on falsely accusing Ukraine of a different history it never had. I will not repeat these lies here. Anyone can find them online.

We are talking about coordinated and state-funded information manipulation campaigns, but not only in the media. Russian authorities are revising history textbooks for Russian pupils and students, bringing the imperial war propaganda to schools and brainwashing children for years now. And it has a clear impact. Again, you can look at the videos online.

Russia jails its own historians and destroys organisations that seek truth. Like Yuri Dmitriev, for example, whose work identified the victims of Stalin-era repressions in Karelia. We have seen this all before. We have seen it in action in the Soviet Union.

Honourable Members, we cannot accept the spill-over into Europe of Russian disinformation campaigns. It is a weapon to support the kinetic warfare on the ground. We have to fight it. This is a hybrid warfare.

The frontline of this hybrid warfare runs through our own democracies, universities, parliaments, media and other institutions. It aims at creating distrust. You know, people don't know what to trust anymore, sparking domestic divisions, influencing democratic decision-making, including the decisions we make at the ballot box. It aims to change our policies and deter Europe from supporting Ukraine. Organised disinformation or sometimes also manipulated information which is partly true reaches wide audiences via social media. It sits literally in our pockets, on our phones, in our apps.

The best way to counter propaganda and disinformation remains the same: expose it, provide the facts and the truth, support the free and independent press. Traditional media and journalists play such a crucial role to ensure that propaganda and disinformation don't succeed. Online, the major platforms also have a fundamental role in this regard.

The EU has been at the forefront of developing policies and tools to fight against disinformation online. With the Digital Services Act and the Code of Practice on Disinformation, the EU put in place the framework to make sure that digital platforms are doing their job. But we also have to empower users, researchers and fact-checkers, demonetising disinformation and ensuring transparency of political advertising.

So what is Europe doing against Russia's disinformation aggression? Following Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014, the EU's work against disinformation began and has only become stronger since then. The East Stratcom Task Force was created with a specific mandate from the European Council to counter Russian disinformation campaigns. Thank you to the European Parliament for pushing to set it up.

Since then, the EU has done more to fight foreign information manipulation and interference. We have built a rapid alert system to share information, exchange best practices and coordinate the responses with the EU Member States and institutions. Our objective is to collect evidence on all foreign interference activities, act quickly against disinformation campaigns and expose Russia.

Beyond our immediate neighbourhood, we have expanded our work in this area to support our European delegations around the world. We are working widely to safeguard civilian and military operations from all foreign information manipulation and interference. We have built a Team Europe approach to tackle Russia's interference attacks against the EU and our partners. We have experts in dedicated task forces now focusing on other parts of the world, such as the EU Southern Neighbourhood, the Western Balkans, China, sub-Saharan Africa and CSDP missions.

To ensure that the information on the incidents and threats that we collect has a benefit for all, we have created a dedicated information-sharing and analysis centre. This helps civil society in our Member States and beyond to pool their knowledge about root causes, incidents and threats.

Honourable Members, disinformation is a Russian military tactic and a threat to our security. Going forward, building on the work of the Commission services and the EEAS in combating foreign information manipulation, interference and disinformation, we will cooperate better to make sure that we can better prevent, detect and also address domestic threats to democracy, as

well as improving situational awareness of disinformation and crisis response mechanisms. It is key to talk about concrete examples and I urge you to invite our experts also to brief you on them.

As we recently saw in Romania, Moldova and Georgia, Russia does not stop its attempts to undermine and destabilise our Union and our partners. We know we must work, especially with candidate countries, on building a resilience to withstand Russia's attempts to keep them away from the European path.

Beyond our neighbourhood, we also need to rebuild EU's influence in third countries. We will work together closely with democracies in sub-Saharan Africa and other regions where Russia is heavily investing in its information manipulation operations. To tackle this, we also need to work with our like-minded partners, especially the G7, to pool the know-how, resources and also respond collectively.

2-0426-0000

Rasa Juknevičienė, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, thank you very much, Madam Vice-President, for being with us on this very important debate. I would like to thank my colleagues in the informal Remembrance Group for their support in getting this debate with resolution in January on the agenda.

I was born in a Lithuania occupied by the Soviet Union. It was a period of brutal lies, when the freedom fighters were called bandits, and families exiled to Siberia were called profiteers and prostitutes. When we regained our independence, we hoped for the end of the empire of lies. Yet, unfortunately, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was the biggest European disaster of the last century. Unfortunately, it is being revived in the aggressive policies of the current Kremlin and also because Communist crimes were not addressed.

We must ensure that Russia's war crimes in Ukraine are judged by a special tribunal. This would also serve as a condemnation of the crimes committed by the Communists. Today's Russia uses history as a tool not only against Ukraine, but also against us, against the whole democratic world. Putin wants to bring back the division of spheres of influence, regardless of the will of the nations.

We must stand against any attempts to create exclusive zones of interest that undermine the sovereignty and borders of independent countries. Such actions go against international law. Every nation has the right to choose its own security arrangements, including defence partnerships and to take steps to protect its people's wellbeing.

Let us be clear: no reason – political, economic or military – can justify acts of aggression. As we prepare for the resolution to be adopted in January, we must highlight these principles loud and clear.

2-0427-0000

Tonino Picula, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, Madam High Representative, dear colleagues, I would like to start my speech by strongly condemning Russia's persistent disinformation and historical falsification to justify its war of aggression against Ukraine.

Why does Russia use disinformation and falsification? Because their actions have no justification under international law. Most probably, this debate will enable a number of opinions and attempts to justify the actions of Russia, which might then be misused and miscommunicated on social media platforms. That's also an additional reason for us to be even more committed to defending the historical facts, as well as the present premises of international law.

We insist on a special tribunal on Russia's crime of aggression and for international justice to deal with Russia's war crimes and crimes against humanity. We call for a legal proposal to use the EUR 200 billion frozen Russian state assets in order to arm and reconstruct Ukraine. The use of profits is not enough. It is also high time to have reached a common position on the use of long-range weapons against legitimate military targets on Russian territory.

The best way to fight disinformation, apart from calling it out, is to respond to them with concrete action to help Ukraine for as long as it takes.

2-0428-0000

Pierre-Romain Thionnet, *au nom du groupe PflE.* – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, que Poutine ait consacré à l'histoire de l'Ukraine un article entier et des messages télévisés la veille et le jour même de l'invasion ainsi qu'un entretien d'une heure avec le journaliste Tucker Carlson était tout sauf anodin. C'est à une entreprise de négation de l'histoire d'une nation ukrainienne que nous avons assisté. L'invasion de l'Ukraine a été précédée puis accompagnée par une invasion mentale destinée tant aux Russes et aux Ukrainiens qu'à nous, peuples d'Europe et d'Occident. Entre les mains de Poutine, l'arme de l'histoire sert à nous convaincre du destin inséparable des peuples russe et ukrainien. Dans un suprême mensonge, le Kremlin veut nous garantir qu'en envahissant l'Ukraine, en tuant ses fils et en bombardant ses villes, la Russie commettrait en réalité un geste fraternel.

La nation ukrainienne est résiliente. Mais ici, en Europe de l'Ouest notamment, nous sommes mal protégés contre cet assaut idéologique. Qui donc ne pense pas, au fond, que l'Ukraine est la petite sœur de la Russie, que l'ukrainien est un dialecte du russe et que tout cela a, toujours ou presque, formé un bloc, de l'époque des tsars jusqu'à l'ex-URSS?

Chers collègues, être aux côtés de l'Ukraine comme nous le sommes depuis le début de cette guerre, c'est aussi se défaire d'un imaginaire obsolète qui participe à la défaite des Ukrainiens.

2-0429-0000

Arkadiusz Mularczyk, *w imieniu grupy ECR.* – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Dezinformacja i fałszowanie historii przez Rosję to jedno z kluczowych narzędzi Kremla stosowanych od dekad, w uzasadnieniu zbrodniczej agresji na Ukrainę, ale też w prowadzeniu imperialnej i agresywnej polityki wobec wszystkich sąsiadów. Wszyscy sąsiedzi Rosji znają tę propagandę, dezinformację, ale też imperialną politykę Rosji. Zna ją także mój kraj, Polska. Kreml cynicznie odwraca rolę ofiary i agresora, przedstawiając swoją brutalną wojnę jako misję wyzwolenia. To niebezpieczna manipulacja, która ma siać podziały i chaos w Europie, ale także na świecie. Polska doskonale zna te mechanizmy. Przez dekady od II wojny światowej była ofiarą zakłamywania historii, czego symbolem jest chociażby zbrodnia katyńska, mord 22 tysięcy polskich oficerów, który Związek Sowiecki próbował przerzucić na innych.

Niestety, także dziś w Europie pojawia się niepokojący rewizjonizm historyczny. Zbrodnie II wojny światowej są prezentowane i rozmywane przez bezosobowe określenia, takie jak na przykład naziści zamiast faktyczni sprawcy, czyli Niemcy. Wciąż słyszymy haniebne sformułowania o polskich obozach koncentracyjnych, mimo to, że to Niemcy stworzyli te obozy na polskich ziemiach, fabryki śmierci, gdzie ginęły miliony Polaków, Żydów i obywateli innych narodowości. Te kłamstwa uderzają nie tylko w prawdę, ale i godność ofiar. Dlatego Polska przygotowała historyczne sprawozdanie o stratach wojennych i wystosowała notę dyplomatyczną do rządu Niemiec, domagając się w tej sprawie sprawiedliwości i prawdy historycznej. To wyraz troski o pamięć historyczną i walki o sprawiedliwość.

Dziś Kreml sięga po te same metody, które znamy od zawsze. Fałszując historię, próbuje usprawiedliwić agresję na Ukrainę, odwracać uwagę od własnych zbrodni. To próba użycia historii jako broni propagandowej, która destabilizuje teraźniejszość. Historia pokazuje, że fałszowanie przeszłości prowadzi do eskalacji przemocy. Jako Polacy, którzy od lat walczą o prawdę historyczną, wiemy, jak niebezpieczne są to manipulacje. Dlatego milczenie wobec rosyjskiej propagandy będzie miało tragiczne konsekwencje. Obrona prawdy to nasz obowiązek wobec ofiar przeszłości i przyszłych pokoleń.

2-0430-0000

Helmut Brandstätter, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, for years already, Putin has been waging a war against us Europeans in different ways, with obvious lies, like his essay a year before the full-scale occupation of Ukraine, that there was no Ukrainian nation existing. He complained that we do not see how great the Soviet Union was and he always said that there are no borders for the *Russkiy Mir*. All this was no accident – his tactic was hybrid warfare, taking land by force and taking people's mind by lies.

This strategy was paying off here in the European Union, very often with right-wing extremists. I really wonder there was a colleague from the Patriots for Europe who also sees how terrible Putin is – so some people are learning and I'm very happy about that. It's not the same case in Austria – they still love Putin and say everything is fine what he is doing. But we have to stand up against him. That's the reason why I really call on the Commission – you have to do something.

Kaja Kallas explained how we defend ourselves against misinformation, but we have to do information. I've been a correspondent for a long time in Germany, also in East Germany – the East Germans, they wanted another regime because another government, because they saw it from Western television, that life there was better, the rule of law was better, and so on and so forth. We have to explain to the Russians what rule of law means. We have to explain to them what democracy means, not disinformation. We have to give them information also by the internet, by all the means we have, and then they have a problem, Putin has a problem, but not us anymore.

2-0431-0000

Sergey Lagodinsky, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Das Wort „Desinformation“ kommt aus dem Russischen und wurde unter Stalin erfunden. Der KGB stufte Desinformationen als aktive Maßnahmen ein. Heute erleben wir eine Renaissance von diesen aktiven Maßnahmen.

Seit zwei Jahrzehnten ist auch Geschichte Teil dieser Angriffe. Es ist ein geschichtliches Paralleluniversum, was Putin erfunden hat: Dort fand keine Zerlegung Polens statt, es gab keine Besatzung der baltischen Staaten durch Moskau, und Molotow-Ribbentrop klingt für manche russischen Ohren wie ein fescher Cocktail und nicht wie ein verbrecherischer Pakt zwischen Hitler und Stalin. Keiner redet über genozidale Deportationen von Krimtataren, von Tschetschenen, von Russlanddeutschen, aber alle über das erfundene Naziregime in Kyjiw, das übrigens zurzeit von zwei Juden regiert wird.

Diese Pseudogeschichte trifft in Moskau auf technologische Gegenwart: Allein im Juni 2024 gab es 1 400 falsche prorussische Konten auf X, sie erreichten 4,5 Millionen Nutzerinnen und Nutzer. So sieht es aus, wenn Vergangenheit *made by Putin* die Zukunft *made by Putin* trifft. Gegen diese Zukunft müssen wir gewappnet sein, müssen wir resilient sein, technologisch, aber auch von unserer Haltung her.

Deswegen müssen wir diese wahre Geschichte uns immer wieder vergegenwärtigen, und das werden wir in den kommenden Sitzungen in Straßburg tun, auch in Form unserer Entschlüsse. Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, legen wir los!

2-0432-0000

Özlem Demirel, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Im Krieg stirbt die Wahrheit zuerst: Diese Aussage drückt aus, was in jedem –ausnahmslos jedem – Krieg gilt. Das gilt auch für Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine, das galt auch für europäische oder NATO-Kriege in der Vergangenheit. Desinformationen, Halbwahrheiten und Narrative, die man aufbaut, um das eigene Vorgehen zu legitimieren und der Bevölkerung als notwendig zu verkaufen, sie mindestens ruhigzustellen. Doch Kolleginnen und Kollegen, Kriege sind nichts weiter als Barbarei. Und dagegen braucht es eine starke Friedensbewegung. Und diese starke Friedensbewegung braucht es in Russland, ja, aber sie braucht es auch hier.

Ihre Erzählung ist, dass der Krieg vom Himmel gefallen ist. Jeglichen Hinweis auf die Rolle der NATO in diesem Krieg diffamieren Sie. Sie tun so, als ob die NATO ein Unschuldslamm wäre. Was gehört zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges? Es gehört dazu, dass es Verhandlungen zwischen den USA und Russland gab um die Ukraine. Es gehört dazu, die NATO-Osterweiterung.

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, diese Aussagen legitimieren in keinster Weise den Krieg Russlands, aber sie helfen; über den Kontext zu sprechen, hilft, eine Lösung zu finden. Es setzt aber voraus, dass man eine will. Bei Ihnen zweifle ich daran, dass Sie überhaupt eine Lösung für ein Ende des Krieges wollen. Sie wollen lieber aufrüsten in der EU ...

(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

2-0433-0000

Станислав Стоянов, *от името на групата ESN*. – Г-жо Председател, в продължение на почти две години сме свидетели на смърт и разрушения, причинени от братоубийствена война в Украйна. Войната донесе страдание за народите в Европа, но и същевременно осветли импотентността на европейската дипломация и неспособността ѝ да предложи мирно решение. Най-важната цел трябва да бъде постигането на мир. Обвиненията в лъжи, дезинформиране или исторически фалшификации от едната или другата страна няма да спомогнат за това. Напротив, носят щети. Хора ще продължават да умират и цели поколения ще бъдат унищожавани, без значение от резолюциите, които приемем тук.

Европейският съюз трябва да действа като сила за мир. Вместо да подклаждаме разделение и да дебатираме върху ролята на дезинформацията по време на война, ние трябва неуморно да работим за намирането на дипломатическо решение. Това е най-големият конфликт в Европа от Втората световна война насам и крие огромни рискове и непредвидими последствия за всички.

Нека да се концентрираме върху помиряването, а не върху насъскването и дадем шанс на Европа за мир.

2-0434-0000

Andrzej Halicki (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Dziękuję bardzo za ten temat. Rasa Juknevičienė, która szefuje grupie ds. pamięci robi dużo, by właśnie pamiętać, bo to jest też nasza powinność polityków, osób, które są odpowiedzialne za to, żeby budować pokój oparty na pielęgnowaniu tożsamości. Putin używa historii jak oddziałów militarnych. Mówił o tym Sergey Lagodinsky,

przywołując bardzo ważną datę. Kiedy zaczęła się wojna i napaść na Ukrainę? W 2022 roku? Nie. Po aneksji Krymu w 2014 roku? Nie. W 2010 roku! Wraz z przyjęciem strategii, którą wdrażał ze swoim podwładnym.

Kiedy Wiktor Janukowycz został prezydentem Ukrainy, pamiętacie kilkogodzinne konferencje o historii, o epizodzie w postaci państwa ukraińskiego, o narodzie, który nie ma kultury i tożsamości? Przecież to był pierwszy fragment tej wojny i napaści, a ilu było polityków, którzy chcieli z Putinem robić biznesy? *Partnership for development*, przypominam taki projekt. On powstał właśnie wtedy.

Jak ważna jest nasza odpowiedź i jak ważna jest nasza akcja i reakcja na to, co się może stać w przyszłym roku. Kilka dni temu, 6 grudnia, Putin podpisał z Łukaszenką umowę o współpracy militarnej, o podporządkowaniu wojskowym i o współpracy służb. I o czym jeszcze? O wspólnej narracji historycznej na przyszły rok, bo zbliża się 80-lecie zakończenia II wojny światowej, którą to sowiecka Rosja wywołała razem z III Rzeszą.

Musimy być odporni, pamiętać i nie dać się tym kłamstwom zmanipulować. Putina miejsce jest przed sądem, a nie na salonach politycznych.

2-0435-0000

Heléne Fritzon (S&D). – Fru talman! Rysslands krig mot Ukraina är inte bara ett brutalt angrepp på en suverän stat och ett folk. Det är också ett angrepp på sanningen. För genom desinformation och historieförfalskning försöker Ryssland rättfärdiga sitt vidriga krig mot Ukraina och skapa splittring i Europa.

Men vi får inte låta lura oss. Historien är tydlig. Ukrainas rätt till självständighet och frihet är obestridlig. Den ryska propagandan hotar inte bara Ukrainas sak, utan den underminerar även våra europeiska värderingar och demokratins fundament. Att stå emot dessa lögner är avgörande för att skydda vår gemensamma framtid.

Vi socialdemokrater står fast vid vårt stöd för Ukraina – militärt, ekonomiskt och humanitärt. Och vi står upp för kampen mot desinformation varje dag. Sanning och solidaritet, det är vårt starkaste vapen. Det är så vi försvarar demokratin. Tillsammans skickar vi ett tydligt budskap: ett budskap om frihet, sanning och rättvisa. Det kommer alltid att segra över förtryck, lögner och aggression. Det visar historien. Det måste komma en dag för Ukrainas frihet och vår fred i Europa. *Slava Ukraini!*

2-0436-0000

Juan Carlos Girauta Vidal (Pfe). – Señora presidente, no hay guerra de agresión en la que no se utilice una justificación o una excusa —o muchas— de apariencia histórica. Las potencias que agreden lo suelen hacer amparándose en no sé que ofensas y agravios de tipo histórico que normalmente son simplificaciones o abiertas mentiras respecto a hechos que el gran público no conoce, porque la historia, la historiografía, es una especialidad. Se aprovecha este desconocimiento masivo para lanzar burdas mentiras. Pero dentro de las mentiras no solo está la mentira abierta y flagrante, también está la ocultación de una parte de la historia, también están los hechos específicos que se seleccionan y la manera en que se interpretan.

Por lo tanto, es cierto que el caso ruso es una grosera manipulación de una potencia agresora contra un país que ha querido ser libre y pertenecer al mundo libre. También —y si no dijéramos esto, no estaríamos diciendo la verdad— existe una utilización bastarda por parte de la historia en países democráticos. Y quiero poner como ejemplo el mío, España, donde una Ley de Memoria

Democrática hurta la mitad de lo que sucedió en la Guerra Civil y donde los separatistas catalanes no han dejado de aprovechar, con el apoyo ruso, la mentira histórica.

2-0437-0000

Aurelijus Veryga (ECR). – Gerbiama Pirmininke, kolegos. Baltijos šalys gerai žino, ką reiškia leninų ir stalinų nešama nauja pasaulio tvarka. Ta tvarka pas mus buvo atėjusi kartu su prasmirdusiais autais, chaosu, badu ir Holodomoru Ukrainai. Naujieji tautų kūrėjai kraujyje paskandino milijonus, milijonus ištrėmė, o likusiems bandė sukurti naują realybę, falsifikuodami istoriją, bandydami naikinti kalbą ir tikėjimą. Dabar jų idėjas perėmęs Putinas, besipuikuojantis „supuvusio Vakarų pasaulio“ sukurta prabanga, bando iš naujo perpiešti pasaulio žemėlapi ir vienasmeniškai nuspręsti, kas kuo buvo, yra ar gali būti. Buvęs KGB pulkininkas Putinas gerai žino, kodėl reikia skleisti melagingus naratyvus. Jis gerai žino, kad informacinis ir ideologinis karas yra ne mažiau svarbus nei fiziniai karo veiksmai. Putinas bando įtikinti Rusijos visuomenę, esą jis kovoja su fašizmu Ukrainoje, nors tikrasis rusofašizmo skleidėjas yra jis pats. Jo nurodymu vykdomas ukrainiečių tautos naikinimas, civilinės infrastruktūros griovimas neturi ir negali turėti jokio pateisinimo. Ir dabar po jų nešamos „tvarkos“ lieka griuvėsiai, išdegusi žemė, išžudyti žmonės. Visa tai bandoma pateisinti pigiomis istorinėmis ir ideologinėmis spekuliacijomis. Negalima leisti, kad tokios manipuliacijos pasiektų tikslą Europos Sąjungoje.

2-0438-0000

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew). – Frau Präsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren! Was sich gerade abspielt in der Ukraine und was wir sehen: Wir sehen ein Schlachtfeld wie im Ersten Weltkrieg. Wir sehen auf der anderen Seite moderne Technik von Drohnen. Wir sehen hybride Angriffe, beispielsweise dass die Felder vermint werden, damit über 400 Millionen Menschen Probleme bekommen, verhungern und Migration ausgelöst wird. Wir sehen Cyberangriffe und ja, wir sehen auch Beeinflussung und Fake News. All das, um unsere Köpfe, um die Menschen zu beeinflussen, meine Damen und Herren – das ist eine Tragödie.

Es wurde gerade aufgeführt, wie die Geschichte geklittert wird. Wir erleben das in Deutschland, wenn es in Russland heißt, die Deutschen würden wieder angreifen. Das ist unglaublich. Aber wissen Sie, was noch mindestens so schlimm ist? Dass hier in diesem Europäischen Parlament, im größten Friedensprojekt der Welt, Leute sitzen wie Frau Demirel und andere, die hier diese Geschichte weitererzählen, dieses Narrativ weitererzählen, auch auf ihren sozialen Netzwerken.

Und deswegen müssen wir extrem aufpassen. Wir müssen resistent sein, und wir müssen auch in unseren Reihen schauen, was wir hier täglich erleben. Das ist Beeinflussung junger Menschen, das ist Beeinflussung in den sozialen Netzwerken, und das muss aufhören.

2-0439-0000

Virginijus Sinkevičius (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the Kremlin is waging a war not only on Ukrainian soil, but also on the very fabric of reality itself.

As a Lithuanian, I know what it means to stand on the front line of history. We endured Soviet occupation, where lies rewrote textbooks, dissent was silence and the truth was treated as a threat. We have seen how disinformation divides families, erodes trust and weakens nations.

Today's Russian disinformation machine is more precise, more powerful and even more dangerous. From spreading false de-nazification narrative to exploiting social media platforms like TikTok, the Kremlin floods our societies with manipulative stories, seeking to divide Europe and discredit Ukraine.

We need stricter transparency for political advertising, and we must hold platforms accountable when profit-driven algorithms amplify hatred and lies over truth. We must fight for a world where fact, not fiction, shapes our shared reality. The future of Ukraine, the stability of Europe and the health of our global democracy depend on it.

2-0440-0000

Danilo Della Valle (The Left). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, dal febbraio 2022 siamo immersi in una guerra di propaganda. Tutti concordiamo sul fatto che la Russia non stia conducendo una guerra solo sul campo, ma stia usando veri e propri mezzi di disinformazione, perché siamo consapevoli tutti che la verità è la prima vittima di ogni guerra.

Allo stesso tempo dobbiamo avere anche il coraggio di dire che dal nostro lato – dal lato delle democrazie – troppo spesso si fa una battaglia di revisionismo storico. E a questo credo che dobbiamo fare attenzione, perché non dobbiamo capovolgere la storia del XX secolo: l'Unione Sovietica ha sacrificato oltre 20 milioni di propri figli – l'Unione Sovietica, quindi, non solo la Russia – per combattere il nazifascismo. Il prezzo della vittoria è stato terribile, ma quello della sconfitta sarebbe stato impensabile.

Oggi, però, per giustificare il sacrificio di migliaia di ucraini, troppo spesso mandati a morire in una guerra senza via d'uscita al momento, si riesumano fantasmi del passato della guerra fredda: alcuni glorificano assassini come Bandera e le SS Galizia, che con i nazisti invece collaborarono durante i più efferati eccidi della recente storia d'Europa – penso ai massacri dei polacchi in Volinia e Galizia orientale. Sembra quindi che gli assassini criminali di ieri possano essere diventati anche eroi.

Veniamo a oggi: parliamo di sanzioni, parliamo di inviare armi, addirittura qualcuno propone di inviare truppe a combattere contro la Russia. Abbiamo il coraggio di dirlo chiaramente, non vogliamo la pace?

2-0441-0000

Petr Bystron (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kollegen, Sie haben hier schon vor zwei Jahren *Russia Today* in der ganzen EU verboten. Komisch, dass wir heute, zwei Jahre später, immer noch über russische Propaganda sprechen müssen. Vielleicht weil Sie das Thema immer wieder künstlich aufbauschen? Für wie dumm halten Sie uns eigentlich? Jeder sieht doch, was Sie hier versuchen: von der eigentlichen Propaganda und Wahlbeeinflussung abzulenken.

(Zwischenrufe)

(Unterbrechung seitens der Präsidentin: Please, colleagues, please don't shout when there is a speaker.)

Bestes Beispiel von diesem Jahr: *Voice of Europe*, eine Webseite von Exilukrainern in Prag, die Beiträge von einer Handvoll Menschen geliked und ausgerechnet diese Webseite sollte die Wahlen in der ganzen EU beeinflussen im Sinne von Putin. Nicht *Voice of Europe*, die Kampagne gegen *Voice of Europe* hat den ganzen Wahlkampf beeinflusst. Sie manipulieren öffentliche Meinung. Sie, Frau Strack-Zimmermann, wollen den Krieg. Sie wollen weitere Waffenlieferungen. Sie diffamieren jeden, der Ihnen im Weg steht, als Agenten Moskaus.

(Zwischenrufe)

Und es ist interessant, von wem wir diffamiert werden: von den wirklichen Agenten einer fremden Macht – und es ist nicht Russland. Liebe Kollegen, wussten Sie, dass die großen europäischen Medien seit über 20 Jahren heimlich von der US-Regierung finanziert werden? Darunter *Spiegel*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Le Monde*, *Guardian*, *El País*, *Repubblica* und weitere – sie alle gehören dem OCCRP-Netzwerk an. Das Netzwerk hat seit seiner Gründung 47 Millionen Dollar von der US-Regierung erhalten. Die Zahlungen werden verschleiert. Die Finanzierung durch die Amerikaner wird in den Artikeln nicht erwähnt. Und die Journalisten dürfen für das Geld keine US-Angelegenheiten untersuchen. Mithilfe dieses Netzwerks haben die USA jahrzehntelang – womöglich sogar mit illegal beschaffenen Informationen – Menschen und ganze Länder diffamiert, illegale Kriege gerechtfertigt und Wahlen beeinflusst.

Und Sie diskutieren hier ernsthaft russische Webseiten und ein paar Bots auf TikTok? Okay, dann schauen wir uns doch die Inhalte – die ach so gefährlichen Inhalte – an, die Sie schon zensiert haben. *Voice of Europe* hat Korruption der Selenskyj-Regierung angeprangert. Und was war der meist angesehene Beitrag auf *Russia Today* in Deutschland? Ein Video über die angeblichen Hetzjagden von Chemnitz, das die Mainstream-Lügen enttarnt hat.

(Zwischenrufe)

Sie haben keine Angst vor Desinformation, Sie haben Angst vor der Wahrheit!

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

2-0442-0000

Rasa Juknevičienė (PPE), *blue-card question*. – Dear Mr Bystron, I know that you visited Lithuania 20-22 November or something like that, and then disappeared for one week to Belarus. Could you tell us what kind of instructions did you get from there to speak here about Russia, like Govorit Moskva?

2-0443-0000

Petr Bystron (ESN), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Frau Juknevičienė, wissen Sie, auch Sie verbreiten hier Fake News. Ich bin der außenpolitische Sprecher unserer Bundestagsfraktion gewesen. Ich war auf offizieller Reise in Litauen, und ich war auf offizieller Reise in Belarus. Und die Reise hat nicht eine Woche gedauert, sondern drei Tage. Das war's.

(Zwischenrufe)

Ja, ja! Und wenn Sie *Correctiv* glauben, dann sitzen Sie eben Fake News auf – das ist so! Seien Sie nicht ein Teil dieser Propagandamaschinerie. Öffnen Sie Ihre Augen, und gucken Sie, was die Wahrheit ist. Wir können gerne den Dialog fortsetzen.

2-0444-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Ich habe auch eine Frage an den Kollegen Bystron: Können Sie mir vielleicht 200 Euro wechseln? Ich muss noch tanken gehen. Aber das nur am Rande.

Liebe Menschen Europas, werte Abgeordnete! Russland führt in der Ukraine nicht nur einen Krieg mit menschlichen Wellen und Raketen. Es führt einen Krieg gegen die Wahrheit, einen Krieg der Desinformation. Putin behauptet, die Ukraine sei kein Volk, kein Land, keine Nation. Doch die Fakten sprechen eine andere Sprache; Fakten, die Putin unterdrücken möchte.

Zum Beispiel, dass die Ukraine, entstanden aus der Kiewer Rus, älter ist als das moderne Russland, oder der Fakt, dass Russland bereits 200 Milliarden Dollar in der Ukraine verpulvert und 300 000 Soldaten verloren hat, ohne den Willen der Ukraine zu brechen. Das sind Fakten, die Putin nicht hören möchte, die Putin unterdrücken möchte und die für uns eine Waffe sein können, um uns diesem Aggressor entgegenzustellen.

Dementsprechend bitte ich Sie alle, liebe Abgeordnete, erheben Sie Ihre Stimme, lassen Sie uns gemeinsam gegen Desinformation kämpfen. *Slawa Ukrajini*.

2-0445-0000

VORSITZ: SABINE VERHEYEN

Vizepräsidentin

2-0446-0000

Michael Gahler (PPE). – Madam President, colleagues, normally, one cannot change history because what happened just happened. And still it is typical for all kinds of dictatorships and autocratic rule – not only Russia – to instrumentalise a selective or distorted presentation of the past to justify today's aggressions.

I stand here as a German and I feel free to accuse today's Russia of what it is: an utterly Stalinist and, yes, fascist dictatorship. But that is possible only because we have told the truth about the darkest part of our national history, partly being committed on today's territory of Ukraine. Nothing to relativise, never again to be repeated by Germany, and never again to be accepted by anyone, against anyone.

Putin's July 2021 essay about the historic unity of Russians and Ukrainians deprives Ukrainians of their identity, pretending it was about one people, one empire, one language, one church. It was the attempt to thereby justify the '*Heim ins Reich*', the 'back to the Empire' policy.

As democracies, we must have the strength to counter that. As democrats, we must call a spade a spade. We must expose those who are in the service of the dictator because they suffer from a '*Führer-withdrawal syndrome*', from a '*Führer-Entzugserscheinung*', and have learned nothing from history.

2-0447-0000

Adam Bielan (ECR). – Madam President, we all know that Russia's disinformation is not limited to its own borders. It is a global weapon of chaos and manipulation. By twisting facts, faking reputable resources and meddling in elections, Putin aims to sow discord, undermine our unity, and pressure us into abandoning Ukraine.

We have yet another recent example. During last year's parliamentary elections in Poland, Russian actors attempted to harm the Law and Justice Party by sending hundreds of thousands of text messages to Polish citizens designed to ridicule and discredit the party, ultimately aimed at eroding its public support and helping the authors of the reset policy towards Putin, who are now in power.

Let us be clear today: Russia's war against Ukraine is not grounded in legitimate self-defence or historical claims, but in propaganda that blurs the lines between aggressor and victim while rewriting centuries of Ukrainian history.

Madam Vice-President, the expectations are high. We urge you to outline the next initiatives to bolster our common defence and partnership with NATO, ensuring the safety of our citizens.

2-0448-0000

Dan Barna (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, când vorbim de Vladimir Putin, adevărul deja istoric este următorul: ne confruntăm cu o amenințare gravă la adresa ordinii internaționale și a principiilor democratice. Rusia a falsificat activ istoria pentru a-și justifica politica agresivă, invaziile și războiul hibrid împotriva unor țări independente. Această rescriere periculoasă a istoriei nu este doar o problemă academică, este o strategie calculată de a submina fundamentele societății noastre. Fără o bază comună despre adevăr și fapte, nu putem funcționa.

Prin denaturarea istoriei, Rusia vrea să-și legitimizeze acțiunile și să erodeze exact suveranitatea națiunilor. În această manipulare continuă deschide calea pentru alte potențiale agresii, creând un mediu periculos pentru toate națiunile care prețuiesc libertatea și independența.

Trebuie să ne opunem ferm acestor încercări. Păstrarea integrității adevărului istoric este esențială pentru menținerea păcii și a stabilității în lumea noastră. Comunitatea internațională trebuie să se unească în condamnarea acestor acțiuni.

Iar pentru Vladimir Putin mesajul meu este unul simplu: istoria vă va reține drept un dictator sângeros. Indiferent cât încercați acum, domnule Putin, să vă justificați acțiunile, istoria va ști să spună adevărul.

2-0449-0000

Nela Riehl (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, 'Sigma Boy'. Do you know 'Sigma Boy'? If you are an eleven-year-old girl in, for example, Germany or even Ukraine, you probably do. 'Sigma Boy' is a viral Russian trope used on social media that communicates patriarchal and pro-Russian worldviews. It's most popular with young teenagers and only one example of Russian infiltration of popular discourse through social media.

Russia has understood how to embed these ideas in a society: target young Ukrainians on their phones, change the stories of Ukrainians telling their own society. Last week, Ukraine's Minister of Culture pointed out to me that cultural heritage does not only include history books and also museums, but Ukrainian language, music and also current Ukrainian influencers. Russia targets this all. Here, the EU must stand in strong support and target even these subtle infiltrations and falsifications.

2-0450-0000

Hans Neuhoff (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die eigene Propaganda ist wie der eigene Körpergeruch: Man bemerkt sie nicht, weil man sie immer schon gewöhnt ist. Russland desinformiert und verfälscht, die EU verkündet die Wahrheit – so einfach ist die Welt.

Meine Damen und Herren, wenn dieses Parlament erklärt, die Ukraine bis zu ihrem Sieg unterstützen zu wollen, dann ist das eine Irreführung der europäischen Öffentlichkeit. Die Wahrheit ist: Die Ukraine steht militärisch mit dem Rücken zur Wand und wird diesen Krieg verlieren!

Die Oreschnik-Rakete ist keine Desinformation, sondern ein knallharter Einschlag der Wahrheit in die Illusionswelt auch dieses Hauses, auch in Ihre, Herr Gahler. Die Ursache des Ukraine-Konflikts ist nicht, wie uns die Hohe Vertreterin erklärt, ein neuer russischer Imperialismus, den es nicht

gibt. Die Ursache des Konflikts ist die Osterweiterung der NATO bis an die russisch-ukrainische Grenze. Wer das verleugnet, verfälscht die Geschichte.

2-0451-0000

Sandra Kalniete (PPE). – Cienītā sēdes vadītāja! Kolēģi! Ir pagājuši 20 gadi, kopš Eiropas Savienībai pievienojās valstis, kuru cilvēki cieta no PSRS uzspiestā komunistu režīma, taču izpratne par Eiropas 20. gadsimta vēsturi vēl arvien nav vienota. Neticami, bet Eiropas Parlamentā notiek pasākumi, kuros izmanto komunistiskā režīma simboliku. Varu iedomāties, kāda brēka saceltos, ja mūsu gaitenēs parādītos plakāts ar svastiku un Hitlera portretu. Taču Ļeņins ar sirpi un āmuru, izrādās, ir kreiso grupas iekšējā lieta. Tas ir pilnīgi nepieņemami. Mums ir jāizliedz abu totalitāro režīmu simbolikas lietošana Eiropā.

To, ka ar vēstures faktiem nedrīkst manipulēt, vistraģiskāk pierāda Putina iebrukums Ukrainā. Atgādināšu, ka kopš kara sākuma jau ir pagājušas 3954 dienas jeb vairāk nekā 10 gadi. Krievijas agresīvajam revanšismam punktu var pielikt tikai tā sakāve netaisnajā karā pret Ukrainu.

ASV kongress tikko pieņēma *Crucial Communism Teaching Act*. Tā mērķis ir veidot sabiedrībā noturību pret naidīgām ideoloģijām un veicināt pētniecību. Diemžēl Eiropai vēl ir ļoti daudz darāma, lai padziļinātu izpratni par sarežģīto 20. gadsimta vēsturi. Par komunisma antihumāno ideoloģiju ir jāmaca skolā, tā ir pastiprināti jāpēta, lai veidotu imunitāti pret manipulācijām ar vēstures faktiem.

2-0452-0000

Veronika Vrecionová (ECR). – Paní předsedající, s ruskou agresí vůči Ukrajině je spojena řada dezinformací, které se nezakládají na historické realitě. V České republice se aktuálně setkáváme s jednou neuvěřitelnou dezinformací. Příznivci Ruska šíří povídačku o tom, že musíme být Rusku vděční a chápat jeho politiku na Ukrajině, protože nás Rusko v roce 1945 osvobodilo od nacistické okupace. K tomu tato proruská pátá kolona ovšem dodává, že za naši okupaci v roce 1968, kdy sovětské tanky potlačily Pražské jaro, mohou Ukrajinci. To, že tehdy nezávislá Ukrajina neexistovala, je jim úplně jedno. Blábolí o tom, že v okupačních jednotkách sovětské armády bylo mnoho Ukrajinců a v politbyru sovětské komunistické strany zasedalo mnoho členů ze sovětské Ukrajiny. Je to absurdní, ale šíří se to. Braňme se proti všem podobným překrucováním historie.

2-0453-0000

Dainius Žalimas (Renew). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Russia's war of aggression is not only brutal attacks against civilians. It has ideological background, often called the 'Russian world' concept. It rather deserves to be named 'Russo-fascism' or 'Russo-Nazism'.

This ideology can be traced back to Russia's glorification of the Soviet crimes of aggression, genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. I recall that the occupation of the Baltic states is justified by Russia with the same arguments as the Nazis attempted to use at the Nuremberg trials for the seizure of Austria or Czechoslovakia.

Just as Hitler, Putin proclaims the aim to take all the so-called Russian-speaking lands, while at the same time denying the right to existence of entire nations. Russo-fascism is built on disinformation and falsification of history, where aggression, extermination of people, torture and rape are called liberation.

The war of aggression against Ukraine is the best demonstration of this manipulation. We must respond to the appeal of the Ukrainian parliament by condemning Russo-fascism as totalitarian and misanthropic ideology. Like Nazism in Nuremberg, it must also be proclaimed illegal.

2-0454-0000

Villy Søvndal (Verts/ALE). – Fru formand! Historisk set har det altid været et propagandaens virkemiddel, at hvis en løgn blev gentaget ofte nok, så endte den med at blive en sandhed. Derfor er det vigtigt at sige det, som det er, hvis information er løgn. Og misinformationens mester hedder Vladimir Putin. Putin løj dagen før hans brutale invasion af Ukraine. Putin løj om den krig, han ikke ville kalde en krig. Putin lyver som enhver anden autokrat konsekvent over for sin egen befolkning og over for resten af verden, og hans misinformationskampagne kører på fuld damp her i 2024. Senest har vi set det – ikke blot på de ukrainske slagmarker, men også ved valg i Moldova, Georgien og Rumænien, som har været diskuteret tidligere i dag. Der er oven i købet medlemmer af dette parlament, som ovenikøbet spiller Putins spil og gentager Putins løgne. Vi har heldigvis et politisk flertal, som afviser at spille det spil. Vi skal gøre os umage for at beskytte det, vi holder af: det frie samfund med ret til kritik, demokratiet uden trusler og manipulationer og de frie medier. Det er vores fælles bolværk.

2-0455-0000

Petar Volgin (ESN). – Г-жо Председател, дезинформацията по повод войната в Украйна е огромна и тя идва основно от западните властови центрове, включително и от този Европарламент.

Разобличаването на западните лъжи минава през ясното изговаряне на следните факти. За първи път независима украинска държава се създава едва през 1991 г. и оттогава насетне колективният Запад прави всичко възможно, за да превърне Украйна в своя антируска марионетка. Спомнете си Виктория Нюланд с нейното Fuck the EU, която призна за милиардите изливани в Украйна именно с тази цел. Збигнев Бжежински съвсем открито написа в книгата си „Голямата шахматна дъска“, че за да бъде омаломощена Русия, трябва да бъдат прекъснати връзките ѝ с Украйна.

Последното, от което се интересуват западните лидери, са демокрацията, свободата и просперитета на Украйна. Тази държава е важна за тях само дотолкова, доколкото могат да я ползват в своята война срещу Русия.

Западът организира преврата в Украйна през 2014 г. Пак Западът забрани на Украйна да сключи мирно споразумение с Русия в началото на войната. Ето защо именно Западът носи най-голямата вина за днешната украинска трагедия.

2-0456-0000

Андрей Ковачев (PPE). – Г-жо Председател, както чухме, гласът на Москва е и тук, в Европейския парламент за съжаление.

Диктаторските режими фалшифицират историята, за да оправдаят своите престъпления. Националсоциалистите и комунистите оправдаваха депортацията, терора и масовите убийства с манипулативно представяне на исторически аргументи. За съжаление тази практика продължава и днес, когато режимът в Кремъл се опитва да оправдае агресията си срещу Украйна с безсрамната лъжа, че се борят с нацизма. Кремълският режим води кървава война по бойните полета на Украйна, но и информационна война за сърцата и душите на всеки европеец.

Изключително цинично е, че защитниците на Кремъл в Европейския съюз се представят за миротворци. Манипулативното интерпретиране на исторически факти и личности възпрепятства

помирението, разпалва омразата и създава предпоставки за продължаване на конфликтите между съседи. Между другото, виждаме и в постюгославския елит например на Сърбия и Северна Македония, подкрепена от дезинформацията на Кремъл, продължаването на разединението от комунистическия прочит на историята.

Обективното, основано на факти преподаване на историята от надеждни и потвърдени исторически източници, е от съществено значение за образованието на младите хора и изграждането на силна имунна система срещу дезинформацията. Символи и наименования, свързани с националсоциалистическата и комунистическата диктатура, личности и събития от този период нямат място на обществени места в демократичните държави. Затова трябва обединение и да имаме законодателство както на европейско и национално ниво, което да постави тези символи в музеите и тематични паркове и да включва престъпленията на тоталитарните режими в училищните програми във всички държави членки.

Трябва да противодействаме и да не оставяме манипулациите от историята като оръжие на агресията на Русия, която заплашва не само сигурността на Украйна, но и на Европейския съюз, правата на човека и демокрацията.

(Ораторът приема да отговори на въпрос „синя карта“)

2-0457-0000

Lukas Sieper (NI), *blue-card question*. – Dear colleague, I think you raised one important point, and this is the cynicism that derives from the fact that especially those who are defending the Kremlin are also defending this regime. So I think this is very important for the people outside this House. Maybe you could elaborate a little more about this. I would be interested to hear your take on that.

2-0458-0000

Andrey Kovatchev (PPE), *blue-card answer*. – Yes, I was always surprised how these peacemakers, as they say, looking for a diplomatic solution to the aggression against Ukraine from Russia, are protesting in front of the European institutions, in front of national parliaments, in front of national governments, and not in front of the Embassy of the Russian Federation, which is the source of the aggression against Ukraine. So we all are for justice, peace in Ukraine, and that means the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of this country need to be restored.

2-0459-0000

Rihards Kols (ECR). – Cienītā sēdes vadītāja! Ļoti cienījamie godātie kolēģi! Krievijas centieni pārrakstīt vēsturi nav nekas jauns. Maskava gadiem organizē Baltijas galvaspilsētu “atbrīvošanas” salūtus, noliedz okupāciju un propagandē melus par mūsu pagātni.

Tagad viltus naratīvu mašina kalpo vēl ciniskākam mērķim – agresijas kara attaisnošanai pret Ukrainu. Ir skaidri fakti: Krievija aplaupa, terorizē un nogalina Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājus, deportē un nolaupa bērnus un sievietes, atkārtojot 20. gadsimta noziegumus, kurus, ja nesodīti, tie atzīmēs nākotnē ar salūtiem. Vēstures falsificēšana ir instruments, ar ko Kremlis cer panākt nesodāmības turpināšanos. Vēstures faktu sagrozīšana, tostarp arī organizācijas “Memorial” aizliegšana Krievijā, kalpo, lai dzēstu noziegumu pēdas un attaisnotu jaunas zvērības.

Mums ir jāveido vienota Eiropas atmiņa, skaidri apzinoties tās zvērības, ko pastrādājuši dažādi totalitārie režīmi, un apzinoties to, ka tie deformējuši mūsu sabiedrības. Un kas ilustrē

nepieciešamību pēc vienotas atmiņas? Tas, ka Ļeņina spoks kopā ar Eiropas komunistiem klejo pa Eiropas Parlamenta gaitējiem šobaltdien.

Un noslēgumā, kolēģi, ja mēs runājam par vēsturi, tad viena lieta ir absolūti skaidra un mans novēlējums būtu, lai mēs virzītos tajā virzienā, kas novestu pie "Make Russia small again".

Make Russia small again.

2-0461-0000

Michał Kobosko (Renew). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Przewodniczący! Rosja przez wieki budowała swoje imperium na kłamstwach i manipulacjach. Carat, Sowietci, a później pseudodemokracja Putina miały jedną strategię, oprócz sprawowania kontroli nad wojskiem kontrolować umysły obywateli. W ostatnich latach widzimy, jak Putin chce tę kontrolę poszerzyć poza granice swojego państwa.

Kłamstwo o wielkości Rosji i jej wiecznej potędze jest wciąż powtarzane, by ukryć jej barbarzyńskie metody. Po tym, jak w Katyniu w 1940 r. sowiecka armia zamordowała tysiące polskich oficerów i inteligencji, Stalin dowodził, że Rosjanie nic o tym nie wiedzieli. Dopiero pół wieku później Gorbaczow potwierdził prawdę.

Dziś przez rosyjski walec historii przechodzi Ukraina. Rosyjska dezinformacja i fałszowanie historii są elementem strategii, której celem jest wymazanie ukraińskiej tożsamości i wprowadzenie narracji, w której Ukraina jest tylko częścią Rosji. Za bezczelność kłamstw Putina czy Łukaszenki odpowiedzialność ponieść muszą oni sami, a nie Ukraina, Polska czy jakikolwiek inny kraj. Sankcje, sankcje i jeszcze raz sankcje. Pełne, szczelne i skuteczne.

2-0462-0000

Riho Terras (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has killed and injured tens of thousands of Ukrainian people. But according to Putin's understanding of history, there is no Ukraine, there are no Ukrainian people. Denying the very existence of Ukraine is not a new concept for Putin. He told George W Bush at the NATO Bucharest summit 2008, and I quote, 'George, you have to understand Ukraine is even not a country'.

Russia has used falsification of history not only against Ukraine, but it is deeply rooted in the educational system, state-controlled media and, with that, in the society as a whole. It is no secret that Russia denies the fact that the Baltic states were occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940. According to the official narrative, the three countries joined the Soviet Union voluntarily. It is the duty of this House to remind the European people that we cannot accept Russian attempts to rewrite the history, and we stand united against it. And therefore it is also inevitable to treat the crimes of communist regimes equally to tools of Nazi and fascist regimes.

2-0463-0000

Michał Dworczyk (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Fałszowanie historii to znana metoda rosyjskiej polityki. Władimir Putin w przeddzień pełnoskalowej inwazji na Ukrainę wygłosił pełne kłamstw przemówienie, które miało uzasadnić napaść na ten kraj. A więc to propaganda była pierwszą użytą bronią w tej pełnoskalowej agresji, w tej pełnoskalowej wojnie. Putin niejednokrotnie wybielał współodpowiedzialność Związku Sowieckiego za wywołanie II wojny światowej, a atak na Polskę w 1939 roku, który przyniósł terror, mordy oraz dekady zniewolenia, wciąż określa mianem wyzwolenia.

Europa musi być liderem w walce o prawdę, również o tę prawdę historyczną. Naszym obowiązkiem jest głośne przypomnienie o ofiarach zbrodni rosyjskiego reżimu, jak również innych totalitaryzmów. Dlatego popieram projekt budowy Europejskiego Pomnika Ofiar Totalitaryzmów i Reżimów XX Wieku w Brukseli i wzywam Komisję do działań w celu przyspieszenia tego projektu. Kolejny raz też chciałbym podkreślić: jedynie pełne zwycięstwo Ukrainy zapewni trwałą pokój w Europie. Będzie to fundament sprawiedliwości i odpowiedź na imperialne ambicje Rosji w duchu prawdy.

2-0464-0000

Mika Aaltola (PPE). – Arvoisa puhemies, sanotaan, että historiaa kirjoittavat voittajat oman valtansa pönkittämiseksi. Toisaalta politiikan resurssien mobilisaatio puolustukseen vaatii oikean faktaperusteisen käsityksen menneestä, myös vihollisesta ja tämän päämääristä.

Venäjälle tämä yhtälö on selvä: voittaja Venäjä ei ole. Se voi alistaa muita versioonsa historiasta. Se voi sekoittaa myös muiden historian tajun ajallisen ymmärryksen ja hämärtää näin meidän käsitystämme päämääristään sekä lamauttaa vapauden puolustukseen tarvittavien resurssien liikekannallepanon. Tässä Venäjä on taitava. Se manipuloi ja hajaannuttaa historiallista ymmärrystämme.

Suomessa pääkohteena on suomettumisen ja suomettamisen ajanjakso. Sillanrakentamisen roolia suositellaan Suomelle. Rauhanomaisen rinnakkaiselon nostalgiaa ei hehkuteta ainoastaan Suomen hämäämiseksi, vaan sillä on käyttönsä erityisesti suhteessa läntisiin tahoihin, jotka näkevät finlandisaatiossa houkuttelevan välineen Ukrainan alistamiseksi. Näin moni on langennut Venäjän manipulatiiviseen ansaan. Suomalaiset onneksi tietävät paremmin ja ymmärtävät ajanjakson olleen vaaran vuosia.

2-0465-0000

Łukasz Kohut (PPE). – Na Wschodzie bez zmian – Sowietci kłamali i dalej kłamią. Wyzwolenie w 1945 roku na wielu terenach wschodniej Europy to nie było prawdziwe wyzwolenie. To było zastąpienie hitlerowskiego reżimu stalinowskim terrorem. I trzeba o tym głośno mówić, bo oni na tej nieprawdzie historycznej dalej budują swój mit, nacjonalizm i imperializm.

Przyszowice, Gliwice, Kuźnia Raciborska, Bytom-Miechowice, Łambinowice, Świętochłowice, Mysłowice-Wesoła, Radzionków, Racibórz, Zdzieszowice – w tych i wielu innych miejscach na Górnym Śląsku Armia Czerwona popełniła straszliwe zbrodnie. Mordowali z zimną krwią, gwałcili i wywozili. Nie mieli litości dla dzieci i staruszek. W styczniu przyszłego roku minie 80 lat od tych najstraszniejszych wydarzeń w historii Śląska.

A dziś ta historia powtarza się na naszych oczach w Ukrainie. Tam współczesna Armia Czerwona robi dokładnie to samo: morduje, gwałci i deportuje. Dzisiaj, dokładnie tak jak po wojnie, Rosjanie zakłamuja historię. Po wojnie zmusili nasze starki i starzyków do milczenia o tragedii górnośląskiej, a ofiary skazali na zapomnienie. Milczeli nad Hołodomorem w Ukrainie, którzy przecież specjalnie wywołali. Polakom robili to samo: w żywe oczy kłamali o zbrodni katyńskiej. Wszystkim ofiarom Sowietów należy się sprawiedliwość i wieczna pamięć, a Europejczykom należy się prawda historyczna o tym, co działo się 80 lat temu, i o tym, co dzieje się obecnie w Ukrainie.

2-0466-0000

Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE). – Señora presidenta, frente a la propaganda rusa, debemos insistir en que la invasión de Ucrania es una agresión ilegal e injustificada, que viola abiertamente la arquitectura de la seguridad europea y los compromisos asumidos por Rusia en el Acta Final de Helsinki, la Carta de París y en el Acuerdo de Budapest. Además, es una clara violación de los principios más básicos del Derecho internacional, como el del no uso de la fuerza, que toda la comunidad internacional aceptó tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

La propaganda rusa, que utiliza medios de comunicación como RT, sus embajadas, canales oficiosos y las redes sociales, quiere difundir una falsa versión de las razones de la invasión de Ucrania. Al mismo tiempo, persigue dividir y polarizar a nuestras sociedades. Su objetivo es distorsionar la realidad y sembrar desconfianza, inseguridad e incluso miedo en los países occidentales.

Nosotros tenemos que ser muy activos para contrarrestar esta desinformación. En el exterior, el Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior, las delegaciones de la Unión y las embajadas de los Estados miembros tienen que desempeñar un papel diligente e intentar combatir la indiferencia de muchos países respecto del comportamiento de Rusia, e incluso, en algún caso, la comprensión de esta conducta. Pienso especialmente en algunos países del llamado «sur global». En este sentido, celebro las sanciones impuestas ayer por el Consejo contra algunos factores de desinformación en el exterior. Tenemos que combatir la propaganda rusa y también evitar que Moscú encuentre en terceros países las vías para evadir el impacto de nuestras sanciones económicas.

2-0467-0000

Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, kolegice i kolege, Shaun Walker, novinar lijevog The Guardian, je još 2018. napisao knjigu u kojoj tvrdi kako je Putin manipulirao sa sjećanjima na veliku pobjedu iz '45. kako bi Rusija zapravo zaboravila '89., to jest pad Berlinskog zida, zločine komunističkih diktatura i raspad Sovjetskog Carstva. Manipulacija s povijesnim temama je karakteristika autokratskih režima i često prethodi vojnoj agresiji, a taktika je jasna – zaboraviti zločine komunizma, homogenizirati naciju na memoriji borbe protiv nacizma i fašizma, ali onda prikazati Ukrajinu kao fašističku tvorevinu i pokrenuti okupaciju Ukrajine. Ništa novo. Isto je činio Slobodan Milošević devedesetih godina. I zato su ljudi toliko osjetljivi danas u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini ili na Kosovu kada se ponavljaju takvi opasni narativi. Nasuprot takvom krivotvorenju povijesti, nasuprot ratnom narativu koji promovira Moskva Europa mora više činiti u promociji istinske kulture sjećanja. Mora osuditi sve totalitarizme i, naravno, Europa mora ostati uvijek vjerna politici mira, pomirenja i demokracije.

2-0468-0000

Christophe Gomart (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, la désinformation est depuis toujours une arme. Elle fait partie de ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui la cyberguerre. Internet est un lieu de conflictualité désormais naturel pour des armées modernes. Certains pays de l'Union européenne ont des unités militaires cyber. La France elle-même dispose d'un commandement cyber. En tant que militaire, je peux vous dire que cette arme est une arme stratégique, car elle a les moyens aujourd'hui de faire basculer un conflit et d'influencer les relations internationales, voire de décider du résultat d'une élection. Autrement dit, le scandale n'est pas que Poutine déforme l'histoire, falsifie les informations et développe un récit pour justifier sa guerre – nous sommes en effet en pleine guerre de l'information. Non, le scandale, selon moi, c'est que nous comptons trop les points sans agir. Nous cherchons trop peu à savoir ce qui se passe vraiment et à croiser nos informations.

Pourquoi, à titre d'exemple, ne nous appuyons-nous pas davantage sur l'Intcen, l'agence de renseignement de l'Union européenne, qui se nourrit des informations des agences des pays membres? Mieux savoir ce qui se passe en toute autonomie, sans être influencés par d'autres, nous permettrait de mieux agir. Le scandale, c'est aussi que nous n'avons pas de contre-discours. Quelle est notre guerre d'influence, et de quels outils disposons-nous, nous qui n'avons même pas de réseaux sociaux puissants et souverains? Cela devrait être notre priorité pour protéger nos démocraties.

2-0469-0000

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, Russia's action in Ukraine demonstrates how disinformation can be weaponised to justify aggression. By distorting history, Moscow frames its invasion as legitimate, falsely asserting that Ukraine is not a sovereign nation, as it was mentioned before by my colleagues.

These tactics also aim to divide Europe and the Western world. The Kremlin state-controlled media spreads false narratives and creates divisions among EU Member States and among their Euro-Atlantic allies, in order to weaken and also to make us in a way weaker than our cooperation, our unity, is not as strong enough. This manipulation also extends globally, depicting the West as the aggressor and Russia as the victim.

The EU and the Member States must actively counter these false narratives by promoting accurate historical accounts from reputable sources and based on verified facts. We must also seek accountability for Russia's actions.

Disinformation is part of a broader campaign of aggression. Holding Russia accountable means addressing both its crimes and information warfare that supports them. Ultimately, truth is the strongest ally of Ukraine. By combating disinformation, we defend our principles of democracy, human rights and the international, rules-based order.

2-0470-0000

Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Wysoka Izbo! Ta wojna trwa od 1028 dni. Ale kłamstwo próbujące uzasadnić agresję i późniejsze zbrodnie kraju terrorystycznego, jakim jest reżim Putina, zaczęło się o wiele wcześniej. Zaczęło się od fałszowania historii, kłamliwej narracji o obronie ludności rosyjskojęzycznej, a skończyło na specjalnej operacji wojskowej, kolejnym wielkim kłamstwie.

Pełnoskalowa wojna Putina przyniosła śmierć, gwałty, terror, masowe porwania ukraińskich dzieci, bombardowanie szkół, szpitali i domów starców. Tworzono absurdalne narracje o zagrożeniu dla rosyjskiego bezpieczeństwa polegającego na rozszerzeniu NATO. Pojawia się *whataboutism*, który ma na celu umniejszyć rosyjskie zbrodnie wojenne, pokazując, że inni też prowadzą wojny. Od lat mój kraj, Polska, jak i kraje bałtyckie są przedstawiane jako wrogowie Rosji. Tak samo przez lata był przedstawiany rząd w Kijowie.

Nie możemy lekceważyć tych sygnałów. Musimy przeciwdziałać rosyjskiej propagandzie, zwalczać farmy trolli w mediach społecznościowych, ale przede wszystkim odkłamywać rosyjską, kłamliwą narrację.

2-0471-0000

Hélder Sousa Silva (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Caro Comissário, a história só é história devido à memória coletiva que todos perpetuamos, seja em palavras, seja em atos, seja em imagens.

Ao mesmo tempo, atos deliberados de revisão histórica são a única opção da Rússia quando se quer pintar como justificável a invasão da Ucrânia.

A Rússia usa a desinformação e o enviesamento histórico para reescrever o passado, justificar o presente, mas, acima de tudo, manipular o futuro. Pretendem transformar vítimas em culpados e justificar a invasão da Ucrânia como uma inevitabilidade histórica. Mas a verdade é só uma e é muito clara: a Ucrânia é uma nação soberana. O seu povo escolheu a liberdade, escolheu a Europa e escolheu acima de tudo, a democracia.

Cabe-nos expor as mentiras e defender a verdade histórica. A guerra contra a Ucrânia é também uma guerra contra a verdade e contra os valores que sustentam a Europa. Sophia de Mello Breyner, uma poetisa portuguesa, disse: «Vemos, ouvimos e lemos. Não podemos ignorar».

2-0472-0000

Matej Tonin (PPE). – Gospa predsednica, gospod komisar! Znano je, da komunisti v preteklosti uporabljajo zelo preprost modus operandi. Najprej diskreditacija, nato likvidacija.

In natančno isto počne tudi Putin. Najprej je diskreditiral Ukrajino, nato pa jo poskuša likvidirati. Ampak to likvidacijo imenuje osvoboditev, in ta „osvoboditev“ predstavlja pobijanje, rušenje in na neki način zanikanje vsega tistega, kar je bilo v Ukrajini ustvarjeno. Smrt in ruševine so torej sinonim za Putinovo „osvoboditev“.

Danes je potrebno poudariti, da socialna omrežja predstavljajo Putinovo novo digitalno orožje. In žalostno je, da je marsikoga na Zahodu prepričal, da je podpora Ukrajini dejansko podaljševanje vojne. Vsi tisti, ki to verjamejo, bi morali protestirati pred ruskimi ambasadami, naj Putin vendarle ustavi to nesmiselno vojno.

2-0473-0000

Ingeborg Ter Laak (PPE). – Voorzitter, commissaris, collega's, de anti-EU en de anti-Oekraïense propagandamachine draait in Rusland op volle toeren om de oorlog in Oekraïne goed te praten. Poetin zet alles op alles om de moraal van Oekraïne te breken. Oekraïne zou niet mogen bestaan. Het zou geen legitiem land zijn. De waarheid is echter anders: 92 % van de Oekraïners wilde onafhankelijk worden. 92 % van de Oekraïners wil ook geen bezet land aan Rusland overdragen.

Een oorlog die al bijna elf jaar woedt, met de illegale inname van de Krim. Een oorlog tussen een dictator en een inmiddels democratisch land. De verschillen tussen deze twee landen zouden niet groter kunnen zijn. Oekraïne is geen Rusland. Oekraïne is een democratisch land. Een land met een Europese geschiedenis die vele jaren teruggaat. Poetin stopt niet bij Oekraïne. Laten wij niet naïef zijn. Slava Ukraini!

2-0474-0000

Alice Teodorescu Măwe (PPE). – Fru talman! Historierevisionism är en rysk specialitet. Sedan Rysslands fullskaliga invasion av Ukraina har Kreml systematiskt skrivit om historieböckerna i syfte att glorifiera påstådda segrar och suddat ut faktiska nederlag. Enligt den hemmasnickrade lögnen är Ryssland ett storslaget land som kännetecknas av sin överlägsenhet.

De fabricerade påståendena om att Ryssland och Ukraina är samma land, befolkat av samma folk, som delar samma öde, används för att förneka ukrainarna sitt språk, sin kultur och identitet. Putin motiverar således ett felaktigt krig med felaktiga fakta.

För ukrainarnas del handlar det inte bara om att överleva dagen, utan om att ges förutsättningar att i morgon leva som fria européer. EU måste hjälpa Ukraina att besegra Ryssland och därför är det avgörande att vi stöttar Ukraina med det som landet efterfrågar, inte minst långräckviddiga vapen.

Vi måste få Putin att förstå att han aldrig kommer att vinna, att frihet vinner över förtryck. Bara då kommer han att backa. För om Ukraina faller så fortsätter den ryska aggressionen västerut – och vi står näst på tur.

2-0475-0000

Zoltán Tarr (PPE). – Elnök Asszony! A szélsőséges és autokratikus rezsimnek gyakran használt eszköze a társadalom befolyásolására a történelem értelmezésének közben tartása. Oroszország régóta használja a történelem átértelmezését, hogy igazolja uralmi törekvéseit. Ukrajna példáján keresztül láthatjuk, hogy ahol területi követeléseiket fegyverrel nem tudják kikényszeríteni, ott hamis mítoszokkal, dezinformációval és a közvélemény manipulációjával próbálják igazolni saját agressziójukat.

Mi Magyarországon emlékezetpolitikának hívjuk azt az államilag támogatott és kézben tartott gyakorlatot, amely szerint a politikai céloknak és ideológiai narratívának megfelelően értelmezik újra történelmünk eseményeit. Ezt átélhetjük mi is. A történelemértelmezés manipulálása ezt teszi, összezavar, gyengít, és végső soron önértékelésünket és magabiztosságunkat gyengíti. Ne hagyjuk, hogy a történelem átértelmezését fegyverként használhassák!

2-0476-0000

Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Dzisiaj w Parlamencie Europejskim wręczaliśmy nagrodę imienia Sacharowa, zwanego „sumieniem Rosji”. Dzisiejsza Rosja nie jest krajem Sacharowów, ale jęgo przęśladowców z KGB. Dzisiejsza Rosja nie ma sumienia.

Dyskutujemy dziś o manipulacjach historycznych, jakich oni się dopuszczają. Ale to bez znaczenia, czy Rosjanie powołują się na Moskwę jako trzeci Rzym, rewolucję proletariatu czy ruski mir. To są tylko kostiumy. Te kostiumy przykrywają najbardziej brutalny imperializm, który chce zniszczyć Ukrainę i naród ukraiński. Rosja przyznaje sobie bowiem prawo do decydowania o tym, czy jakiś naród może istnieć, czy nie. To już nie jest kwestia manipulacji historycznych. To kwestia planowanego ludobójstwa posługującego się historią jako uzasadnieniem.

Teraz, w tych dniach, w tych miesiącach od nas wszystkich w Europie, w Unii Europejskiej zależy, czy potrafimy się temu ludobójstwu przeciwstawić.

2-0477-0000

Borja Giménez Larraz (PPE). – Señora presidenta, las estrategias de desinformación juegan un papel clave en la guerra híbrida de Moscú. Aquí, en la Unión Europea, lo sabemos desde hace mucho tiempo: las hubo durante el referéndum del *Brexit* o durante el apoyo a las intenciones secesionistas en Cataluña.

Rusia vive inmersa en su particular guerra contra las democracias liberales. Sus campañas sistemáticas de propaganda tienen como objetivo alentar la división social, la confrontación y el debilitamiento de nuestras instituciones democráticas. Y, en esa estrategia permanente de desestabilización, Ucrania es el máximo exponente. Ucrania es víctima de una guerra de agresión

ilegal e injustificada. Ucrania es víctima de la manipulación y desinformación promovida por el régimen de Putin para tergiversar la realidad y tratar de justificar lo injustificable.

La Unión Europea debe mostrarse eficaz y activa a la hora de atribuir estos ataques híbridos y de desenmascarar a sus autores. Apoyaremos al Consejo y a las instituciones europeas en esta tarea: Ucrania no está sola. La historia no puede ser escrita por quienes construyen sus actos sobre la mentira, por quienes quieren destruir nuestra democracia liberal.

2-0478-0000

Marta Wcisło (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Przewodniczący! Rosyjska dezinformacja to współczesna broń masowego rażenia. Sieje chaos, podważa zaufanie do instytucji, a przede wszystkim dzieli społeczeństwa. W Polsce widzieliśmy wielokrotnie dezinformacje od narracji smoleńskiej o zamachu, którą bezczelnie karmili opinię publiczną, dzieląc polskie społeczeństwo, dzieląc polskie rodziny, po działania podsycające nieufność do Unii Europejskiej i NATO. Polska wie od dawna, co znaczy ruska manipulacja, dezinformacja Lenina, Stalina, a obecnie Putina.

To nie przypadek, Szanowni Państwo, to stara strategia Kremla, której celem jest osłabienie jedności Zachodu. Rosyjska dezinformacja to zagrożenie dla demokracji, Europy i świata.

2-0479-0000

Spontane Wortmeldungen

2-0480-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, hablábamos hace un rato en este mismo Pleno de Estrasburgo del poder de la desinformación y la amenaza que supone para los valores fundacionales de la Unión Europea. Pero, cuando hablamos de la desinformación fabricada en Rusia, este asunto llega a su punto álgido, a su paroxismo, porque Rusia tiene una larga historia de falsificación de narrativas, desde el ocultamiento del Holodomor —la gran hambruna en Ucrania— hasta Storm-1516: una difusión masiva de ultrafalsificaciones y ciberoperaciones que multiplican el poder tóxico de la desinformación al servicio de la concentración de poder más impactante en la Tierra, la que en estos momentos detenta Vladímir Putin sobre todos los poderes en Rusia.

Por lo tanto, la Unión Europea debe armarse no solamente con su Estrategia de Ciberseguridad, la prohibición de Russia Today y de Sputnik como plataformas propagandísticas de la Rusia de Putin en Europa, sino con la detención, la desactivación, el desarbolamiento y la sanción con exigencias de responsabilidades a las plataformas que difundan contenidos tóxicos y desinformación.

2-0481-0000

Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Gerbiama posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiamas komisare, esu turbūt vienintelis šitoje salėje gimęs 1951 m. Stalino gulage. Mano tėvai 1941 m. buvo areštuoti ir ištremti į Stalino gulagus septyniolika metų. Esu istorikas profesionalas, todėl tikrai galiu pasakyti, kad Putino naudojama istorijos falsifikavimo doktrina atitinka autoritarinių režimų kilmę ir prasmę. Ir čia yra teisinga įvertinti tai, kaip tokią pačią sudėtinę funkciją, kaip darė Mussolinio fašistai arba naciai. Tai yra ta pati grupė diktatorių, kuri naudoja istorijos falsifikaciją savo ideologijai pateisinti. Todėl Europos Komisija turėtų iš tikrųjų imtis priemonių įvertinti šią Putino fašistinę ideologiją, palyginti ją su italų fašizmu ir su nacių šovinizmu.

2-0482-0000

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

2-0483-0000

Raffaele Fitto, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission, on behalf of the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* – Thank you, Madam President. Honourable members, thank you for this debate.

The Global Risk Report by the World Economic Forum ranked disinformation as the second biggest risk the world would face this year. Disinformation threats pose a real risk to democracy. To counter orchestrated and programmed disinformation campaigns, we need to act on all grounds. We must be prepared to recognise disinformation. We need critical thinking and media literacy. We have to support the work of journalists, fact-checking organisations and rapid alert systems, and we cannot take our foot off the pedal.

Going forward, including with a new European Democracy Shield to address the most severe risks to democracy in the EU, there is a clear commitment to protecting democracy at home. We must replicate this commitment in helping our neighbours too, because as we see in the lies that Putin's regime spreads to justify starting a war in Ukraine, fighting foreign interference and information manipulation is a matter of security. And we as policymakers have a responsibility to our citizens to do what we can to protect our democracies.

2-0484-0000

Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Die Abstimmung findet während der nächsten Plenartagung statt.

16. Die Lage in Mayotte nach dem verheerenden Zyklon Chido und die Notwendigkeit von Solidarität (Aussprache)

2-0486-0000

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Kommission zur Lage in Mayotte nach dem verheerenden Zyklon Chido und der Notwendigkeit von Solidarität (2024/3008(RSP)).

2-0487-0000

Raffaele Fitto, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission.* – Madam President, honourable Members, on behalf of the Commission, I would like to express our solidarity with the people of Mayotte as they face the devastating aftermath of Cyclone Chido. This weekend, the cyclone unleashed destruction on an unthinkable scale: the earth-breaking laws of life, houses destroyed, countless people left homeless, crops ruined and livelihoods shattered, a closed airport and no electricity. Our thoughts and deepest sympathies go out to the families of the victims and to all those affected by this catastrophe.

It has been ten years since Mayotte became an outermost region of the EU – a decade marked by close cooperation and support. But this tragedy is a harsh reminder of the challenges faced by this region, the poorest and the most remote in our Union. Only a year ago, Mayotte faced a major water crisis, and it now faces yet another severe blow. Europe stands firmly with Mayotte in this painful moment.

During these difficult times, it is essential that we, as a Union, come together to support our fellow Europeans in Mayotte and help them rebuild their homes, their lives and their future. You can count on the Commission's full support to do so.

In concrete expressions of solidarity, we are ready to mobilise all available tools and funds to complement the measures being taken by France. First, we can offer immediate assistance and medium-term support to help Mayotte. Indeed, our Emergency Response Coordination Centre has been closely monitoring the situation from the outset. The Copernicus Emergency Management Service was activated in a rapid mapping mode, using satellite imagery to track the damage and inform response efforts. Through the EU Civil Protection Mechanism, we can coordinate donations of aid-in-kind, and deploy disaster response experts and equipment from EU Member States and partner countries. This mechanism is activated at the request of the affected national authorities. We are ready to assist should France seek support via the Common Emergency Communication and Information System.

In the medium term, France may seek support from the European Union Solidarity Fund if the damage exceeds 1 % of Mayotte's GDP. We encourage France to estimate the damages and submit a request within the 12-week window. While this fund is not designed for immediate relief, and its mobilisation requires approval from the European Parliament and the Council, it can nonetheless cover part of the public emergency and recovery operations.

Second, we can help identify investments that can be financed under both agriculture and cohesion policy in the medium- to long-term. The Commission is ready to reprogramme these funds to address the cyclone's consequences as quickly as possible. For example, the POSEI programme for outermost regions can be adjusted to address the cyclone's impacts. In addition, the rural development programmes and the common agricultural policy strategic plans also provide measures for restoring agricultural production potential damaged by natural disasters.

Honourable Members, just this afternoon, this House reached an agreement on the Commission's proposal on RESTORE. As I said yesterday in this plenary, the events in Mayotte underline the urgent need for this instrument. I thank you for your support and continued cooperation on this proposal. RESTORE will allow France to use up to 10 % of its 2021-2027 ERDF and ESF+ allocations for emergency response. This will lead to greater flexibility, higher pre-financing and enhanced co-financing rates, enabling faster reallocation of ERDF and ESF+ funds for reconstruction and recovery efforts. But our action does not stop here.

Third, we stand ready to support efforts to strengthen disaster risk management and build Mayotte's resilience against future large-scale disasters. We have no choice but to act on the immediate emergency, and this is why we are here. But this will never distract me from the long-term objectives of cohesion policy. It is a structural policy and structure includes the notion of preparedness, of prevention. The European Investment Bank has estimated that every euro we fail to invest in prevention and resilience will result in around EUR 6 needed to repair the damage. So this time we need to make sure that we build back better.

Honourable Members, Mayotte and France are not alone in facing this tragedy; the European Commission is here to help. We encourage France to request the necessary support, and we are committed to deploying these tools and funds as quickly and effectively as possible to aid Mayotte and its people.

2-0488-0000

François-Xavier Bellamy, *au nom du groupe PPE.* – Madame la Présidente, au moment où nous parlons, Mayotte est en train d'affronter la mort à grande échelle. Combien de victimes ce cyclone aura-t-il laissées derrière lui? Nous ne le savons pas encore, et depuis le 14 de ce mois, depuis le 14 décembre, nous sommes nombreux ici, sur tous les bancs, à vivre heure après heure avec l'angoisse de découvrir les nouvelles qui nous parviendront de l'archipel mahorais.

Nous pensons aujourd'hui à toutes les victimes, à toutes les familles endeuillées. Nous pensons à tous les Mahorais et à tous les Français, à Mayotte et en métropole, qui sont aujourd'hui encore sans nouvelles de leurs proches. Nous voulons leur dire que nous sommes avec eux dans cette épreuve, avec tous ceux qui, aujourd'hui, sont sur le terrain pour apporter les premiers secours, les premiers soins. Nous voulons dire notre admiration et notre reconnaissance aux soignants, aux policiers et aux gendarmes, aux forces de l'ordre, aux services de l'État mobilisés pour venir apporter les premiers secours. Notre devoir, maintenant, c'est de tout faire pour les soutenir, aujourd'hui comme dans la durée. C'est un combat qui nous unit, un combat contre le temps, pour apporter la première urgence à ceux qui en ont besoin, mais c'est aussi un combat qui devra s'inscrire dans la durée.

Monsieur le Vice-Président, merci de la solidarité que vous avez exprimée; Mayotte en aura besoin. Mayotte aura besoin d'eau, Mayotte aura besoin d'alimentation, Mayotte aura besoin d'infrastructures, elle aura besoin de reconstruction. C'est un devoir pour nous tous que de montrer que l'Europe est, aujourd'hui et pour longtemps, aux côtés de Mayotte, qui a déjà tant souffert. Parce que Mayotte, c'est la France, et Mayotte, c'est l'Europe. Même si certains l'ont peut-être oublié, même s'il se peut qu'aujourd'hui beaucoup de nos concitoyens vivent avec trop de distance cette tragédie nationale, cette tragédie européenne, c'est bien toute la France et toute l'Europe qui sont engagées dans la situation de Mayotte.

Il faudra demain reconstruire l'archipel pour faire en sorte qu'il soit prêt à relever les défis auxquels il est confronté depuis longtemps. Nous avons aujourd'hui le devoir collectif de nous montrer à la hauteur de cette mission, pour toutes les victimes comme pour ceux qui veulent reconstruire une île qui sache, avec la mémoire de ce drame, préparer son avenir.

2-0489-0000

Nora Mebarek, *au nom du groupe S&D.* – Madame la Présidente, les nouvelles qui nous parviennent de Mayotte depuis samedi sont effroyables. Les autorités locales annoncent qu'il pourrait y avoir des milliers de victimes et alertent sur des risques d'épidémies et de famine. Avant le passage du cyclone Chido, les Mahorais manquaient déjà de tout. La population se retrouve aujourd'hui dans une situation de dénuement total. Beaucoup sont sans toit, sans électricité, sans eau courante. L'eau en bouteille est rationnée, les stocks de nourriture ne dureront pas longtemps, et le seul hôpital de l'archipel est gravement endommagé.

Mayotte, c'est pourtant la France, le 10e pays le plus riche du monde. Ce qui s'est passé samedi, c'est un drame de plus, un drame de trop. Mais ce qui s'est passé avant dimanche, c'est une faillite de la politique française. La France n'a rien fait, ou si peu, pour partager sa prospérité avec les Mahorais. L'indécence des déclarations du ministre de l'Intérieur, qui veut une loi d'immigration avant de déclarer Mayotte comme cause nationale et de demander l'aide de l'Europe, est insupportable. Le Parlement européen a voté tout à l'heure un mécanisme qui s'appelle Restore, pour aider Mayotte à traverser cette épreuve. Au deuil, à la souffrance et à l'angoisse des Mahorais, n'offrons pas seulement notre compassion, offrons la promesse que l'Union européenne ne les laissera pas tomber.

2-0490-0000

André Rougé, *au nom du groupe PfE.* – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, j'ai posté hier soir un message de soutien à nos compatriotes mahorais et j'avais ce matin cette réponse dans les commentaires: «Merci, Monsieur. Je n'ai aucune nouvelle de mes parents ni de mes grands-parents.»

Ce matin également, j'ai parlé autant que possible, tant les communications sont mauvaises, avec ma collègue Anhya Bamana, députée Rassemblement national de Mayotte. Elle me disait: «André, tu sais, tout, absolument tout est détruit: il n'y a plus d'électricité, le carburant est rationné, et il n'y a plus d'eau à boire. Il nous faut de l'eau en urgence.» Que dire de plus pour illustrer cette tragédie de Mayotte, qui pleure des centaines, et certainement des milliers de morts?

Le cyclone Chido a emporté logements et infrastructures. Quelque 100 000 personnes n'ont plus de toit. La faim se fait sentir. Les pillages et les épidémies menacent. Sans liaison maritime et aérienne, l'île est coupée du monde. Seuls les moyens de l'armée permettent d'apporter un début d'aide, depuis l'île de la Réunion.

La Présidente Metsola a dit hier, et je l'en remercie, comme je remercie le commissaire Fitto d'avoir eu les mêmes mots: «Mayotte, c'est l'Europe.» Mais je n'oublie pas que les députés français de la gauche et de Renew ont voté contre ma proposition visant à ajouter à l'ordre du jour du 15 juin 2023 un débat sur l'urgence vitale de l'approvisionnement en eau pour nos compatriotes ultramarins. Ce jour-là, chers collègues, vous avez démontré que votre tambouille politique et votre sectarisme étaient plus forts que l'intérêt général. De même, je n'oublie pas que vous avez protesté contre l'opération Wuambushu de rétablissement de l'ordre et de destruction des bidonvilles, que Chido a transformés en tombeaux de milliers de pauvres gens. L'occasion vous est maintenant donnée de vous rattraper en demandant, comme nous, à la Commission européenne, le déclenchement du Fonds de solidarité prévu en cas de catastrophe naturelle et son abondement au regard de l'immensité des dégâts.

Mayotte ne pourra se relever seule. L'Union européenne devra prendre toute sa part à cela, en contribuant notamment aux investissements du plan de reconstruction et de résilience contre les chocs climatiques futurs, auquel nous ne manquerons pas de nous atteler. Cette tragédie de Mayotte est le triste et cruel point d'aboutissement d'un long processus d'abandon – abandon à la submersion migratoire, à la criminalité chronique et au sous-investissement.

Espérons que ce désastre historique et mortifère, dû à la cécité politique et à une négligence coupable des gouvernements successifs, laissera la place à un engagement concret de la France et de l'Union européenne auprès de nos compatriotes mahorais, mais aussi de toutes les populations ultramarines.

2-0491-0000

Nicolas Bay, *au nom du groupe ECR.* – Monsieur le Président, mes chers collègues, nous sommes ce soir préoccupés par le sort de nos compatriotes mahorais, préoccupés par Mayotte, cette petite île située à 8 000 kilomètres de nous, mais qui, aujourd'hui, a besoin de notre soutien et de notre solidarité. Mayotte a subi le cyclone Chido, qui l'a dévastée et endeuillée, puisque nous comptons déjà des dizaines de morts – et sans doute est-il à craindre qu'il y en ait des centaines d'autres dans les jours à venir –, des milliers de blessés et des infrastructures qui sont totalement effondrées, et qui, avant même le cyclone, étaient totalement saturées.

L'histoire de Mayotte est une belle histoire. L'histoire d'un territoire devenu français il y a bientôt deux siècles, et qui, en 1974, a fait, contrairement aux autres îles de l'archipel des Comores, le

choix de la France. Une déclaration d'amour à l'égard de notre pays qui nécessite aujourd'hui, bien sûr, qu'en retour nous exprimions notre solidarité française et notre solidarité européenne à l'égard de nos compatriotes mahorais.

Mayotte subit depuis des décennies une immigration clandestine, de sorte que ses infrastructures – portuaires et aéroportuaires, routières, hospitalières... –, dimensionnées pour 200 000 habitants, sont totalement saturées par 500 000 habitants réels en raison des centaines de milliers de clandestins venus des îles voisines – d'Anjouan, notamment –, que nous n'avons pas réussi à juguler ces dernières années. Il y a là sans doute une grande responsabilité de l'État français, mais, aujourd'hui, à l'heure de l'urgence, à l'heure où les Mahorais souffrent, nous devons avant tout être au rendez-vous pour leur apporter notre soutien et notre secours.

Merci, Monsieur le Vice-Président Fitto, d'avoir souhaité actionner très rapidement des outils et des fonds pour aider les Mahorais. Nous devons évidemment mobiliser tous les fonds nécessaires et ne pas oublier Mayotte au seul prétexte qu'elle est un peu trop éloignée de l'Europe et de la métropole. S'il faut trouver de l'argent, eh bien arrêtons d'en verser à Azali Assoumani, le président des Comores, qui en permanence revendique Mayotte comme étant un territoire comorien et insulte la France.

2-0492-0000

Grégory Allione, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, Monsieur le Vice-Président, pas une semaine sans que nous ne parlions de catastrophe naturelle au sein de cet hémicycle. L'Espagne, l'Europe centrale, et cette semaine, malheureusement, c'est Mayotte, cher Younous. C'est un cyclone dévastateur. Nous en parlons depuis hier. Nous avons une pensée, avec le groupe Renew et l'ensemble des parlementaires français qui siègent au sein de cet hémicycle, pour tous les Mahorais, qui souffrent en ce moment et qui découvrent l'horreur. On leur souhaite forcément de retrouver leurs proches. On pense à tous les Mahorais qui sont sur le territoire métropolitain et qui s'inquiètent. Un soutien aux Mahorais, certes, mais un soutien aussi aux forces engagées, qui étaient, depuis la semaine dernière aussi, en prévention, envoyées par anticipation auprès de nos compatriotes mahorais. Ces forces engagées, forcément, je les connais. Sapeurs-pompiers, forces de l'ordre – policiers, gendarmes, militaires –, médecins sont en ce moment en train d'intervenir dans des conditions difficiles.

J'étais la semaine dernière à la Réunion pour me soucier effectivement de la résilience de ce territoire, qui se prépare à affronter les répercussions du dérèglement climatique, et notamment les cyclones.

L'Europe doit être présente, l'Europe sera présente, grâce à cette politique de solidarité qui fait son ciment. L'Europe sera présente grâce au dispositif que nous avons voté, adopté ce matin et travaillé depuis plusieurs semaines, ce dispositif Restore. L'Europe sera par ailleurs présente en fournissant des cartes importantes pour gérer les opérations sur le terrain. L'Europe sera présente aussi, certainement – et je le souhaite –, parce que notre pays va demander des forces supplémentaires, et, je le sais, nous serons au rendez-vous avec l'Europe.

Vous l'avez dit, il faut prévoir aussi l'avenir. Nous étions à peu près le même nombre pour écouter les préconisations du président Sauli Niinistö, qu'il nous demande d'assumer en vue de défis prochains à relever. L'Europe sera présente aux côtés de Mayotte. Mayotte, c'est la France. Mayotte, c'est l'Europe.

2-0493-0000

Marie Toussaint, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE.* – Madame la Présidente, le cyclone Chido, qui a frappé Mayotte, n'est pas une simple catastrophe naturelle. Je le dis parce que je refuse de voir ici le signe d'une fatalité inévitable. Le désastre est social, sanitaire, politique, parce qu'il est le fruit d'une histoire longue de domination, d'humiliation et d'abandon.

Nulle part nous ne sommes préparés aux catastrophes climatiques, qui sont toujours des catastrophes sociales. Mais à Mayotte, l'extrême pauvreté a été le vecteur d'une vulnérabilité bien plus grande encore. Avant le cyclone déjà, une part importante de la population avait un accès difficile au logement, à l'alimentation et à l'eau. Déjà elle était frappée par le choléra. Abandonnée par l'État français et par l'Union européenne, entassée dans des bidonvilles, avec des services publics défaillants, la population mahoraise n'a pas pu faire face au cyclone Chido.

Regardez Mayotte dans les yeux, et vous verrez le vrai visage de l'injustice climatique. Parce que, face au dérèglement climatique, qui modifie la trajectoire des cyclones – lesquels se sont multipliés ces dernières années dans la région, comme en témoigne le passage au Mozambique de Belna, d'Idai et de Kenneth, tous trois en 2019 –, il aurait fallu prendre la mesure du risque et protéger les populations en amont.

Seulement voilà, Mayotte compte trop peu aux yeux de beaucoup, et la France et l'Europe ne sont pas encore rompues à la culture du risque climatique. Alors, nous sommes condamnés à dénombrer les morts, victimes de l'inconséquence et de l'impréparation. Dans l'urgence, l'Europe doit, oui, dégager une aide massive et pousser la France à décréter l'état d'urgence sanitaire et social à Mayotte. Nous n'avons pas le droit d'oublier les Mahoraises et les Mahorais.

Mais il faudra aussi retenir les leçons de Chido. Nous devons anticiper les événements climatiques extrêmes, construire des infrastructures décentes, renforcer la sécurité civile, déployer des hôpitaux mobiles et, évidemment, éradiquer la misère, pour réduire la grande vulnérabilité.

2-0494-0000

Younous Omarjee, *au nom du groupe The Left.* – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Vice-Président, je me tiens ici devant vous, mais mon cœur et mes pensées sont à Mayotte, en solidarité avec toute la population frappée par le cyclone Chido, qui figurera, nous le pressentons, parmi les plus graves catastrophes naturelles de toute l'histoire – de toute l'histoire française, assurément, si ce n'est de toute l'histoire européenne –, avec des centaines, voire des milliers de morts.

C'est une tragédie mahoraise, et c'est un drame national. Dans ces moments, il est important de témoigner sa solidarité, et je sais que vous serez d'accord avec moi pour que nos paroles de Strasbourg soient entendues à Mayotte, au même titre que notre compassion pour ces citoyens européens de cette région ultrapériphérique, la plus pauvre de France et de toutes les régions européennes – un habitant sur trois y vit sous le seuil de pauvreté et 100 000 personnes, dans un habitat précaire –, et que notre engagement pour appuyer toutes les demandes d'aides de l'Europe, dont Mayotte a bien besoin.

À tout moment de l'histoire, l'Europe n'est jamais aussi grande, forte et unie que quand elle fait preuve de solidarité avec les peuples frappés par les tragédies, avec les territoires. C'est à ce devoir que nous sommes appelés maintenant pour Mayotte, concrètement, très concrètement, pour sauver des vies et éviter la crise humanitaire.

Je le dis au gouvernement français: l'Europe peut aider, car, à Mayotte, ce soir, il y a des concitoyens qui ont soif et qui ont faim. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement français doit demander

l'activation du mécanisme rescEU, tout comme il est possible, pour la réparation, de faire appel au règlement Restore, que nous avons adopté ce midi. J'appelle donc les autorités françaises à en formuler la demande auprès de l'Union européenne.

2-0495-0000

Paulo Do Nascimento Cabral (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Vice-Presidente Executivo, expresso a minha solidariedade e o profundo pesar às famílias enlutadas e às pessoas afetadas pelo horror e pela devastadora passagem do ciclone Chido, na região ultraperiférica de Mayotte e também em Moçambique. Tal como também já fez o presidente de outra região ultraperiférica, do Governo Regional dos Açores.

A tragédia humana e o rasto de destruição são avassaladores. As vulnerabilidades de Mayotte também indicam a necessidade de reforçarmos a política de coesão, descentralizada e com cada vez maior envolvimento das autoridades regionais e locais no seu desenho e gestão.

Infelizmente, este tipo de fenómenos é cada vez mais frequente. Hoje, falamos de Chido, mas também poderia falar da Dorothea, que está a afetar os Açores e causou avultados prejuízos na ilha de São Miguel, do Lorenzo, Isaac, Kirk, Leslie e Gaston, entre tantos outros, que leva a já não podermos falar em situações excecionais, mas sim numa nova realidade, com perdas humanas, destruição de infraestruturas e habitações, que comprometem gravemente as economias locais e o futuro das suas comunidades.

As autoridades locais e regionais lutam, muitas vezes, sem meios para o restabelecimento da normalidade, pelo que a União Europeia tem de garantir que os recursos chegam de forma célere e direta às comunidades afetadas.

Não posso, Senhor Vice-Presidente, no entanto, deixar de constatar que o Fundo de Solidariedade está esgotado e necessita rapidamente de ser adequado, no seu financiamento, critérios de elegibilidade e definição de situações de emergência, à realidade específica das regiões ultraperiféricas e a fenómenos inesperados que não apenas os relacionados com catástrofes naturais.

Senhor Comissário, o povo de Mayotte precisa de nós agora. Temos de estar à altura e demonstrar a solidariedade europeia para com esta região ultraperiférica. E apoio o princípio que referiu de que temos de reconstruir melhor, agradecendo a sua rápida intervenção em todo este processo.

A minha solidariedade para com o Mayotte.

2-0496-0000

Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, es como si una bomba atómica hubiera caído sobre Mayotte. Así describen la situación las víctimas del devastador ciclón Chido. Ciclones de esta naturaleza ocurren una vez cada cien años. Pero estamos viendo cómo lo extraordinario se convierte en norma. Debemos denunciar desde aquí el negacionismo climático. Ignorar la realidad, poner palos en las ruedas de la transición verde solo empeora estos desastres.

Las instituciones europeas hemos respondido de forma rápida ante otras catástrofes con el Reglamento RESTORE, un mecanismo de respuesta rápida, con ayudas para la reconstrucción de los lugares afectados y para la asistencia también a las víctimas: ayuda humanitaria y de emergencia. Las regiones ultraperiféricas, además, necesitan toda nuestra atención y todo nuestro cariño.

Pero no basta. No basta con recurrir a mecanismos de urgencia. Ante una situación cada vez más frecuente, tenemos que ser capaces de crear un fondo específico, sólido y suficiente para abordar las consecuencias de estas catástrofes naturales, acelerar la transición verde y prepararnos para los desastres. Hay muchas vidas en juego.

2-0497-0000

Marie-Luce Brasier-Clain (Pfe). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, le passage du cyclone Chido à Mayotte a dévasté ce territoire français, laissant nos compatriotes endeuillés, sans abri, dépourvus d'eau et des services de première nécessité. Ce drame met une fois de plus en lumière la vulnérabilité de nos régions ultrapériphériques face aux catastrophes naturelles, dans un contexte déjà marqué par des fragilités structurelles.

Face à cette situation tragique, l'Union européenne doit démontrer que la solidarité n'est pas un slogan, mais une réalité tangible. Les fonds européens seront mobilisés sans délai: le FEDER pour reconstruire les infrastructures vitales – routes, écoles, hôpitaux – et le FSE+ pour soutenir les familles et les travailleurs sinistrés, afin d'accompagner la reprise économique et sociale. Le Fonds de solidarité de l'Union européenne doit également être activé pour répondre aux besoins les plus urgents. Mais cette aide, si cruciale soit-elle, doit être dirigée exclusivement vers nos compatriotes mahorais. Elle ne doit pas être diluée dans des projets inadaptés ou mise à mal par une immigration massive et incontrôlée – une pression supplémentaire, que Mayotte ne pourra plus supporter.

L'Europe doit garantir une aide efficace, transparente et adaptée, pour assurer la sécurité, la dignité et l'avenir des Mahorais. Mayotte est française, et elle mérite un soutien à la hauteur de cette épreuve.

2-0498-0000

Pär Holmgren (Verts/ALE). – Fru talman! Katastrofen i Mayotte är en klimatorättvisa av det allra värsta slaget. Det här är människor som i princip inte har bidragit alls till den globala uppvärmningen och klimatförändringarna. Ändå drabbas de på det här fruktansvärda sättet. Hela deras samhälle är fullständigt förstört. Vi måste givetvis göra allt vad vi kan för att hjälpa dem som har överlevt att återigen bygga upp sina bostäder och bygga upp sina samhällen.

Men vi får heller inte glömma bort att detta sker nu – vid storleksordningen en och en halv grads uppvärmning. Vi har en klimatpolitik här i EU som bidrar till att vi kommer att misslyckas med tvågradersmålet. Och vi vet att för varje tiondels grad ytterligare uppvärmning så ökar risken för att den här typen av oväder blir allt vanligare och allt värre, och kommer därmed också att även i fortsättningen drabba ännu fler helt oskyldiga offer.

2-0499-0000

André Rodrigues (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, quero, em primeiro lugar, expressar a solidariedade da minha região, os Açores, e do meu país, Portugal, para com a população de Mayotte, duramente afetada pela devastação causada pelo ciclone Chido.

As regiões ultraperiféricas da União Europeia sabem bem o poder que a geografia e o clima têm sobre as suas possibilidades de desenvolvimento. E, infelizmente, conhecem, cada vez mais, as agruras que a natureza tem, frequentemente, imposto às suas populações e aos seus territórios.

O furacão Lorenzo, em 2019, nos Açores, a erupção vulcânica em Las Palmas, nas Canárias, em 2022, os incêndios na Região Autónoma da Madeira e o ciclone Chido em Mayotte são apenas os mais recentes exemplos.

Agora, agora é fundamental que a distância física que nos separa destes nossos concidadãos não represente distanciamento ou alheamento e que a solidariedade europeia chegue rapidamente e com efeitos práticos.

É preciso, é urgente, apoiar Mayotte.

(O orador aceita responder a uma pergunta «cartão azul»)

2-0500-0000

Rody Tolassy (Pfe), question «carton bleu». – J’aimerais interpellier mon collègue sur la réalité de Mayotte, qui n’a pas su avoir un développement, un vrai développement, à cause d’un élément important, que la gauche, notamment, n’a jamais su reconnaître: c’est l’immigration massive qui a submergé cette île et a empêché ce développement. Si nous avons autant de victimes, autant de problèmes à Mayotte, c’est parce qu’il y a eu cette immigration, que personne n’a voulu reconnaître.

Aujourd’hui, je pense qu’il va falloir se retrousser les manches et parler aussi de cette problématique à Mayotte, qui nous a conduits à cette catastrophe.

2-0501-0000

André Rodrigues (S&D), Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Deputado, o que me parece verdadeiramente importante e fundamental, hoje, é que possamos todos falar a uma só voz para apoiar aqueles que são vítimas de uma tragédia e que não utilizemos essa mesma tragédia para fazer política de uma forma que não diz respeito e que não consegue responder de forma clara às vítimas de uma tragédia.

Poder confundir algo que afeta tantas pessoas numa região ultraperiférica e querer confundir e trazer o problema da imigração não faz honra às vítimas de Mayotte e é, por isso, lamentável que o tenha feito.

2-0502-0000

Matthieu Valet (Pfe). – Madame la Présidente, Mayotte ravagée, Mamoudzou rasé, mais Mayotte debout. Debout grâce à nos policiers, à nos gendarmes, à nos sapeurs-pompiers, qui, main dans la main, ont sauvé des vies dès les premières minutes ayant suivi le passage du cyclone Chido. Aujourd’hui, grâce à mes collègues policiers et à mes camarades de la gendarmerie, l’île est protégée des pillages et de la violence. Pourtant, nombre d’entre eux ont tout perdu, mais ils restent mobilisés pour la population. J’ai une pensée pour le chef de la police de Mayotte, le collègue policier Patrick Longuet, que je connais bien. Ses troupes, dont le RAID, ont été engagées dès le début des opérations, et elles sont applaudies par la population.

Pourtant, ils sont bien seuls. Wuambushu 1, Wuambushu 2: non, Mesdames et Messieurs, ce n’est pas *Star Wars*, mais la seule réponse, bien maigre, de l’État pour défendre nos enfants mahorais. Malgré l’engagement de la CRS 8, courageuse, vaillante, qui a failli perdre des camarades en route, ces opérations sont restées vaines. Pourquoi? Par lâcheté politique face à l’immigration clandestine comorienne, qui, aujourd’hui, fait que la moitié de l’île est d’origine étrangère. Et que dire des ONG, à qui on laisse tout faire? De ces juges qui ont bloqué la destruction des bangas – des

bidonvilles pour ceux qui ne connaissent pas Mayotte? Où sont-ils, à l'heure où Mayotte est en train de crever?

Si, aujourd'hui, Mayotte reste la France, c'est uniquement grâce à nos anges gardiens, à ces policiers, ces gendarmes, ces sapeurs-pompiers, ces militaires, qui donnent tout malgré le peu qu'il leur reste sur cette île. Vive Mayotte! Vive la France! Vive nos forces de sécurité intérieure et nos forces de secours, qui font la fierté de notre pays!

2-0503-0000

President. – I would like to ask colleagues to respect the tremendous work the interpreters are doing here in this House and speak in a speed that they really can make a perfect interpretation like we are used to. So thank you very much for respecting that.

2-0504-0000

Thomas Pellerin-Carlin (S&D). – Madame la Présidente, face aux horreurs vécues par nos concitoyens mahorais, les mots me manquent. Vis-à-vis de la tragédie, nous pouvons nous raccrocher à deux certitudes. La première, c'est que le dérèglement climatique tue. Ce dérèglement climatique, provoqué par certaines activités humaines, accroît la puissance des cyclones, comme celui qui vient de frapper le département français de Mayotte. La seconde certitude, c'est l'urgence qu'il y a à nous adapter sérieusement au dérèglement climatique.

Alors, ce soir, je rappelle une conclusion simple, issue des travaux scientifiques sur l'adaptation au changement climatique. Stéphane Hallegatte le rappelle: une société bien organisée, où les services publics sont efficaces et résilients, c'est une société qui saura mieux faire face au choc climatique.

À nous d'agir pour construire cette résilience, dont nos services publics de l'eau, de la santé et de l'électricité ont besoin, à Mayotte, et ailleurs dans notre Union européenne.

2-0505-0000

Rody Tolassy (Pfe). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, en mai dernier une commission d'enquête sur la gestion des risques majeurs dans les départements d'outre-mer mentionnait Mayotte à 104 reprises, révélant un manque flagrant d'anticipation. Ce constat prend une résonance particulière alors que Mayotte, 101^e département, fait face à une crise sans précédent.

Chido a laissé des milliers de familles sans toit et privé d'eau et de nourriture une population qui redoute une crise sanitaire majeure. Alors que le sol français est meurtri, que fait l'État? Son incapacité à anticiper, protéger et construire témoigne d'une faillite institutionnelle qui met en péril non seulement la dignité des Mahorais, mais aussi l'intégrité de la République.

À cette situation s'ajoute une injustice criante. Mayotte est une région ultrapériphérique bénéficiant d'un fonds censé pallier les déficits structurels. Comment expliquer l'indigence des infrastructures, l'absence de prévention et l'incompétence de ceux qui nous gouvernent? Face à cette tragédie, comptez-vous enfin créer un haut-commissariat compétent pour les régions ultrapériphériques, qui serait une interface directe? Il en va de la survie et de la dignité de ces Français, oubliés par Paris comme par Bruxelles. Mayotte n'a pas besoin de promesses, elle a besoin d'actes!

2-0506-0000

Priekšsēdētāja vietnieks

2-0507-0000

Sérgio Gonçalves (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Vice-Presidente Executivo, quero começar por apresentar as minhas condolências às famílias de todas as vítimas do ciclone Chido que nos últimos dias abalou o arquipélago de Mayotte.

Esta região ultraperiférica francesa junta-se a tantas outras que este ano sofreram catástrofes naturais devastadoras, como é o caso da minha região, a Madeira, afetada por incêndios de grandes dimensões.

Devido às alterações climáticas, estas vão, infelizmente, tornar-se cada vez mais frequentes. É fundamental que a União Europeia tenha um instrumento de resposta a estas crises e que não seja necessário estarmos constantemente a aprovar nova legislação nem a utilizar recursos da política de coesão, já de si escassos, para reduzir as desigualdades que ainda persistem entre as várias regiões europeias.

Senhor Vice-Presidente, precisamos, por isso, de um mecanismo permanente a nível europeu de apoio às regiões afetadas por catástrofes naturais, que seja de rápido e fácil acesso, para que a ajuda chegue logo que possível às populações.

2-0508-0000

Brivais mikrofons

2-0509-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, en este mismo Pleno hemos debatido y celebrado la reforma del Reglamento de apoyo regional urgente (RESTORE) y se mencionaron en ese debate situaciones como la del volcán de La Palma, los incendios en Madeira y ahora este ciclón en Mayotte, con un centenar de víctimas mortales.

¿Qué nos están diciendo? Que si con alguien la Unión Europea tiene que tener una política regional con fondos suficientes, ágiles y reparadores de la devastación es con las regiones ultraperiféricas porque, cuando se produce una catástrofe en una región ultraperiférica, como es el caso de Canarias, como es el caso de Madeira, como es el caso de Mayotte, en Francia, que resulta ser además la región más pobre de Francia, no hay escapatoria. Y es el momento en que la Unión Europea puede probar su mejor razón de ser, que es la solidaridad interregional.

Por tanto urjo un incremento sustantivo de las cantidades destinadas a la reparación después de catástrofes naturales, porque la mejor Unión Europea es la Unión que está a la altura de su solidaridad con quien más la necesita donde más la necesita.

2-0510-0000

(Briivā mikrofona uzstāšanos beigās.)

2-0511-0000

Raffaele Fitto, Executive Vice-President of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, I fully share your concern and your commitment to support Mayotte and its people. Thank you for sharing your insights on the tragic situation on the ground, and for your proposal on how we can address it. You can count on the Commission to mobilise all available EU tools and funds in support of Mayotte.

With regard to immediate emergency relief, the EU Civil Protection Mechanism is activated upon a request from the national authorities. While we cannot initiate civil protection measures unilaterally, we stand ready to act in full support of France when needed. In addition, we are fully prepared to do everything within our power to provide medium-term assistance, from helping reconstruction through the European Regional Development Fund and the EU Solidarity Fund, to supporting farmers through all our agriculture funds and helping to provide for basic needs through the European Social Fund.

Lastly, we are ready to contribute to efforts to enhance disaster risk management and strengthen Mayotte's resilience against future large-scale disasters.

I count on your cooperation and continued support in the weeks and months ahead, as we work together to rebuild a stronger and more resilient Mayotte, in a clear and tangible demonstration of our solidarity – a core value upon which our Union is built.

2-0512-0000

François-Xavier Bellamy (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, je me permets ce rappel au règlement sur la base de l'article 20 de notre règlement intérieur pour dire mon désarroi devant ce qu'est devenu ce débat. La politique a ses droits, et en particulier ici, dans cet hémicycle. Mais j'étais si heureux que nous ayons pu demander ce débat à l'unisson de tous nos groupes politiques, et je regrette qu'il ait donné lieu à des mises en cause qui me paraissent ne pas relever du moment que nous traversons.

Aujourd'hui encore, il y a des dizaines, des centaines, peut-être des milliers de victimes que nous ne connaissons pas encore, et je me désole que certains, ici, soient déjà en train de chercher des coupables. À gauche, on a mis en cause ceux qui seraient comptables du réchauffement climatique, comme s'il n'y avait pas de cyclones il y a un siècle. D'autres collègues ont quant à eux trouvé bon de mettre en cause les services de l'État, mais l'État, chers collègues, ce sont les soignants qui soignent depuis trois jours sans dormir, ce sont ceux qui travaillent aujourd'hui pour déblayer les routes.

La vérité, c'est que, oui, il y aura un moment pour chercher à discuter des responsabilités. Mais je crois que le devoir que nous avons aujourd'hui, c'est d'agir.

2-0513-0000

President. – Rule 20 says something different, but you touch the political issues, right or left or things like that, about which is nothing said in Rule 20.

The debate is closed.

17. Sieviešu politiķu stāvoklis ES kandidātvalstīs un kaimiņvalstīs un vajāšana un kibervardarbība pret viņām (debates)

2-0515-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par Komisijas paziņojumu par sieviešu politiķu stāvokli ES kandidātvalstīs un kaimiņvalstīs un vajāšanu un kibervardarbību pret viņām (2024/2989(RSP)).

2-0516-0000

Apostolos Tzitzikostas, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, as you know, gender equality and women's empowerment is a fundamental value of the European Union, and as such, it is at the core of the work that the European Commission carries out across the world, including the enlargement region in the Eastern Neighbourhood. Women's participation in democratic life is a key element of a healthy democracy, and that is why it is also addressed as part of the European Commission's work supporting gender equality in partner countries, including through policy dialogue and financial assistance.

On 25 November, we marked the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Violence against women is one of the gravest violations of human rights, and yet it is still widespread, with women across the world continuing to endure violence of a physical, sexual, psychological and economic nature, both online and offline. Sadly, increased visibility and participation has sometimes been accompanied by a corresponding rise in violence against women in public life. We have witnessed an increased use of derogatory terms or hate speech targeting women politicians, journalists and human rights defenders in public discourse, including in the EU candidate countries and in our Eastern Neighbourhood.

Now, gender is increasingly used in disinformation campaigns, often generated by foreign interference and relying on the anonymity and reach provided by digital media. The impact of these attacks extends beyond the individual attacking and are affecting the broad political landscape. When women are targeted, it can discourage others from entering politics, leading to a lack of diversity and representation in decision-making roles, and this in turn undermines democratic processes and hinders progress on key issues such as gender equality.

Now, the situation, of course, varies by country, but such types of offences remain widespread. For instance, in Moldova, President Sandu faced direct attacks of online harassment and cyberbullying in the run-up to the elections in October. There have also been instances of verbal abuse and harassment against women in the Georgian Parliament, where several politicians have indeed been subject to sexist and misogynist comments. In the Western Balkans, there have been numerous cases of gender hate speech targeting women politicians, including in recent election campaigns, for example in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OSCE/ODIHR mission report on the recent local elections noted the prominence of misogyny, language, and gender-specific attacks and threats in public discourse.

The European Commission has been actively working to address these challenges, tackling disinformation, foreign information and manipulation and interference, and supporting women in political life in candidate and neighbouring countries. Our work on gender equality and countering violence against women in partner countries is notably guided by the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention.

When it comes to enlargement, human rights and gender equality are at the heart of the accession process, as part of the so-called 'fundamentals' for EU accession, which determine the overall pace of negotiations. In time, negotiating countries will need to align with the EU *acquis* on gender equality, including the EU Directive on combating violence against women and domestic violence, which criminalises the most widespread forms of violence and provides for aggravating circumstances if the offence is committed against a public representative, a journalist or a human rights defender.

Beyond aligning and enforcing legislation in line with the EU *acquis*, candidate countries also need to establish institutional frameworks for the enforcement of human rights. Through our financial assistance, we support activities combating gender stereotypes and providing support to victims

of gender-based violence, as well as capacity-building to strengthen digital, media and information literacy and to empower civil society.

Now, in this context, allow me to highlight the Gender Equality Action Plan III, which commits the Commission to making gender equality a cross-cutting priority of EU external action. The GAP III establishes the freedom for all forms of gender-based violence and equal participation and leadership.

Finally, in the Western Balkans, the reporting diversity network programme provided support to a regional level of CSOs to improve media messages affecting perceptions of ethnicity, religion and gender to enhance tolerance. A component of the EU for social inclusion programme is focused on increasing access to digital essential services for women and girls, victims of online violence, and to promote a legal and policy framework which addresses digital violence.

So the combination of such targeted interventions and broader cultural shifts is crucial for ensuring safe, equitable participation of women in politics across the two regions.

2-0517-0000

Sunčana Glavak, u ime kluba PPE. – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovani povjereniče, spomenuli ste Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ali ja ću dodati i Srbiju, i Kosovo, i Crnu Goru, i Albaniju. Dakle, u brojnim drugim zemljama nailazimo na ovakve primjere. Činjenica je da se žene u tim zemljama suočavaju s kombinacijom političke polarizacije, rodne diskriminacije i slabih mehanizama zaštite od *online* nasilja. Političarke su često meta seksističkih uvreda koje nemaju veze s njihovim političkim stavovima, već su usmjerene uglavnom na izgled, osobni život ili tradicionalne rodne uloge. Uvriježene fraze poput „vrati se u kuhinju” ili aluzije na njihov izgled i odijevanje redovito se pojavljuju na društvenim mrežama. Prijetnje seksualnim nasiljem i fizičkim napadima česte su metode zastrašivanja.

Žene političarke koje se javno suprotstavljaju tradicionalnim vrijednostima ili često nacionalističkoj retorici suočavaju se s intenzivnim prijetnjama. Diskreditacija kroz dezinformacije, pa tako i organizirane kampanje, često plasiraju lažne vijesti o političarkama, uključujući optužbe za korupciju ili lojalnost stranim interesima, lažne tvrdnje o njihovom privatnom životu, uključujući izmišljene skandale ili takozvane aferične priče. Cilj je, naravno, uništiti njihovu reputaciju i povjerenje birača. Ne zaboravimo i kontinuirane, već poznate koordinirane napade putem društvenih mreža, uz podršku botova i organiziranih trolova.

Međutim, moramo progovoriti o još nečemu, a to je patrijarhalni mentalitet. Rodne uloge u zemljama kandidatkinjama često su duboko ukorijenjene u patrijarhalne vrijednosti, što ženama daje dodatni teret da se dokazuju. Političarke koje se protive dominantnim narativima ili zagovaraju liberalne politike često postaju mete napada. Kolegice i kolege, u mnogim zemljama kandidatkinjama zakoni protiv internetskog nasilja postoje, ali nisu dovoljni ili se ne provode učinkovito. I slažem se, naša je uloga da u procesu proširenja vodimo računa o njima.

2-0518-0000

Heléne Fritzon, för S&D gruppen. – Herr talman! I demokratins hjärta ska hot och våld aldrig få tysta kvinnor. Men i vårt grannskap och i kandidatländer ser vi hur kvinnliga politiker utsätts för trakasserier och cybervåld. Detta är ingenting annat än ett demokratiskt misslyckande. Parlamenten ska vara förebilder för jämställdhet, inte arenor för sexism. Det gäller också här i Europaparlamentet.

Vi socialdemokrater, vi kräver omedelbara åtgärder från kommissionen. En förstärkt handlingsplan för att förebygga trakasserier och för att skapa trygga arbetsplatser. Och vi kräver en nolltolerans mot våld och sexism.

Demokratin måste bygga på jämlik representation, och det kräver att kvinnor kan delta på samma villkor som män, det vill säga fritt, säkert och fullt ut i samhället. Det krävs handling nu, från kommissionen.

2-0519-0000

Mathilde Androuët, *au nom du groupe PflE*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, nul besoin de franchir les frontières de l'Europe pour constater le harcèlement dont sont victimes les femmes politiques. Mon parti a comme candidate à la présidence de la France l'une des femmes politiques les plus harcelées et menacées d'Europe. Marine Le Pen est constamment harcelée: sur sa famille, sur ses idées, par les médias, par des enragés des réseaux sociaux qui vident leur haine ou la menacent de mort, par les banques, qui refusent de financer la vie démocratique, et même par l'administration européenne et par la justice quant à la manière qu'elle a d'administrer son cabinet et ses assistants. Cette violence, elle la subit chaque jour depuis son enfance, au point que, depuis de nombreuses années, elle ne peut plus faire un pas sans gardes du corps ni policiers.

Votre dénonciation des violences et menaces faites aux femmes politiques ne vaudrait que si elle s'appliquait à toutes les femmes. Notre collègue Marie Dauchy, qui est aussi votre collègue, a été agressée alors qu'elle était en campagne électorale. Son agresseur l'a insultée, bousculée, fait tomber et menacée de mort. Pourtant, la semaine dernière, dans l'enceinte même du tribunal, sous les diatribes d'un avocat militant et les huées de manifestants d'extrême gauche, Marie Dauchy est presque passée du statut de victime à celui d'accusée. Qui, sur ces bancs, a apporté son soutien à Marie Dauchy? Personne. Pas un mot, pas une indignation. Pis: vous étiez avec les manifestants qui revendiquaient son agression. Alors, par pitié, cessez vos leçons de morale.

La lutte contre la violence doit être universelle, sans exception ni calcul politique. Car, en démocratie, aucune femme, qu'elle soit patriote ou non, ne devrait subir de telles attaques sans une condamnation claire, unanime et sans ambiguïté.

2-0520-0000

Abir Al-Sahlani, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, dear Commissioner, as a woman working on gender equality, sexual and reproductive health and rights, I am too aware that the political environment can be very toxic, full of harassment and hate.

Today I met Georgian parliamentarian who is also attending the debate tonight, Ana Natsvlishvili. She spoke to me about the horrifying reality of being a woman in politics in Georgia since the democratic crackdown in the country. She told me about how she and female members of the parliament, when debating the Russian law, they went to work with pepper spray in their handbags because they were worried for their own safety.

Imagine going to work in a house of democracy, not feeling safe. Imagine, during a plenary debate, your male colleagues shouting at you filthy names and calling you filthy things. Imagine security dragging you out from a meeting inside the parliament where you are elected.

Of course, the people of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, they are fighting for Europe. The people of Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and the Western Balkans, they belong to our common European future, and we have to do everything to ensure that they will become part of this future.

But that future means also that everyone, each of these countries have to fully embrace the fundamental rights that we have in common. They have to also fully agree to and embrace that their accession means that everyone is equal and free, because if not, we are not free until everyone is free.

2-0521-0000

Alexandra Geese, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner, colleagues, around the world, women leaders face horrific levels of gender disinformation and online abuse, with dramatic consequences on their freedom of expression and on democracy, on the quality of democracy as a whole. Moldova is a case in point. President Maia Sandu was depicted as a foreigner, as a foreign agent, as too weak to lead the country, as a pro-Western agent promoting foreigners over her own citizens. And who was doing that? The top malign actors were actually agents of a foreign power of Putin. They were pro-Putin puppets, among them the condemned criminal, Ilan Shor, stole USD 1 billion from the Moldovan banking system and now is funnelling dark intransparent funds back into the country to attack President Sandu.

In Georgia, pictures of President Zourabichvili were even posted on a porn site. Have you ever seen that done to a male leader? This happens systematically. But why are these attacks so successful? Because social media algorithms amplify hateful content against women and incentivise fake content. It's a toxic mixture. It's a political business model that builds on misogynist stereotypes and toxic algorithms. And these toxic algorithms, we can stop them because this needs to stop and we can do it. And the DSA gives us the opportunity to do it, to change these toxic algorithms in order to reduce online violence against women and to protect our public discourse and elections at the same time. And if we do this in the European Union, it shows that it can be done everywhere, that we can have a better internet that gives everybody freedom of expression and real democracy. Let's do it.

2-0522-0000

Έλενα Κουντουρά, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left*. – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε. Σε πολλές χώρες, τόσο εντός της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης όσο και σε γειτονικά κράτη, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αποτελούν συχνά στόχο επιθέσεων και εκφοβισμού. Οι απειλές, οι επιθέσεις και η συκοφάντηση, ιδιαίτερα μέσα από τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα, έχουν γίνει καθημερινότητα για πολλές γυναίκες που επιλέγουν να υπηρετήσουν το δημόσιο συμφέρον και σύμφωνα με το Ευρωπαϊκό Ινστιτούτο για την Ισότητα των Φύλων, μία στις τρεις γυναίκες πολιτικούς στην Ευρώπη λαμβάνει απειλητικά μηνύματα μέσω του διαδικτύου.

Πρόκειται για μία πραγματικότητα που όχι μόνο υπονομεύει την ισότητα των φύλων, αλλά απειλεί την ίδια τη δημοκρατία, την ελευθερία της έκφρασης και τη συμμετοχή των γυναικών στα κοινά. Η φύση των επιθέσεων συχνά στοχεύει στην υποβάθμιση της συμμετοχής των γυναικών στη δημόσια ζωή, προκαλώντας φαινόμενα αυτολογοκρισίας και απόσυρση από το δημόσιο χώρο. Στην προηγούμενη θητεία μας κυρώσαμε τη Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και ψηφίσαμε την πρώτη οδηγία, την πρώτη ευρωπαϊκή οδηγία για την καταπολέμηση της έμφυλης και διαδικτυακής βίας.

Σε αυτή τη θητεία είναι υποχρέωσή μας, ώστε να επιταχύνουμε τις προσπάθειες και να υιοθετηθούν αυστηρότεροι κανόνες και οι ψηφιακές πλατφόρμες να αναλαμβάνουν μεγαλύτερη ευθύνη για την πρόληψη και την καταπολέμηση της διαδικτυακής βίας. Να αναπτυχθούν στοχευμένα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα και καμπάνιες σε τοπικό και διεθνές επίπεδο για την κοινωνική ευαισθητοποίηση και την καταπολέμηση του σεξισμού και των έμφυλων στερεοτύπων. Να αυστηροποιηθεί το νομοθετικό πλαίσιο για την προστασία των θυμάτων διαδικτυακής παρενόχλησης και τέλος να ενισχύσουμε τη συνεργασία με τις γειτονικές και υπό ένταξη χώρες και να χρησιμοποιήσουμε όλα τα διαθέσιμα εργαλεία εξωτερικής και ενταξιακής πολιτικής, ώστε να διασφαλιστεί ένα ασφαλές πολιτικό περιβάλλον για τις γυναίκες.

2-0523-0000

Giusi Princi (PPE). – Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, è incomprensibile e offensivo per il nostro popolo che il governo non pensi al rispetto e alla dignità dei suoi cittadini.

Queste non sono le parole di Giusi Princi o di qualsiasi altro europarlamentare sicuro tra queste mura; sono il grido democratico della presidente georgiana, una donna che ogni giorno rischia la propria sicurezza e libertà per difendere il suo paese.

Salomé Zourabichvili non è sola. Nei paesi candidati all'UE e nei paesi confinanti troppe attiviste politiche subiscono diffamazione, violenza e minacce di morte. Lo dimostrano anche dati allarmanti: quattro donne parlamentari su cinque nel mondo sono vittime di violenza psicologica, intimidazioni e abusi verbali; due su cinque ricevono addirittura minacce di violenza fisica o sessuale.

Collegli, non possiamo parlare di allargamento e partenariato senza affrontare queste ingiustizie sistemiche. La partecipazione politica delle donne non è una concessione da difendere a intermittenza: è un pilastro della democrazia.

Da Bruxelles a Tbilisi, da Kiev a Reggio Calabria, dobbiamo rafforzare le nostre azioni contro chi usa la misoginia come strumento politico.

A Salomé e a tutte le donne che sfidano il silenzio dobbiamo più di un applauso: dobbiamo l'impegno concreto per garantire che in ogni paese, nell'UE e fuori dall'UE, il coraggio di una donna in politica sia la normalità e non l'eccezione.

2-0524-0000

Evin Incir (S&D). – Mr President, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner, acts of gender-based violence, hate speech and disinformation are not only attacks on women; they are also a direct assault on democracy. The far right and their cronies stand as central culprits in this cynical trend, and pro-Kremlin groups attack women, journalists, politicians and anyone who supports women's rights.

These acts of violence and disinformation frame feminism as a conspiracy meant to destroy traditional values. But let us say it like it is: these heinous attacks are committed by men that fear progress, gender equality and the fall of the patriarchy that has kept them all too comfortable. And obviously also women who hate women on the far-right side.

I had the honour of being a rapporteur for the directive on gender-based violence, which addresses this issue. We must call out the actors responsible and ensure the swift and strict implementation of this directive, and intensify the work in candidate countries to align their legislations with ours.

Attacks on women in politics must be seen as gender-based violence, and must be seen as an aggravated circumstance.

2-0525-0000

Viktória Ferenc (PFE). – Elnök Úr! Elfogadhatatlan, hogy egyes uniós tagjelölt országokban a politikusokat, akik a saját közösségük jogaiért és érdekeiért állnak ki, megfélemlítés és nyomásgyakorlás éri. Sajnos ez tapasztalható Ukrajnában is, ahol évek óta a hatóságok tudtával, zavartalanul működik egy honlap, a Myrotvorets. A honlapon közzétett, úgynevezett halál- vagy ellenséglistára számos olyan személy, közöttük politikusnő is felkerült, aki a kárpátaljai magyar

közösség jogainak helyreállításáért tett lépéseket. A weboldal jogtalanul tette közzé a személyek bizalmas adatait, ezzel veszélybe sodorta biztonságukat. A nemzeti kisebbségek jogaiért való kiállításáért tette listájára a honlap Bocskor Andreát, kárpátaljai származású, az előző ciklusban tevékenykedő európai parlamenti képviselőt is. Ezzel ellehetetlenítve számára a hazatérés lehetőségét saját otthonába.

Annak ellenére, hogy az internetes oldal működését az Európai Unió egyes vezető tisztségviselői is elítélték, és a tartalom eltávolítására szólítottak fel, az ukrán hatóságok mindeddig nem tették meg a szükséges lépéseket. Az Európai Uniónak fokozottan oda kell figyelnie, hogy a demokratikus értékek mellett elkötelezett tagjelölt országokban ilyen jellegű oldalak ne működhessenek. Egy tagjelölt országnak biztosítani kell a megfélemlítéstől mentes politikai környezetet, a személyes adatok védelméhez való jogot, s kötelessége megakadályoznia a gyűlöletbeszéd minden formáját.

2-0526-0000

Cynthia Ní Mhurchú (Renew). – A Chathoirligh, a Choimisinéir. D’eagraigh mo ghrúpa Renew Europe feachtas ar na meáin shóisialta le déanaí, inar bailíodh le chéile roinnt teachtaireachtaí gránna maslacha in aghaidh ban ar líne, polaiteoirí a bhformhór. Bhí na torthaí scanrúil.

Léirigh an feachtas fuath, gnéasaíochas agus bagairtí foréigin atá ar siúl díreach anseo san Aontas Eorpach. Ní gá dúinn féachaint lasmuigh den Aontas chun teacht ar pholaiteoirí mná atá ag fulaingt de dheasca ciaptha agus drochíde digiteach.

Tá sé ag tarlúint díreach anseo. Cén fáth nach bhfuil na daoine atá taobh thiar de seo á dtabhairt chun cuntais? Nuair nach ndéantar amhlaidh, cuirimid ar chumas na ndaoine seo leanacht ar aghaidh agus imrítear cos ar bholg ar mhná dá bharr. Ach nuair a thugtar na daoine atá i mbun foréigean ciaptha agus foréigean gnéis chun cuntais, bainimid a gcumhacht díobh.

Ní mór dúinn tosú leis na comhlachtaí móra meáin shóisialta a dhéanamh freagrach as an ábhar díobhálach drochídeach agus uaireanta mídhleathach ar an ardán, ábhar a dtugann siad féin neamhaird air. Tugaimis iad chun cuntais a chairde le mná atá ag rith d’oifig phoiblí a chosaint.

2-0527-0000

Anna Strolenberg (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, the freedom fighters of the 21st century are women. Take Moldovan President Maia Sandu and Georgia’s president Salome Zourabichvili. Both leaders stand strong despite Russian disinformation attacks against them. And listen to the women of Afghanistan who refuse to be silent, risking imprisonment, violence and even death.

Around the world, women are challenging authoritarian regimes and fighting for democracy. However, female leaders, journalists and activists, they face attacks based on their gender. And in Moldova, this information was used to undermine the presidency, the leadership of President Sandu, claiming she is too weak to lead and protect her country.

These gendered attacks are often spread by pro-Kremlin actors. They argue that feminism oppresses men and destroys families. It is used to convince citizens to reject a Western European future, and to pull countries back into Russia’s influence. This information against female politicians has become a weapon used to destroy the democratic process, and combating this is not just a women’s issue, it is a fight for democracy itself.

This fight requires action both online and offline. Social media platforms need to take responsibility, and we must protect and support all those female freedom fighters standing up for democracy.

2-0528-0000

Maria Walsh (PPE). – Mr President, in 2020, a University of Galway study found that 96 % of Irish female politicians received threatening messages, while three quarters faced online threats of physical violence. Deepfake technology has escalated the threat of online harassment of all female politicians. Deepfakes are being weaponised to spread fake news, political misinformation and, most alarmingly, to perpetrate sexual harassment. These manipulated videos violate a woman's privacy and endanger her career and her personal life, and the impact is deeper than this, sadly. It threatens to silence women in public life overall. Fears of such attacks discourage women from running for office or speaking out on key issues. Image-based sexual abuse increasingly undermines their ability to participate in politics.

The AI Act and the DSA mandate transparency for AI-generated media and content moderation, including clear rules and notice and take-down procedures for deepfakes. And our Commission and Member States need to do more to implement the safeguards to detect and prevent harmful deepfakes and to address gender-specific digital threats within AI regulations.

Legislation without implementation is failing female politicians. How can we expect women to lead and speak out if we fail to protect them from these attacks?

2-0529-0000

Maria Noichl (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Liebe Kolleginnen, liebe Kollegen! Es gab es immer schon. Früher hatte es ein anderes Gesicht – früher waren es die sogenannten Hexenverbrennungen. Eine Frau wurde herausgegriffen aus der Masse der Frauen, sie wurde meist entblößt, nackt auf einen Karren gezogen, durch die Stadt gezogen, zum Scheiterhaufen und unter Grölen von vielen Menschen verbrannt. Das waren die Scheiterhaufen früher.

Heute gibt es Scheiterhaufen im Internet. Eine Frau wird herausgezogen, die Frau wird entblößt, oftmals auch nackt dargestellt, sie wird verleumdet, und sie wird öffentlich verbrannt. Und was macht es mit den anderen? Es macht mit den anderen Frauen genau das, was es auch schon vor vielen hundert Jahren machen sollte, nämlich: Die anderen Frauen schweigen.

Was wir tun müssen: Wir müssen einerseits natürlich auf die Länder außerhalb der EU schauen. Wir müssen aber andererseits auch schauen, dass innerhalb der EU, wenn Mitgliedsländer ihre Frauen nicht ausreichend beschützen vor diesem Hass, dann müssen diese Mitgliedsländer auch die Gelder eingefroren bekommen – Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Menschenrechte, Pressefreiheit ist ein Teil. Aber wer seine Frauen nicht schützt, kann keine Gelder aus der EU bekommen. Das ist der Blick nach innen.

2-0530-0000

Marie Dauchy (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, nous débattons de la situation des femmes politiques dans les pays autour de l'Union européenne et des violences qui visent à réduire les femmes au silence. Mais comment pouvons-nous exiger l'exemplarité des autres quand, en France, nous sommes confrontés à la montée de l'islamisme et à la radicalisation de la gauche?

J'ai été lâchement agressée sur un marché. Agressée par deux hommes, dont l'un était déjà coupable de quinze condamnations pour violences. À cette agression est venue s'ajouter une violence tout aussi insupportable: celle de l'extrême gauche, qui n'a pas hésité à soutenir et à applaudir mon agresseur. Ces militants qui se prétendent défenseurs des opprimés se révèlent en réalité être les ennemis de la démocratie et des femmes lorsqu'elles refusent de se taire.

L'extrême gauche est aujourd'hui le visage de la haine, de la lâcheté et de l'intimidation. Ses sympathisants applaudissent les violences lorsqu'elles servent leur idéologie et inversent les rôles, faisant des agresseurs des héros et des victimes des coupables. Ce sont eux, les vrais ennemis des femmes, ceux qui veulent nous chasser de l'espace public par la peur, par la violence, par le mépris.

Aucune femme ne doit être réduite au silence. Se taire face à cette violence, c'est capituler, et nous ne capitulerons jamais!

2-0531-0000

Annamária Vicsek (PFE). – Elnök Úr! Az Európai Parlamentben ma a nemi egyenjogúságról és a női politikusok ellen elkövetett erőszakról tanácskozunk, és egyetértően elítéljük az erőszak minden formáját. De miért nem beszélünk a női politikusok által elkövetett erőszakról is? Tudnak-e arról, hogy van itt közöttünk olyan képviselő, aki egy tagország fővárosában fényes nappal az utcán csoportos, brutális erőszakot követett el? Ilaria Salis szégyenteljes, az Európai Parlamenthez nem méltó, nőhöz nem méltó viselkedéséről miért nem beszélünk?

Egyáltalán hogyan jutottunk el a nemi egyenjogúságtól egészen oda, hogy egy nő brutalitásában is egyenrangúvá válik a férfiakkal? Mindeközben az Európai Parlament védelmét élvez. Az Európai Parlamentben és a tagjelölt országokban is zéró toleranciára van szükség a női politikusokkal szembeni és a női politikusok által elkövetett erőszakkal szemben is. Hogyan várjuk el a tagjelölt országoktól, hogy többet tegyenek a nemi egyenjogúságért és az emberi jogokért, ha az Európai Parlament nem mutat erre jó példát?

2-0532-0000

Břivais mikrofons

2-0533-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, la ciberviolencia y el ciberacoso contra las mujeres y la difusión de contenidos discriminatorios, difamatorios y machistas contra las mujeres, particularmente cuando concurren en procesos electorales por cargos representativos o responsabilidad política, no son exclusivos de los países vecinos ni de los candidatos a la integración europea. Sucede también en la propia Unión Europea.

Por eso es especialmente relevante el informe de Irene Khan, relatora especial sobre la promoción y protección del derecho a la libertad de opinión y de expresión, cuando señala que existe un problema sistémico que forma parte de una estrategia de intimidación y de amenaza a las mujeres que participan en política y, con carácter general, contra la igualdad. Y la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres, aunque no se subraya nunca lo bastante, es también un valor fundacional de la Unión Europea consagrado en el artículo 2 del Tratado de la Unión Europea.

Por tanto, hay que decir con toda claridad que la Unión Europea tiene que tomar iniciativas porque la discriminación contra las mujeres, la discriminación en todas sus formas, es un problema de democracia y es contraria al Derecho europeo.

2-0534-0000

(Břivā mikrofonta uzstāšanos beigās.)

2-0535-0000

Apostolos Tzitzikostas, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, violence against women in politics constitutes a serious violation of human rights. And of course, as you all noted, an obstacle to achieving true gender equality. It is not only it has a part on the victims, but on society as a whole. Such violence directly impacts women's political ambitions, in turn leading to the under-representation of women in politics and in public life.

Violence against women in politics stems from harmful stereotypes, but recent instances have shown us that women can also be the target of the interference by foreign actors seeking to harm our democratic systems. Such violence can take many forms, from misogynistic and sexist verbal attacks amounting to hate speech, to the most commonplace acts of harassment and threats, much of it increasingly online.

It is multifaceted in nature, in perpetrators and in its context. It may be carried out by state and non-state actors, including members of political parties, parliamentarians, voters or media representatives, just to name a few, and may take place in public or in private. In line with our core values and commitment to supporting healthy democratic societies, advancing gender equality and human rights, and countering gender balance violence, the European Commission will continue to work to prevent such violence, to provide support to survivors, to overcome gender stereotypes, and to ensure the effective implementation of relevant policies and legislation in these areas. We will do so through policy dialogues, as well as the provision of funding and technical assistance to strengthen democratic institutions, fight disinformation, and combat violence against women both in the enlargement region and in the eastern neighbourhood.

Such commitment requires collective action and cooperation with a wide variety of stakeholders. Such commitment is indeed important today. This is why, besides governments, we work and we will continue to do so with civil society, women's rights organisations and human rights defenders to build support networks and create safer and more inclusive environments for all women, including women in politics, ensuring their full participation in shaping the future of their countries. This is crucial to foster pluralistic, inclusive, participatory and representative democracy.

Thank you for your attention and, of course, for this very interesting debate. I have taken notes of your interventions and I will pass them to my dear colleague, Commissioner Kos.

2-0536-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Debates ir slēgtas.

18. Tiekšanās pēc kopīga redzējuma Eiropas tūrisma jomā, tā ilgtspējīga izaugsme un zīmols “Eiropa” (debates)

2-0538-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par Komisijas paziņojumu par tiekšanos pēc kopīga redzējuma Eiropas tūrisma jomā, tā ilgtspējīgu izaugsmi un zīmolu “Eiropa” (2024/2990(RSP)).

2-0539-0000

Apostolos Tzitzikostas, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, ladies and gentlemen, thank you, first of all, for putting tourism on the agenda for the first plenary since the new Commission took office. This early debate, and my first contacts with you on the matter

show our mutual interest on this policy running for the benefits of the many actors involved, from small and medium enterprises to local authorities, from social groups, cities, to coastal communities and rural areas, from citizens to the industrial sector, including, of course, transport.

I stand before you as the first-ever European Commissioner explicitly responsible for tourism, with a profound sense of purpose. It is time to chart a future for European tourism. The themes of our discussion - sustainable growth and brand Europe - provoke indeed a few concrete questions. How do we balance growth with preservation? And how do we make tourism work for all Europeans and keep the benefit of it close to our communities?

We are planning a strategy of sustainable tourism in order to tackle these exact questions. It will build on the progress we have achieved with current roadmaps, the transition pathway for tourism and the European Agenda 2030, but it will also address newer challenges.

First, climate resilience. Mitigating and adapting to climate change must be our first consideration, leaving no one and no place behind. From wildfires in Rhodes to floods in Valencia and cyclones in Mayotte, we have seen now how extreme weather endangers lives and businesses. The strategy we are preparing will promote sustainable practices to protect our destinations, the heritage and, of course, our communities.

Second, balanced tourism. We have overcrowding in certain destinations and untapped potential elsewhere, particularly in rural areas. Through stronger marketing, tourist flow management and support for emerging destinations, we can make sure that everyone benefits from the quality of tourism. Visitors, residents and businesses alike, while promoting at the same time declared work, adequate wages and decent working conditions.

Third, digital innovation. Embracing digital tools, from AI-driven data analysis to digital skills training for SMEs, we can step up efficiently and sustainably the appeal of our tourism offers. Digitalisation is indeed an asset and must not become a burden for our SMEs. We also need to work to avoid red tape when it comes to data collection, and we will work on that, a lot.

And finally, human capital. Labour shortages and skill gaps have indeed become critical over the past years. Through initiatives like the EU Talent Pool and the Pact for Skills, we will reskill and upskill the workforce, making the sector more attractive and equitable, fit for the twin transitions, attractive particularly for young people and women, while at the same time protecting seasonal workers.

Dear Members of the European Parliament, we are planning to work these years around three basic pillars: the destination-management organisations, including local authorities; the small and medium enterprises, which are the backbone of the sector; and the international community, with a strong branding which will show the added value of travelling to and through Europe, its security and its singularity. Europe is indeed the second smallest continent in the world, but the most visited. Tourism employs today 20 million people here, significantly boosts GDP and fortifies the cultural and social vitality of countless communities all across Europe.

To go further, to become even more competitive, we need unified branding and marketing, but also resilience building and sustainable approaches to tourism, especially in coastal communities. United, we will ensure Destination Europe stands for excellence, diversity and sustainability of our unique offer. This practically means rolling out high-impact campaigns to showcase Europe's unique cultural and natural assets, supporting destination management organisations, strengthening cooperation with and between regional and local authorities.

I want tourism economic success to translate into benefits for local communities, for employees, for SMEs and for all citizens that live in the destinations.

Today, our local businesses are losing revenue to international platforms and corporations. Locals in the most popular destinations are struggling with rising housing and service costs or supply. So our response must be to: support local value chains by promoting regional products and encourage sustainable and quality services; promote legislation that ensures fair competition and transparency for tourism operators; empower local businesses to invest in sustainable and inclusive tourism; promote active engagement with local communities and civil society when it comes to tackle specific issues stemming from the unbalanced management of guest flows.

Now, when revenue stays local, it fosters acceptance for all, helps preserve traditions, and improves the quality of life. We have in front of us some of the main goals. Now we need a collective effort to attain them. This will mean collaboration across sectors, borders and governmental levels.

So, honourable Members, I count on you in these years to come as we finally form an EU strategy for tourism. We need to advocate sustainable tourism policies within our constituencies, promote cross-border initiatives that will strengthen connectivity and reduce barriers for travellers.

Engage with us on our forthcoming strategy. As the Commissioner for Sustainable Transport and Tourism, I will also count on your support here in the European Parliament for several transport initiatives that will improve the tourist experience all across Europe. Think, for example, single ticketing for cross-border rail travel that I will bring early next year. Easier cross-border rental cars, stronger EU passenger rights and many others that we will together work on during this five year term.

Honourable Members, Europe's tourism sector has endured much in these recent years, from the pandemic, wars to economic crisis. But it has been resilient despite the challenges we faced also because of climate change. It is full of promise and continues to fill me with pride.

So going forward, I would like to ask you to work together to ensure that every journey to and within Europe leaves our destinations and our communities stronger, and our visitors inspired to return. We will work, and we will make sure that Europe stays a superpower in tourism as it is today.

2-0540-0000

Sophia Kircher, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion.* – Sehr geehrtes Präsidium! Geschätzter Herr Kommissar, herzlich willkommen hier bei uns im Europäischen Parlament! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Europäische Union ist im Tourismusbereich weltweit führend. Kein anderes Reiseziel zieht mehr Touristinnen und Touristen an als die Europäische Union, und keine Destination bietet so viel Vielfaltigkeit wie die Europäische Union. Damit nimmt der Tourismus auch eine wesentliche Rolle für die Wirtschaft in der Europäischen Union ein. In meiner Heimatregion Tirol wird beispielsweise jeder dritte Euro im Tourismus erwirtschaftet.

Allerdings kämpft der Tourismus mit großen Herausforderungen – angefangen mit einem Arbeitskräftemangel, den Auswirkungen des Klimawandels bis hin zur wachsenden Konkurrenz am Weltmarkt. Es liegt nun in unserer Verantwortung, Antworten auf diese Herausforderungen zu finden. Zum einen braucht es eine breite Tourismusakzeptanz, und es braucht ein klares Bekenntnis zur Nachhaltigkeit auf allen Ebenen.

Wir dürfen den Erfolg des Tourismus nicht nur an Zahlen messen. Für mich ist eines klar: Qualität steht vor Quantität. Deshalb bitte ich die Kommission, diese europäische Tourismusstrategie umzusetzen. Es braucht einen gemeinsamen Ansatz und gemeinsame Lösungswege, um die Herausforderungen des Tourismus zu lösen und den Tourismus in eine nachhaltige, resiliente und auch digitale Zukunft zu führen.

2-0541-0000

Daniel Attard, *f'isem il-grupp S&D*. – Sur President, it-turiżmu Ewropew jehtieg viżjoni ġdida, u llum umilment nemmen li għandna l-aqwa opportunità. Għandna Kummissarju li mill-bidu nett wera li lest jisma', jifhem, però fuq kollox lest illi jaġixxi u għalhekk insellimlu. It-turiżmu mhuxwix biss btala u destinazzjoni. Huwa dwar ix-xogħol, in-negozji u l-komunitajiet illi jiddependu fuqu. Hemm sfidi kbar illi rridu nindirizzaw flimkien fuq livell Ewropew: is-sostenibbiltà, in-nuqqas ta' haddiema u l-impatti ta' dak illi llum hafna jsejnhulu bħala turiżmu żejjed. Għalhekk nemmen illi l-holqien ta' politika komuni - strateġija li jiena nħobb insejnhilha unjoni għat-turiżmu, mhux aġenzija ġdida, imma politika komuni - tista' tkun iċ-ċavetta biex insibu s-soluzzjonijiet, filwaqt illi nagħtu lura lill-komunitajiet. Wasal iż-żmien illi npoġġu t-turiżmu fiċ-ċentru tal-istrateġija ekonomika tal-Unjoni kollha kemm hi u mhux tat-turiżmu fih innifsu. Jekk naġixxu b'mod konkret, nistgħu nagħtu lit-turiżmu l-importanza li jisthoqqlu. U jien persważ illi, bil-Kummissarju Ewropew illi għandna, se naslu.

2-0542-0000

Julien Leonardelli, *au nom du groupe PflE*. – Monsieur le Président, après avoir ravagé l'agriculture européenne avec sa stratégie «De la ferme à la table», qui encourage le libre-échange débridé – avec le Mercosur notamment –, la Commission européenne élabore aujourd'hui une stratégie pour le tourisme sur le continent. Le tourisme relève pourtant de la compétence des États, dont la souveraineté est encore, une nouvelle fois, bafouée.

Dans cette vision, il n'est pas surprenant que l'on retrouve encore et toujours les mêmes oubliés. Les métropoles, avec leurs hubs et leurs quartiers d'affaires semblables, de Bombay à Manhattan, sont mises à l'honneur, naturellement. Donc, pas un mot sur les territoires ruraux, pas un mot sur ces lieux naturels qui allient tourisme, environnement et histoire.

Les touristes européens ne voyagent pas pour retrouver les mêmes blocs de béton qui recouvrent le globe, mais pour se reconnecter aux racines d'une terre millénaire. De même, les touristes étrangers recherchent plus qu'une marque: ils veulent cette Europe des nations ancrée dans son héritage, et que nous proposons. L'Europe du Puy du Fou, des forteresses cathares, du désert de Tabernas et des Carpates, qui reste le continent le plus visité au monde.

Cette terre a survécu aux guerres, aux maladies, aux invasions étrangères, et, très chère Commission, elle survivra, je l'espère, à votre gestion calamiteuse.

2-0543-0000

Carlo Fidanza, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, dopo l'entrata in vigore del trattato di Lisbona sono stato, ormai tanti anni fa, relatore della prima strategia europea per il turismo e sono stato anche il primo coordinatore della task force per il turismo della commissione TRAN.

Oggi devo riconoscere un fatto certamente positivo, cioè che finalmente il turismo ha ufficialmente una parte nel portafoglio di un commissario, dopo troppi anni di scarsa

considerazione e di promesse mancate – molte ne abbiamo avute anche durante la fase terribile del COVID, che ha fortemente penalizzato le nostre imprese turistiche.

Ecco, ci auguriamo che a questa scelta faccia seguito anche un cambio di passo in termini di priorità, di strumenti finanziari e di politiche a sostegno della competitività del settore turistico nel rispetto delle competenze nazionali.

Il turismo è un pilastro economico per l'Europa: genera il 10 % del PIL europeo e milioni di posti di lavoro, valorizza i territori e il nostro patrimonio culturale. L'Europa è ancora la prima destinazione turistica mondiale, ma abbiamo il dovere di fare meglio per non perdere questo primato.

Per questo dobbiamo continuare a investire nell'innovazione digitale, sostenere le piccole e medie imprese e valorizzare l'Europa nella sua straordinaria diversità culturale e storica.

E dobbiamo investire di più nel turismo per tutti: l'accessibilità deve essere garantita nei trasporti, nell'ospitalità e nei servizi non solo perché è eticamente giusto, ma perché genera un valore aggiunto economico.

Ecco, questo è importante e ci auguriamo anche – in conclusione – che ci sia un'azione forte da parte della Commissione per aiutare gli Stati membri a contrastare l'abusivismo e la concorrenza sleale.

2-0544-0000

Cynthia Ní Mhurchú, *thar ceann an Ghrúpa Renew*. – A Uachtaráin, caithfidh turasóireacht na hEorpa a bheith iomaíoch i gcónaí.

Táimid go mór in iomaíocht leis an Meánoirthear agus leis an Áise. Is féidir óstán a fháil san Iordáin, mar shampla, ar níos lú ná caoga euro in aghaidh na hoíche, ach san Eoraip, d'fhéadfadh an t-óstán céanna 300 euro a chosaint.

Anuas air sin, tá go leor Ballstát ag cur níos mó cánacha turasóireachta sa mhullach ar phraghsanna óstáin. Sa Phortaingéil, rinne Liospóin a gcáin turasóireachta a dhúbailt ó €2.15 go €4.30 Meán Fómhair seo caite, agus d'ardaigh Barcelona a gcáin turasóireachta go €4 in aghaidh an aoi Deireadh Fómhair seo caite.

Mar gheall air sin, níl an Eoraip chomh hiomaíoch céanna mar cheann scríbe don turasóir idirnáisiúnta, a bhfuil réimse roghanna aige. Ar an dara dul síos, ní mór dúinn tosú ag smaoineamh ar an Eoraip a chur i láthair mar cheann scríbe ar leibhéal iomlán an Aontais. Is é sin; cuairteoirí a mhealladh chuig níos mó ná tír amháin san Aontas. Agus straitéis mhargaíochta á ofráil ar fud an Aontais, idir chathracha agus cheantracha tuaithe; ionas go meallfaí turasóirí chuig Barcelona, Bleá Cliath agus Beirlín, chomh maith le Baváir, Beantraí agus Bled. Is í an turasóireacht cuisle mo thoghcheantair in Éirinn. Cruthaíonn sé poist i réigiúin nach bhfuil mórán tionscail iontu. Ní mór dúinn an turasóireacht a chosaint agus a chinntiú go mbeidh an Eoraip tarraingteach agus iomaíoch i gcónaí.

2-0545-0000

Vicent Marzà Ibáñez, *en nombre del Grupo Verts/ALE*. – Señor presidente, señor comisario, si de verdad se quiere hacer una reflexión en profundidad del modelo turístico europeo debemos abordar, y con rapidez, las externalidades negativas del modelo turístico de masas, y lo tenemos que hacer por una cuestión social, porque la presión que los alquileres turísticos de corta duración

están ejerciendo sobre el acceso a la vivienda, sobre el derecho del acceso a la vivienda, es insoportable. Tenemos barrios, barrios enteros, que están siendo abandonados por sus habitantes porque no pueden asumir, porque no pueden pagarse, una casa por la presión de las empresas que se dedican, algunas de ellas de forma ilegal, a los apartamentos turísticos: hay que poner coto de forma valiente a esta situación.

También desde el punto de vista de la estructura económica: aquellos territorios que tienen mayor dependencia del monocultivo turístico son territorios que tienen peores condiciones laborales, que son más desiguales; por eso tenemos que hablar también de condiciones laborales del sector turístico, de mejoras salariales, y también de la dependencia del monocultivo turístico que hay en algunas zonas y que no aporta precisamente cosas positivas a la estructura económica de nuestros países.

Y, por último, desde el punto de vista medioambiental: tenemos que abordar de forma clara y contundente la aportación que está teniendo el sector turístico a la aceleración del cambio climático, la afectación del cambio climático en el propio sistema turístico. Y no nos vale hacer ecoblanqueo con etiquetas de sostenibilidad, por ejemplo, al sector de los cruceros, que contamina solo con los cruceros más que mil coches.

Por lo tanto, tenemos que abordarlo de forma valiente y esperemos que así sea en esta nueva Comisión.

2-0546-0000

Έλενα Κουντουρά, εξ ονόματος της ομάδας *The Left*. – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, για να διατηρήσει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση τα επόμενα χρόνια τη θέση του κορυφαίου παγκόσμιου τουριστικού προορισμού, οφείλει να επαναπροσδιορίσει τη στρατηγική της για τον τουρισμό, θέτοντας στον πυρήνα της μια ολιστική προσέγγιση βιώσιμης ανάπτυξης για την κοινωνία, την οικονομία και το περιβάλλον.

Ο στόχος για βιώσιμη τουριστική ανάπτυξη δεν μπορεί να υλοποιηθεί εάν δεν αναθεωρήσουμε άμεσα τις πολιτικές, τους μηχανισμούς και τα ευρωπαϊκά χρηματοδοτικά προγράμματα για ανθεκτικότητα απέναντι στη βίαιη κλιματική αλλαγή που εκδηλώνεται με ολοένα και μεγαλύτερη ένταση.

Είναι επείγουσα ανάγκη να θέσουμε ως προτεραιότητα την άμεση δημιουργία βιώσιμων, ανθεκτικών και ασφαλών υποδομών έως το 2030 και να δημιουργήσουμε καλύτερες συνθήκες εργασίας για τους εργαζόμενους στον τουρισμό.

Να θεσπίσουμε άμεσα ένα σύστημα παρακολούθησης επιδόσεων, βιωσιμότητας και πιστοποίησης βιώσιμων τουριστικών προορισμών. Να αποκτήσει ο τουρισμός ξεχωριστή γραμμή προϋπολογισμού και να συσταθεί επιτέλους ο Ευρωπαϊκός Οργανισμός Τουρισμού που απαιτείται για καλύτερο συντονισμό και καλύτερη συνοχή, με απτά αποτελέσματα, έτσι ώστε το brand Ευρώπη να είναι παγκόσμιο πρότυπο βιώσιμου τουριστικού προορισμού.

2-0547-0000

Siegbert Frank Droese, im Namen der ESN-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar, meine Damen und Herren! Es vergeht kaum ein Tag, wo die Kommission nicht eine Vision hat – nun auch zum Tourismus. In der Europäischen Agenda für Tourismus 2030, so der sperrige Titel, ist vor allem vom grünen Übergang – vom Ökosystem-Tourismus – die Rede und so weiter und so fort. Dabei fühlt sich die EU berufen, z. B. zu bestimmen, wie lange kurzfristige Vermietungen sein dürfen unter Punkt 15, oder es gibt Sensibilisierungsmaßnahmen für den grünen Wandel unter Punkt 20.

Der Tourismus ist eine zutiefst nationale Aufgabe, und die EU soll erst einmal Probleme wie die Massenmigration lösen. Interessant ist dabei auch, dass öffentliche Aufträge im Tourismus an grüne Ziele gebunden werden sollen. Immer und immer wieder grüner Sozialismus statt Marktwirtschaft und Wettbewerb – das ist widerlich.

Die Tourismusstrategie ist überflüssig. Die Unternehmer und die Kunden entscheiden vor Ort, wohin sie reisen, wie sie reisen, wie lange sie reisen. Tourismus hat etwas zu tun mit Kultur, Geschichte, privaten Erlebnissen, aber nicht mit Aspekten der Klimareligion. Diese grüne, sozialistische EU lässt die Touristen in Europa einfach am besten in Ruhe. Die EU-Tourismusstrategie – wenn hier vorne ein Mülleimer stünde, Deckel auf, Tourismusstrategie rein. Diese Tourismusstrategie ist abzulehnen.

2-0548-0000

Dariusz Joński (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Biorę udział w debacie tak istotnej, bo trzeba upomnieć się o turystykę. Kiedy mówimy o gospodarce, to musimy pamiętać, że to nie tylko przemysł, ale również właśnie turystyka – około 10% PKB, 12 milionów miejsc pracy w Unii Europejskiej i prawie 2 miliony przedsiębiorców. Ale jak popatrzymy, to w ostatnich latach dosięgło ją wiele plag. Najpierw pandemia, później wojna w Ukrainie, drożyzna, klęski żywiołowe, w tym powódź, która również nawiedziła mój kraj i wiele regionów w całej Europie. Chcę zacytować naszą noblistkę, pisarkę Olę Tokarczuk, która powiedziała tak: „Powódź zabrała ludziom wiele, ale nie zabrała gościnności”. I ten apel z Dolnego Śląska, z Polski zamieszczam też tutaj, dlatego że dzisiaj musimy bardziej niż wcześniej zadbać o sektor turystyki, który jest i musi pozostać naszą wspólną wizytówką.

Chcę powiedzieć o trzech rzeczach, które moim zdaniem są bardzo istotne. Po pierwsze, powinniśmy zadbać o strefę Schengen, dbając jednocześnie o bezpieczeństwo naszych granic. Powinniśmy zrobić wszystko, żeby był swobodny przejazd przez granice. Po drugie, powinniśmy zainwestować w promocję naszych krajowych atrakcji turystycznych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem tych regionów, które właśnie zostają dotknięte między innymi przez żywioły. I po trzecie, ja się bardzo cieszę, że komisarz Apostolos Tsitsikostas ma w swojej tece oprócz transportu również turystykę, bo turystyka to również inwestycje w kolej i kolej dużych prędkości.

Jestem z Polski, z Łodzi. Tam rozpoczęliśmy budowę kolei dużych prędkości. Bardzo się cieszę, że ta inwestycja będzie realizowana i cieszę się, że będzie wspólny bilet. I ostatnia rzecz musimy pamiętać o jednym. Silna...

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

2-0549-0000

Johan Danielsson (S&D). – Herr talman! Först vill jag rikta ett stort tack till kommissionsledamot Tzitzikostas för hans löfte om att ta fram en strategi för hållbar turism. Europa är, och måste fortsätta att vara, den ledande destinationen för hållbar turism.

Men då är det också viktigt att komma ihåg att hållbarhet även handlar om goda arbetsvillkor. Jag är också glad att kommissionsledamoten därför också tog upp det här i sitt anförande. För fackliga organisationer över hela världen i dag belyser ett globalt mönster som också finns i Europa med exploatering, låga löner och otrygga jobb som tyvärr är en vardag för många inom sektorn. Det här är oacceptabelt.

Ska vi skapa en hållbar turismsektor måste vi förbättra arbetsvillkoren och hantera den osäkerhet som kommer med korta säsongsanställningar. Detta kommer att vara helt avgörande för att människor ska välja att arbeta i sektorn, men också för att de som redan är där ska stanna kvar. Jag hoppas därför att kommissionen involverar de fackliga organisationerna i sektorn när man nu ska ta fram sin nya strategi.

2-0550-0000

Barry Cowen (Renew). – Mr President, I welcome the appointment, for the first time, of a Commissioner for sustainable tourism. It's a vital industry in my constituency and across Europe. And like the rest of society, the sector knows it must play its part in tackling climate change.

Ireland has launched a sustainable tourism policy recently, with ambitious targets to 2030 – it's seeking to reduce emissions by 60 % – and the balance between environmental responsibility and economic growth is already being demonstrated along the River Shannon, where boat cruisers have cut carbon footprint by 92 %, switching from diesel to hydrotreated vegetable oil. In addition, a number of Midlands counties have received Just Transition Funds for the development of sustainable tourism.

It should be noted that it's at times like these, supporting rural communities' transition towards more sustainable economic models, that national governments can be asked to provide or to match funding. And unfortunately, too many can be too quick to call for the abolition of important tax measures at home that actually allow Member States to collaborate with the EU and push economic and environmental sustainability in areas like tourism.

One thing is clear, however, it's imperative that we support small and medium tourism businesses to navigate their path towards sustainability. I know with the right policies and investments we can build...

(The President cut off the speaker)

2-0551-0000

Jaume Asens Llodrà (Verts/ALE). – Señor presidente, hablar de turismo es hablar de cambio climático. La dana, tras sembrar Valencia de muerte y caos, nos ha dejado muchas lecciones. Destaco una: debemos respetar la naturaleza. Somos vulnerables. Eso implica, como mínimo, revisar un modelo de turismo insostenible, que contamina, que destruye. Implica dejar de llenar de cemento nuestras costas, pero sobre todo las zonas inundables como los tramos finales de los ríos e ir en la dirección contraria a la que van la derecha o incluso el Partido Socialista en España, en Cataluña, con propuestas como la ampliación del aeropuerto de El Prat en Barcelona.

Señor comisario, señorías, escuchen las advertencias de la Comisión de 2021 sobre ese asunto. Escuchen lo que ha dicho el Tribunal de esta ciudad de Estrasburgo sobre las responsabilidades de los Gobiernos por inacción climática. Y si no, escuchen a la naturaleza: lo que nos dijo la dana cuando inundó Valencia o el aeropuerto de Barcelona. El mensaje es claro: menos aviones y cemento, más trenes y árboles. Es una cuestión de supervivencia. Y quienes no quieran escuchar un consejo, que se busquen un abogado, como tiene que hacer el Partido Popular ahora con la gestión criminal de la dana, ya que la Fiscalía está pidiendo investigarles por crímenes.

2-0552-0000

Merja Kyllönen (The Left). – Arvoisa puhemies, eurooppalaisen matkailun tulevaisuus on rakennettava kestävyiden, osallisuuden ja jatkuvan uudistumisen varaan. Meidät tunnetaan

maailmanlaajuisesti turvallisena, kiehtovana ja vastuullisena matkakohteena, mutta tämä asema ei ole itsestäänselvyys. Se on ansaittava yhä uudelleen.

Nykyajan matkailijat odottavat elämyksiä, jotka kunnioittavat paikallista luontoa ja kulttuuria. He suosivat kestävää matkailua ja valitsevat mahdollisimman pienen hiilijalanjäljen jättäviä kohteita ja palveluita. Tässä EU:n tukemat kestävä matkailun hankkeet ovat olleet avainasemassa. Ne lisäävät elinvoimaa alueilla sekä vahvistavat Euroopan brändiä. Tätä työtä on jatkettava.

Geopoliittiset kriisit, kuten Venäjän hyökkäys Ukrainaan, ovat ravistelleet matkailua. Esimerkiksi meillä Suomessa joudutaan etsimään turismin tuomia tulonlähteitä kokonaan muualta turistien kadottua tietyiltä alueilta.

Uusiin rohkeisiin ideoihin tarttuminen sekä turvallisuuteen panostaminen ovat tärkeämpiä kuin koskaan, jotta Eurooppa pidetään jatkossakin matkailijoiden ykkösvalintana.

2-0553-0000

Arno Bausemer (ESN). – Sehr geehrter Herr Vorsitzender! Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren! Tourismus ist für unsere Heimatländer ein wichtiger Wirtschaftsfaktor. Gerade in wirtschaftlich schweren Zeiten brauchen unsere Bürger und ihre Familien ihren wohlverdienten Urlaub, um Kraft zu tanken. Es ist wichtig, dass so ein Urlaub für jedermann bezahlbar bleibt und nicht nur ein Luxusgut – oder sich dazu entwickelt – für reiche Menschen. Bereits heute können Geringverdiener trotz harter Arbeit nur noch selten ans Meer oder in die Berge reisen. Das ist nicht nur respektlos, sondern birgt eine gefährliche soziale Sprengkraft.

Deshalb brauchen wir in der gesamten Europäischen Union einen fairen Wettbewerb und geeignete politische Maßnahmen, um den Wohlstand unserer Bürger zu sichern. Die Menschen in unseren Heimatländern hätten jedenfalls deutlich bessere finanzielle Mittel, wenn Inflation, kalte Progression, hohe Energiekosten oder steigende Sozialversicherungsbeiträge ihr hart erarbeitetes Vermögen nicht Monat für Monat auffressen würden.

Wir brauchen – nicht nur in meinem Heimatland Deutschland – weniger Asyltourismus, wir müssen die Gelder stattdessen endlich zugunsten unserer eigenen Bürger einsetzen. Ein positiver Effekt dieser notwendigen Remigration wäre nicht nur eine Verbesserung unserer Finanzen und unserer Sicherheit, sondern auch ein Grund, wieder frei von Sorgen in Deutschland Urlaub zu machen – egal woher man kommt. Und mit der klaren Maßgabe, dass dieser Urlaub nicht umsonst ist und dass dieser ...

(Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)

2-0554-0000

Borja Giménez Larraz (PPE). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, el turismo es una poderosa herramienta para el desarrollo económico y social de la Unión. Emplea directamente a más de doce millones de personas y representa más de un 10 % del producto interior bruto. Conviene recordar esto hoy que hay voces que demonizan el turismo, alentadas por motivaciones ideológicas que se traducen en tirar piedras contra nuestro propio tejado.

Sí, queremos un turismo sostenible, pero no solo desde un punto de vista medioambiental, sino también económico y social. La Unión Europea tiene un importante papel que desempeñar. Debemos trabajar en la construcción de una marca común e impulsar una estrategia de turismo sostenible. Esta es la legislatura de la competitividad.

Déjenme que les cuente lo que está pasando en España, uno de los principales destinos turísticos de la Unión Europea: desde el 2 de diciembre, los turistas deben facilitar hasta cuarenta y dos datos personales —cuando antes eran trece—, algunos de ellos de carácter muy íntimo. Esta medida supone una invasión a la privacidad de las personas y puede vulnerar la regulación europea en materia de protección de datos, una imposición más propia de un Estado policial que de una democracia. Además, impone una carga administrativa incomprensible, inadmisibles e imposible para muchas pequeñas empresas, provocando una pérdida de competitividad para un sector estratégico.

Este es un tema que no solo preocupa en España. Las asociaciones turísticas de ámbito europeo han levantado la voz. La industria turística europea está movilizada. Creo que es importante que las instituciones europeas se impliquen.

2-0555-0000

Sérgio Gonçalves (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, a Europa é o continente que mais turistas recebe. Foram mais de 700 milhões em 2023, dois milhões dos quais na minha terra, a Madeira.

O turismo traz enormes benefícios económicos e sociais, cria empregos e aproxima culturas e comunidades. Um dos grandes desafios deste setor prende-se com os objetivos de descarbonização que foram fixados em matéria de transportes, em particular para as regiões ultraperiféricas.

É fundamental reforçarmos o financiamento europeu para a modernização de frotas e infraestruturas de transporte. Isto é especialmente importante em regiões, cuja pequena escala não permite suportar os elevados investimentos necessários e onde não podemos admitir que sejam as pessoas com os menores rendimentos e maior risco de pobreza a pagar o custo da transição verde.

Só assim poderemos assegurar a sustentabilidade económica, social e ambiental do turismo, e que nenhuma pessoa ou região fique para trás.

2-0556-0000

Pernando Barrena Arza (The Left). – Señor presidente, señorías, señor comisario, el problema no es el turismo, sino la falta de regulación. El modelo que tenemos en vigor de manera generalizada es el denominado «cuanto más, mejor». Pero en un planeta finito no se pueden plantear economías y crecimientos infinitos.

Lo mismo pasa con nuestros pueblos y ciudades y el turismo. La falta de regulación ocasiona problemas de gentrificación, porque estos barrios y ciudades que son destinos turísticos dejan de ser vivibles, y los procesos de gentrificación terminan por expulsar a los locales.

La clave, una vez más, está en un modelo sostenible de turismo que ponga en la centralidad el bienestar de la ciudadanía que habita en los lugares con atractivo turístico. El turismo sostenible está relacionado con la capacidad de carga turística de una comunidad que es limitada y exige que esta actividad esté unida a un entorno físico, económico y social que no resulte perjudicado por su desarrollo.

Señorías, hay que gobernar el turismo, y las administraciones públicas a todos los niveles deben tener competencias e instrumentos para su regulación. El turismo es un fenómeno global, pero la intervención local es fundamental, porque el turismo no incide de igual modo en todos los lugares. Este es el enfoque de las movilizaciones ciudadanas en el sur de Europa del movimiento

Ciudades y Pueblos para Vivir y la Red SET. El turismo necesita de una regulación ya y la Unión Europea tiene que ser un sujeto activo para ello.

2-0557-0000

Sérgio Humberto (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, Caros Colegas, mais do que nunca o turismo está a mudar. Está a mudar para se adaptar às comunidades locais que vivem cada vez mais pressionadas nas grandes cidades europeias, como Lisboa ou Porto, Atenas ou Santorini. Está a mudar para se alinhar com o setor dos transportes, crucial para escoar o fluxo turístico. Está a mudar para oferecer ao consumidor soluções alinhadas com a sustentabilidade.

Como dizia o nosso colega Giménez, o turismo representa 10 % do PIB da União Europeia, envolve 2,3 milhões de empresas, essencialmente pequenas e médias empresas, que empregam mais de 12 milhões de pessoas.

A Europa é o primeiro destino turístico do mundo. Esta é uma grande responsabilidade para nós, enquanto europeus. Temos de garantir que as medidas implementadas no setor do turismo contribuam para mais eficiência, uma gestão viável e economicamente mais sustentável, mais conforto, segurança e saúde pública, qualificação e formação da mão de obra, promoção de aplicativos no turismo virtual.

Consequentemente, importa a União Europeia promover o acesso ao financiamento e facilitar o investimento. Estimado Comissário Apostolos Tzitzikostas, pela coesão dos europeus e do mundo, importa afirmar que o turismo está a mudar e vai mudar. Mãos ao trabalho.

2-0558-0000

Matteo Ricci (S&D). – Signor Presidente, signor commissario Tzitzikostas, onorevoli colleghi, tutti gli analisti prevedono nei prossimi anni circa 200 o 300 milioni di nuovi turisti nel mondo – una classe media cresciuta nei paesi emergenti – e questi nuovi turisti sono fortemente attratti dalla bellezza e dalla cultura europee.

Il problema è che, come è stato detto, noi abbiamo molte città – le città d'arte – che sono in *overtourism* e abbiamo bisogno di offrire a questi nuovi turisti una rete di città medie, che nel nostro continente esiste.

Per questo credo che dobbiamo valorizzare le reti di città medie, a partire dalle reti UNESCO, ma anche le capitali europee e nazionali della cultura: sono per noi un grande strumento, perché attorno alle città medie si possono aggregare anche le città rurali, i borghi e, di conseguenza, i territori ancora da scoprire.

Io credo molto in questa strategia e per questo abbiamo deciso dalla mia terra, da Pesaro e Urbino e le Marche, di candidarci, dopo Matera nel 2019, a capitale europea della cultura 2033, quando toccherà ancora una volta al nostro paese, all'Italia.

2-0559-0000

Isabel Serra Sánchez (The Left). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, el turismo depredador arrasa nuestras ciudades, nuestra salud, nuestro tiempo de vida, nuestras redes vecinales, nuestro planeta. Degrada nuestros espacios a gran velocidad. Donde había un comercio de barrio, ahora hay una tienda de *souvenirs*; donde había una plaza, hay una atracción turística; donde había una playa, hay hormigón y grandes hoteles; donde había calles, hay atascos, hay aglomeraciones.

Lo que hay que combatir es el mantra, en el que insisten una y otra vez, de que es bueno para la economía. ¿Para qué economía? ¿Para los afectados por los desastres naturales como la dana, para las *kellys* que trabajan en los hoteles por una miseria o para los jóvenes que en mi país no pueden pagar el alquiler por culpa de los pisos turísticos? Las que siempre salen ganando son las cadenas hoteleras, las grandes empresas, la patronal inmobiliaria.

En mi país, para entrar en la Unión Europea, lo que se dijo es que teníamos que ser el chiringuito de Europa y que teníamos que tener menos ingenieros y más camareros, que nada para la industria y todo para el ladrillo y para el turismo. Y ahí estuvieron el Partido Socialista y el Partido Popular para cumplirlo. Ahora la gente ya no puede más. Está harta y sabe que el turismo se ha convertido en algo insostenible para sus vidas y está saliendo a la calle, movilizándose, para pedir que haya límites, que haya regulación frente al turismo desenfrenado.

Así que, señor comisario, para proteger nuestras vidas, para proteger nuestro planeta, pónganle límites al turismo desenfrenado.

2-0560-0000

Rosa Serrano Sierra (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, este debate demuestra que vamos por el buen camino. El turismo ha ganado protagonismo en la agenda europea y no debemos perder esta oportunidad. Tras el fuerte impacto del COVID en el sector, este Parlamento pidió más gobernanza europea. Necesitamos más Europa para enfrentar los desafíos y aprovechar las oportunidades de un sector que dinamiza la economía y representa más del 10 % del PIB en la Unión Europea. Debemos consolidar la marca turística de Europa basada en la sostenibilidad económica, ambiental y social.

En mi tierra, en Aragón, la Ley de Turismo Sostenible ha sido lo que ha impulsado el turismo. Comarcas como Sobrarbe, Andorra o Cinco Villas han sido pioneras para equilibrar ese crecimiento económico y también la protección ambiental, promoviendo además la economía local, el empleo y el respeto a las comunidades y a su patrimonio cultural. Señor comisario, como legisladores, debemos asegurarnos de que una futura agenda europea de turismo incorpore esas buenas prácticas.

2-0561-0000

Dario Nardella (S&D). – Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, siamo arrivati alla fine di questo dibattito e ci rendiamo conto – siamo tutti d'accordo – che il turismo è un pezzo fondamentale dell'economia europea, con più di 700 milioni di visitatori stranieri che spendono ogni anno più di 800 miliardi di euro.

Ma l'Europa non ha ancora un brand e non ha ancora un vero e forte piano strategico.

Da sindaco di Firenze e da presidente di Eurocities ho imparato che ci sono alcune priorità: la prima è che la Commissione guardi al turismo come settore trasversale, coordinando meglio i programmi; la seconda è che si finanzino progetti sui trasporti e sull'innovazione tecnologica che favoriscano il turismo; la terza è che ci sia un coordinamento con le politiche di coesione per favorire il turismo delle aree interne rurali; la quarta è che si uniscano investimenti pubblici e privati; e la quinta è che si coinvolgano le comunità locali e regionali in una conferenza annuale.

Commissario Tzitzikostas, Lei è stato un ottimo presidente del Comitato delle regioni e ha questa sensibilità, grazie anche al portafoglio che unisce trasporti e turismo.

2-0562-0000

Brīvais mikrofons

2-0563-0000

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, este debate da cuenta de los buenos motivos para acometer una política europea de turismo, porque importa más de veintidós millones de puestos de trabajo en el conjunto de la Unión Europea, más del 12 % del empleo y más del 10 % del producto interior bruto y, en algunas regiones especializadas, como es el caso de Canarias, más del 30 % del PIB y más del 35 % del empleo.

Por eso, cuando se desploma a cero, pese a todos los problemas que merecen discusión, se le echa de menos. En la pandemia tuvimos una Resolución estratégica sobre la importancia del turismo exactamente para recuperarlo, y propusimos un fondo europeo de garantía de reembolsos, un mecanismo europeo de financiación de políticas de turismo y un fondo de garantía de viajes, además de un marco europeo de derechos de los trabajadores del sector turístico, que importan muchísimo, pero, sobre todo, una Agencia Europea del Turismo para garantizar la planificación y la sostenibilidad social y medioambiental —Agencia Europea a la que, por cierto, la comunidad canaria presentó su candidatura, como sucede—. Por tanto, tenemos muy buenas razones para movernos hacia adelante, hacia el futuro, y darle al turismo como sector estratégico de la Unión Europea las respuestas europeas que merece.

2-0564-0000

Ștefan Mușoiu (S&D). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, dragi colegi, în contextul generat de această declarație, ca membru al Comisiei TRAN, dar și ca cetățean pasionat și preocupat de tot ceea ce presupune acest domeniu, vă propun astăzi să acordăm și mai multă atenție și importanță rolului colaborării regionale pentru atingerea acestui deziderat.

Cooperarea între țările vecine pentru promovarea comună a destinațiilor din anumite regiuni poate fi fructificată și mai bine. Ține de noi toți să facem uz de toate instrumentele pe care le presupune turismul transfrontalier. Putem exploata gama rutelor tematice europene culturale cuprinse în patrimoniul UNESCO, culinare sau viticole. Aceste tipuri de trasee se dovedesc din ce în ce mai atractive pentru turiștii interni și internaționali.

De asemenea, conectarea lor printr-o rețea unitară de drumuri ar facilita și transporturile curente, dar și turismul. În România, guvernarea actuală social-democrată, prin intermediul Ministerului Transporturilor, a accelerat exponențial construcția de autostrăzi și Bulgaria continuă investițiile, la fel și țările vecine aflate în etapa de preaderare.

Așadar, premisele creșterii turismului devin din ce în ce mai favorabile, inclusiv pentru unele zone mai puțin accesibile. Domnule comisar, aveți un plan ambițios în privința turismului și transportului european ...

(Președintele a retras cuvântul vorbitorului)

2-0565-0000

(Brīvā mikrofona uzstāšanos beigās.)

2-0566-0000

Apostolos Tzitzikostas, Member of the Commission. – Mr. President, Honourable Members, ladies and gentlemen, first of all, thank you for your comments, thank you for your insights. I have heard

you and indeed your expectations will motivate me going forward these years. Now is a good time to reflect on the collective responsibility that lies ahead of us.

Tourism is not just an economic activity. It is a bridge between cultures, a driver of innovation and the cornerstone of our shared European identity. I agree with you that central to achieving our vision is the effective use of data and indicators. This is how we will measure and guide sustainable tourism development; through the common data space for tourism and the EU Tourism Dashboard, by revising the tourism statistics regulation, we will give stakeholders access to reliable and comprehensive data because without data they cannot take the right decisions. They will be able to monitor the environmental, the societal and the economic impacts of tourism, ensuring alignment with our sustainability objectives. This has to be done without adding extra administrative burden, of course, to the main actors, to the small and medium enterprises.

Now, I want to be clear, the success of our tourism strategy will depend on the implementation at every level. European institutions, regional and local authorities, businesses, civil society in Europe and beyond must work together. This and only this will ensure the benefits of tourism reach Europe's diverse landscapes.

We must also remain steadfast in addressing immediate challenges like the ones you mentioned earlier during this debate. Combating the impacts of climate change, pollution and biodiversity loss. Supporting sustainable and innovative practices, and investing more and more in green mobility. Empowering small and medium enterprises to adapt to the digital transformation and fostering entrepreneurship within the sector. Improving inclusivity, accessibility and equity to ensure that tourism benefits are shared by all and contribute to reducing inequalities all across Europe.

I also agree with you that funding will be key and must be more accessible for tourism businesses and relevant authorities, and simpler to access. The Commission has pledged to simplify EU funding programmes for tourism as well. We must also make sure that tourist operators, local regional authorities and SMEs will know about these opportunities, so we will need to upgrade the level of information to them. Local regional authorities will need to make the most out of the cohesion funds that are allocated to them, along with other financial means. This will make the difference when it comes to delivering on the ground.

But it's not all about money dear members of Parliament. Education and training will equip the next generation to lead in sustainable tourism and responsible travel. I fully support what was heard earlier: structured debate with civil society and local community representatives, including the share of the best practices, can also help.

Now I want to underline that a sustainable transport sector will be a friend of tourism. I am committed to ensuring that the missing sections of the Trans-European Transport Network are indeed in place by the agreed deadlines, putting forward a plan for an ambitious European high-speed rail network to pursuing a sustainable transport investment plan by 2025, and at the same time addressing critical areas such as electrification, sustainable fuels and, of course, infrastructure development, without which we will never be able to reach our goals.

This also includes infrastructure for cycling tourism, a growing sector with significant economic and environmental benefits. The European Cycling Declaration, which I know how much this House has worked for, making us the first continent to have a cycling declaration, calls for investment in infrastructure, in safety and in urban mobility integration. Cycling can indeed be a

key player in our tourism strategy; connecting destinations, boosting local economies and promoting greener travel all across Europe.

Dear Members of the European Parliament, let me be crystal clear. My approach to tourism and transport will be to prioritise people. Fair wages, better working conditions, occupational health and safety and reskilling programmes are the route to an inclusive and motivated workforce and I cannot emphasise enough the importance of that workforce of European leadership in tourism. So together we can elevate 'Destination Europe' to new heights, a destination that not only welcomes the world but leads it by example in sustainability, inclusivity and innovation. So I might be the first commissioner explicitly for tourism, but I can assure you that we will work hard these five years, and we will work together to bring the results that you, that I, want to see for tourism, for Europe.

2-0567-0000

President. – The debate is closed.

Rakstiski paziņojumi (178. pants)

2-0567-5000

Ελισσάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρυονίδη (PPE), γραπτώς. – Ο τουρισμός αποτελεί θεμέλιο της ευρωπαϊκής οικονομίας, διαδραματίζοντας κεντρικό ρόλο στην ενίσχυση της κοινωνικής και οικονομικής συνοχής της Ένωσης. Ωστόσο, αντιμετωπίζει σημαντικές προκλήσεις, όπως η γεωπολιτική αστάθεια, η κλιματική κρίση αλλά και η έλλειψη εργατικού δυναμικού.

Για να παραμείνουν ανθεκτικοί και ανταγωνιστικοί οι τουριστικοί προορισμοί της Ευρώπης, είναι αναγκαίο να επιμεινουμε στην πράσινη και ψηφιακή μετάβαση του τουριστικού τομέα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η ψηφιοποίηση των μικρομεσαίων επιχειρήσεων σε συνδυασμό με ποιοτικές πρακτικές, όπως οι κυκλικές υπηρεσίες και η βιώσιμη κινητικότητα, μπορούν να συμβάλλουν στην υπεύθυνη τουριστική ανάπτυξη για την οποία συζητούμε σήμερα καθώς και στη σταθερή προώθηση του ευρωπαϊκού brand.

Βασική προτεραιότητα παραμένει η κινητοποίηση ειδικών κονδυλίων για την αναβάθμιση της τουριστικής εκπαίδευσης και της επιχειρηματικής ευελιξίας, ώστε να πετύχουμε την ποιοτική ανάπτυξη του τουριστικού τομέα στην Ευρώπη, όπως καθορίζεται στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ατζέντα για τον Τουρισμό με ορίζοντα το 2030.

Παράλληλα, θα ήθελα να τονίσω ότι η χώρα μου, η Ελλάδα, επενδύει στην ποιοτική και βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη και προωθεί πολιτικές για την αντιμετώπιση της έλλειψης εργατικού δυναμικού καθώς και για την ανάπτυξη προγραμμάτων κατάρτισης.

Με το βλέμμα στραμμένο στη βιωσιμότητα και την ανθεκτικότητα του τουριστικού οικοσυστήματος, ο ευρωπαϊκός τουρισμός θα συνεχίσει να αποτελεί βασικό μοχλό ανάπτυξης για την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

19. Balsojumu skaidrojumi

2-0569-0000

President. – The next item should be the explanations of vote, but colleagues, the good thing is that it looks like all the votes are explained this year, and nobody wanted to say anything on this item on the agenda.

20. Nākamās sēdes darba kārtība

2-0576-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamā sēde sāksies rītdien, proti, trešdien, 2024. gada 18. decembrī, plkst. 8.30.

Darba kārtība ir publicēta un ir pieejama Eiropas Parlamenta tīmekļa vietnē.

21. Šīs sēdes protokola apstiprināšana

2-0578-0000

Priekšsēdētājs. – Šīs sēdes protokols tiks iesniegts Parlamentam apstiprināšanai rītdien pēc balsošanas.

22. Sēdes slēgšana

2-0580-0000

(Sēde tika slēgta plkst. 22:47.)