



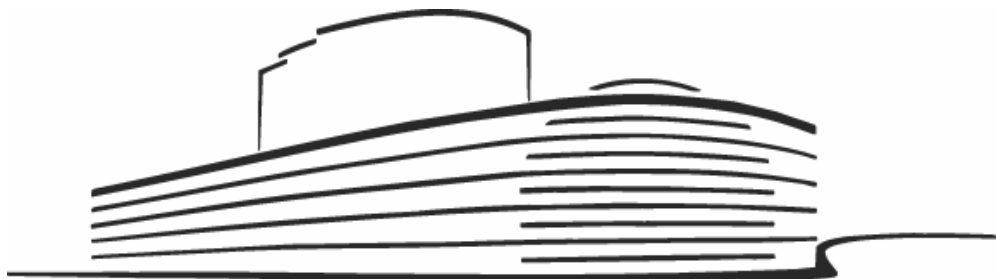
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Parlament Ewropew Europees Parlement Parlament Europejski Parlamento Europeu Parlamentul European  
Európsky parlament Evropski parlament Euroopan parlamentti Europaparlamentet

2024 - 2029

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

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Jeudi - Déardaoin - Čtvrtek - Giovedì - Ceturtdiena - Ketvirtadienis - Csütörtök  
Il-Hamis - Donderdag - Czwartek - Quinta-feira - Joi - Štvrtok - Četrtek - Torstai - Torsdag

**18.07.2024**



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Ενωμένη στην πολυμορφία - United in diversity - Unie dans la diversité - Aontaithe san éagsúlacht - Ujedinjena u raznolikosti - Unita nella diversità  
Vienoti daudzveidībā - Susivieniję įvairovėje - 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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3-001-0000

ЧЕТВЪРТЪК, 18 ЮЛИ 2024 г.  
 JUEVES 18 DE JULIO DE 2024  
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 TORSDAG DEN 18. JULI 2024  
 DONNERSTAG, 18. JULI 2024  
 NELJAPÄEV, 18. JUULI 2024  
 ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 18 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ 2024  
 THURSDAY, 18 JULY 2024  
 JEUDI 18 JUILLET 2024  
 GIOVEDÌ 18 LUGLIO 2024  
 CETURTDIENA, 2024. GADA 18. JŪLIJS  
 2024 M. LIEPOS 18 D., KETVIRTADIENIS  
 2024. JÚLIUS 18., CSÜTÖRTÖK  
 IL-HAMIS 18 TA' LULJU 2024  
 DONDERDAG 18 JULI 2024  
 CZWARTEK, 18 LIPCA 2024  
 QUINTA-FEIRA, 18 DE JULHO DE 2024  
 JOI 18 IULIE 2024  
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 ČETRTEK, 18. JULIJ 2024  
 TORSTAI 18. HEINÄKUUTA 2024  
 TORS DAGEN DEN 18 JULI 2024  
 ČETVRTAK 18 SRPNJA 2024  
 DÉARDAOIN, 18 IÚIL 2024

3-002-0000

PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA  
*President*

## 1. Ftuħ tas-seduta

3-004-0000

*(The sitting opened at 09:03)*

## 2. Election of the President of the Commission (appointment of tellers)

3-006-0000

**President.** – We have one procedural issue to deal with before the debate. We need to choose two new tellers for the vote because two of the tellers we had on Tuesday are no longer available. So I will therefore now draw lots to appoint two replacements.

*(Diana Riba i Giner and Kathleen Van Brempt agreed to be tellers)*

### 3. Statement by the candidate for President of the Commission (debate)

3-008-0000

**President.** – The next item is a statement by the candidate for President of the Commission.

3-009-0000

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *candidate for President of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Roberta, let me first congratulate you from the bottom of my heart for your re-nomination. I think your success is a mirror for the outstanding work you have been doing in this House of democracy.

Honourable Members, it is now five years since I first came to ask for your confidence; five years like no other in our Union's history. I will always remember the spine-tingling moments we shared together in this Hemicycle. From standing, of course, in front of you, asking for your confidence five years ago, to proposing NextGenerationEU.

I will never forget the appearance of President Zelenskyy at the beginning of the Russian war in Ukraine, when even the translators could not hold back their tears. I will never forget the empty chair poignantly left out for Alexei Navalny as his daughter spoke on his behalf, or the moments of silence for those who lost their life in the pandemic.

But also the moments of song for the *Ode to Joy* or *Auld Lang Syne*. And I will never forget the last words of David Sassoli, calling for a new and united Europe.

Honourable Members, choices are the hinges of destiny, and in a world full of adversity, Europe's destiny hinges on what we do next. Despite the momentous things we have done and overcome, Europe now faces a clear choice – a choice which will shape our work for five years, but which will also define our place in the world for the next 50.

The choice comes down to whether we will be shaped by events and the world around us, or whether we will come together and build our future for ourselves. And that choice is ours.

Europe cannot control dictators and demagogues across the world, but it can choose to protect its own democracy. Europe cannot determine elections across the world, but it can choose to invest in the security and defence of this continent. Europe cannot stop change, but it can choose to embrace it, and invest in a new age of prosperity and improve our quality of life.

But, honourable Members, for us to choose the Europe of tomorrow, we must acknowledge how people feel today. We are in a period of deep anxiety and uncertainty for Europeans. Families are feeling the pain from the cost of living and housing. Young people are concerned about the planet, their future and the prospect of war. Companies and farmers are feeling squeezed.

All of this is a symptom of a world in which everything is weaponised and contested, where there is a clear attempt to divide and polarise our societies. I am deeply concerned about these trends. But I am convinced that Europe – a strong Europe – can rise to the challenge.

And this is why I am asking you for your confidence today, because, like you, I came into politics to make a difference for all of society, to deliver for the generation of my children and grandchildren, like those who came before us did. I am convinced that the version of Europe since the end of World War II – with all of its imperfections and inequalities – is still the best version in history.

I will never stand by and watch it be torn apart from the inside or from the outside. I will never let the extreme polarisation of our societies become accepted. I will never accept that demagogues and extremists destroy our European way of life. And I stand here today ready to lead the fight with all the democratic forces in this House.

This is the vision I have set out in my political guidelines: a vision of a stronger Europe that delivers prosperity, that protects people and that defends democracy. A stronger Europe that delivers social fairness and supports people. A stronger Europe that implements what it agrees in a fair way and that sticks to the targets of the European Green Deal with pragmatism, technology-neutrality and innovation.

I have listened carefully to the democratic forces in this Parliament and I am convinced that these guidelines reflect how much we have in common, despite the differences that are healthy in any democracy.

Honourable Members, our first priority will be prosperity and competitiveness. In the last five years, we have weathered the fiercest storm in our Union's economic history. We have emerged stronger from the shock of lockdowns, and we have overcome an unprecedented energy crisis. We did this together, and I believe we can be proud of it.

But we also know that our competitiveness needs a major boost. The fundamentals of the global economy are changing. Those who stand still will fall behind. Those who are not competitive will be dependent. So the race is on, and I want Europe to switch gear.

And this starts with making business easier and faster. We need to deepen our Single Market across the board. We need less reporting, less bureaucracy, more trust, better enforcement and faster permitting. And I will ensure that we are accountable for this, because only what gets measured gets done.

Therefore, I will task each Commissioner to deep dive in their portfolio and to deliver concretely on burden reduction. And I will appoint a Vice-President to coordinate this work and to report on progress to this House once a year.

I will introduce a revamped SME and competitiveness check as part of our Better Regulation toolbox. We all know that there is no Europe without small and medium enterprises. They are the heart of our economy. Therefore, let's get rid of burdensome micromanagement. Let's give them more trust, better incentives – our SMEs deserve it.

Honourable Members, prosperity and competitiveness: let me give you some figures. In the first half of this year, 50% of our electricity generation came from renewables – home-grown and clean. Investments in clean technologies in Europe have more than tripled in this mandate. We attract more investments in clean hydrogen than the United States and China combined.

In the last years, we have concluded with global partners 35 new agreements on clean tech, hydrogen and critical raw materials. This is the European Green Deal in action. So I want to be clear: we will stay the course on our growth strategy and the goals that were set for 2030 and 2050. Our focus now will be on implementation and investment, to make it happen on the ground.

This is why I will put forward a new Clean Industrial Deal in the first 100 days of the next mandate. It will channel investment in infrastructure and industry, in particular for energy-

intensive sectors. This will help create lead markets in everything from clean steel to clean tech. It will speed up planning, tendering and permitting – we must be faster and simpler – because Europe is decarbonising and industrialising at the same time.

Our companies need predictability – for their investments and their innovation. And yes, they can rely on us. In this logic, we will enshrine our 90% target for 2040 in our European Climate Law. Our companies need to plan their investments for the coming decade already today. But this is not only for business; it is for business but not only for business.

For our young people – the children, the teenagers of today – 2030, 2040, 2050 is just around the corner. They know that we have to reconcile climate protection with a prosperous economy. And they would never forgive us if we do not rise to the challenge. So this is not only a matter of competitiveness, but, honourable Members, this is also a matter of intergenerational fairness. The young people deserve that we act on this one.

The new Clean Industrial Deal will also help bring down energy bills. We all know that structurally high energy prices hamper our competitiveness. And high energy bills are a major driver of energy poverty of people.

I have not forgotten how Putin blackmailed us by cutting us off from Russian fossil fuels. But we withstood together. We invested massively in home-grown, cheap renewables. And this enabled us to break free from dirty Russian fossil fuels. Therefore, honourable Members, together we will ensure that the era of dependency on Russian fossil fuels is over, once and for all!

Honourable Members, Europe needs more investment: be it farming or industry, digital or strategic technologies, but also more investment in people and their skills. This mandate has to be the time of investment.

This starts with completing our Capital Markets Union and mobilising more private funding. Every year EUR 300 billion of European families' savings go from Europe to foreign markets – because our capital markets are too fragmented – and then this money is often used to buy innovative European companies from abroad, and the companies leave. This has to change.

We need to leverage this enormous wealth to create growth here in Europe. This is why we will propose a European Savings and Investments Union. European start-ups should not need to look at the United States or Asia to finance their expansion. They must find what they need to grow right here in Europe. So we need a deep and liquid capital market, and we need a competition policy that supports companies to scale up. Europe must be again the home of opportunity and of innovation.

Honourable Members, to unleash private investment, we also need public funding. Yes, we have the resources of NextGenerationEU and the current budget. But this will come to an end within the next years, while our investment needs will not. Our new budget will be reinforced. We need more investment capacity. It must be more focused on policy, simpler for Member States and more impactful, so that we use its power to leverage more private and public financing.

I will propose a new European Competitiveness Fund. It will be focused on common and cross-border European projects that will drive competitiveness and innovation – notably to support the Clean Industrial Deal. It will ensure that we develop strategic tech and manufacture right here in Europe. Be it AI or clean tech, the future of our prosperity must be made in Europe. That is clear and this is something we really have to press on, honourable Members.

Honourable Members, we must also invest more in our security and defence. Russia is still on the offensive in eastern Ukraine. They are banking on a war of attrition, on making the next winter even harsher than the last. Russia is banking on Europe and the West going soft – and some in Europe are playing along. Two weeks ago, a European Union Prime Minister went to Moscow. This so-called ‘peace mission’ was nothing but an appeasement mission. This was a plain appeasement mission.

*(Sustained applause)*

Only two days later, Putin’s jets aimed their missiles at a children’s hospital and maternity ward in Kyiv. We all saw the images of children covered in blood. We saw the mothers trying to bring young cancer patients to safety. That strike was not a mistake. It was a message – a chilling message from the Kremlin to all of us.

So, honourable Members, our answer has to be just as clear. No one wants peace more than the people of Ukraine: a just and lasting peace, for a free and independent country. And Europe will stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes. This is our message!

*(Applause)*

Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, nous devons donner à l’Ukraine tout ce dont elle a besoin pour résister et vaincre. Cela implique des choix fondamentaux pour notre avenir. Pour la première fois depuis des décennies, notre liberté est en danger. Nous devons faire tout ce qui est nécessaire pour protéger nos citoyens européens. Protéger l’Europe, c’est le devoir de l’Europe. Alors je pense qu’il est temps de construire une véritable Union européenne de la défense.

*(Applaudissements)*

Je sais que certains ne sont peut-être pas à l’aise avec cette idée, mais ce qui devrait nous mettre mal à l’aise, ce sont les menaces qui pèsent sur notre sécurité. Soyons très clairs: les États membres restent responsables de leur sécurité nationale et de leurs armées, et l’OTAN reste le pilier de notre défense collective. Mais, nous le savons tous, nos dépenses de défense sont trop faibles et inefficaces. Nous dépensons trop à l’étranger et nous devons donc créer un marché unique de la défense.

Nous devons investir plus dans les capacités de défense haut de gamme. L’Europe doit avancer sur la voie tracée par la déclaration de Versailles. Nous devons investir plus. Nous devons investir ensemble et nous devons créer des projets européens communs. Par exemple, un système complet de défense aérienne – *a European Air Shield* – non seulement pour protéger notre espace aérien, mais aussi comme symbole fort de l’unité de l’Europe en matière de défense.

*(Applaudissements)*

Honourable Members, security is not only about external threats. Cyber and hybrid threats are growing. Organised criminal networks are infiltrating our economy; most of them use corruption. They are causing fear and innocent people’s deaths with their brutal violence. They earn enormous amounts of money from drug trafficking, ransomware, fraud and trafficking in human beings, and they are not limited by national borders.

So it is necessary that we respond to this growing threat on a European level. We must make sure that police can work across Europe, without borders. That is why I will propose to double

Europol's staff and strengthen its mandate. I want Europol to become a truly operational police agency.

We must also do more to secure our external borders. Our eastern border, in particular, has become a target for hybrid attacks and provocations. Russia is luring migrants from Yemen up north, exploiting their misery and pushing them deliberately against the Finnish border. We should always keep in mind that a Member State's border is a European border, and we will do everything we can to make them stronger.

This is part of the reason why we must strengthen Frontex. To make it more effective, while fully respecting fundamental rights, I will propose to triple the number of European border and coast guards to 30 000.

More secure borders will also help us to manage migration in a more structured and fair way. The Migration and Asylum Pact is a huge step forward. We put solidarity at the heart of our common response. Migration challenges need a European response with a fair and firm approach based on our values – always remembering that migrants are human beings like you and me, and all of us are protected by human rights.

I know that many pessimists thought that migration was too divisive to agree on. But we proved them wrong. Together we made it, and we have emerged stronger from it. Now, we must collectively focus on implementation and support Member States in making it a reality on the ground.

There will be more to do. We need a common approach on returns – to make them more effective and dignified – and we need to develop our comprehensive partnerships, in particular across our Southern neighbourhood.

The Mediterranean region should get undivided attention. This is why I will appoint a Commissioner for the region and propose a new Agenda for the Mediterranean, together with Kaja Kallas. Because the future of the two Mediterranean shores is one and the same.

Honourable Members, our neighbourhood is home to our future, too. Inviting countries into our Union is a moral, a historical and a political responsibility. It is an enormous geostrategic responsibility for Europe. Because in today's world a larger Union will be a stronger Union. It will strengthen our voice in the world. It will help reduce our dependencies, and it will ensure that democracy, prosperity and stability spread across Europe.

We will support candidates by working on investment and reform, and integrating them, where we can, into our legal frameworks. Accession will always be a merit-based process, and we will ensure that all countries are ready before joining.

But completing our Union is also in our own core interest. And it will be a core priority for my Commission. I am deeply convinced that history is calling again. The Western Balkans, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia have made their free choice. They have chosen freedom over oppression. They have chosen democracy over dependency – and some of them are paying a very high price for this choice. So we must make our choice, too, and show steadfast commitment so that their future will be free, will be prosperous, and will be in our European Union.

Honourable Members, Europe has a responsibility to play an active role in the world, starting in our neighbourhood, and in particular in the Middle East. I want to be very clear: the bloodshed in



Gaza must stop now. Too many children, women and civilians have lost their lives as a result of Israel's response to Hamas's brutal terror. The people of Gaza cannot bear any more, and humanity cannot bear any more. We need an immediate and enduring ceasefire. We need the release of Israeli hostages. And we need to prepare for the day after.

Europe must play its part. We have massively increased our humanitarian aid to almost EUR 200 million in 2024, and we will do more. We are now working on a much larger multi-year package to support an effective Palestinian Authority. The two-state solution is the best way to ensure security for both Israelis and Palestinians. The people in the Middle East deserve peace, security and prosperity, and Europe will stand by their side.

Meine Damen und Herren Abgeordnete! Europa bietet eine einzigartige Lebensqualität, von umfassender sozialer Sicherheit bis zu erstklassigen regionalen Lebensmitteln. Rapsfelder, Weinberge, Obstwiesen – das bedeutet nicht nur gutes Essen und Trinken, sondern sie sind auch ganz konkret Teil unseres Heimatgefühls.

Deshalb ist die Zukunft der Landwirtschaft ein so wichtiges und so sensibles Thema für uns in Europa. Wir müssen es schaffen, die Gegensätze zu überwinden und gemeinsam mit allen Beteiligten gute Lösungen zu finden. Deswegen habe ich den strategischen Dialog zur Zukunft der Landwirtschaft in Europa ins Leben gerufen. Er bringt Landwirtinnen und Landwirte, Umweltgruppen und Expertinnen und Experten aus der gesamten Nahrungsmittelkette an einen Tisch.

Ich habe versprochen, gut zuzuhören und von ihnen zu lernen – und das tue ich. Ich werde gute Empfehlungen aufnehmen und eine neue europäische Strategie für unsere Landwirtschaft und den Nahrungsmittelsektor vorlegen. Ich werde mich dafür einsetzen, dass Landwirtinnen und Landwirte ein faires Einkommen haben. Niemand sollte gezwungen sein, gute Lebensmittel unter Produktionskosten zu verkaufen. Wir müssen die Position unserer Landwirtinnen und Landwirte in der Wertschöpfungskette der Ernährungswirtschaft stärken. Wir brauchen klügere Anreize, mehr Innovationen, mehr Zugang zu Kapital. Wer nachhaltig mit Natur und Artenvielfalt umgeht und dazu beiträgt, den CO<sub>2</sub>-Haushalt ins Lot zu bringen, der muss angemessen dafür entlohnt werden.

Unsere Landwirtinnen und Landwirte prägen unsere Landschaften. Sie prägen das Gesicht Europas. Sie sind Teil unserer Kultur. Sie sorgen für Ernährungssicherheit. Deshalb sind wir alle stolz auf sie. Deshalb müssen wir gemeinsam die Probleme angehen, die auf ihnen lasten. Sie spüren den Klimawandel. Extremwetter und Wasserknappheit setzen ihnen von Jahr zu Jahr mehr zu. Europa erwärmt sich doppelt so schnell wie der globale Durchschnitt. Wir sehen die verheerenden Auswirkungen bereits auf Feldern und in Wäldern.

Das heißt, das Gesicht auch unserer ländlichen Gemeinden verändert sich. Wir müssen mehr tun, um uns mit der Landwirtschaft besser darauf vorzubereiten, was durch den Klimawandel auf uns zukommt. Deshalb werde ich einen Plan für die Landwirtschaft vorlegen, um die nötige Anpassung an den Klimawandel zu bewältigen, und parallel eine Strategie zum nachhaltigen Umgang mit der kostbaren Ressource Wasser. Nicht nur unsere Ernährungssicherheit hängt davon ab, sondern auch unsere gesamte Wettbewerbsfähigkeit. Es ist Zeit, dass wir diese Aufgabe beherzt angehen.

Honourable Members, our quality of life and our very social fabric are unique. We made historic steps forward on our Pillar of Social Rights – from minimum wages to the first ever Child

Guarantee, just to name a few. During the pandemic, we saved 40 million jobs with SURE, and we can be very proud of it.

But many new challenges have emerged – from the impact of AI to mental health at work and new drivers of poverty. So we need a new action plan for the implementation of the Pillar. We must ensure fair transitions and good working conditions for workers and self-employed people.

Crucial for that is Social Dialogue – the hallmark of our social market economy. We will therefore work to increase collective bargaining and strengthen European Social Dialogue, and we will address those issues that Europeans feel the most in their daily lives.

Take housing: Europe faces a housing crisis, with people of all ages and families of all sizes affected. Prices and rents are soaring. People are struggling to find affordable homes. This is why, for the first time, I will appoint a Commissioner with direct responsibility for housing.

We will develop a European Affordable Housing Plan to look at all the drivers of the crisis, and to help unlock the private and public investment needed. Typically, housing is not seen as a European issue. Some might say we should not get involved. But I want this Commission to support people where it matters the most. If it matters to Europeans, then it matters to Europe.

Honourable Members, this is how we can strengthen our society. This means ensuring that every region, in every part of Europe, is supported and no one is left behind. I am committed to a strong cohesion policy, designed together with regions and local authorities.

I want Europe to be the best place to grow up in, and the best place to grow old in. We must enable young people to make the most of Europe's freedoms, from a stronger Erasmus+ to more citizens' engagement.

But we must also protect young people. Childhood and teenage years are the time when our character is formed, our personality develops, and our brain is shaped by triggers and emotions. This is an amazing time of development, but also a time of real vulnerability, and we are seeing more and more reporting on what some call a mental health crisis.

I believe that social media, and excessive screen time and addictive practices, have played their part. I must tell you, my heart bleeds when I read about young people harming themselves or even taking their lives because of online abuse. I think of those last moments and the pain they must have felt. I think of their parents and their friends, and this is devastating.

So, honourable Members, we can never accept this in our society. We will tackle the plague of cyber-bullying. We will take action against the addictive design of some platforms, and we will convene the first ever European-wide enquiry on the impact of social media on the well-being of young people. We owe it to them, and we will not rest until we have done right by them.

Honourable Members, one of the most fundamental choices we face is exactly what kind of society we want for our children and grandchildren, and in particular for our daughters and granddaughters. On women's rights, we have achieved together the unthinkable, thanks to the amazing solidarity in this House of European democracy, across all party lines.

After 10 years of struggle, we have unblocked the Women on Boards Directive. We have achieved huge progress on pay transparency. Let me tell you, there is not the slightest argument or reason why women should be paid less for the same work than men!

But there is still so much to do. Stop the rise in violence against women. Reconcile care and career – actually, not only for women, but women are mostly affected. Close the pay and pensions gap, because it is no coincidence that poverty in old age has a female face.

And there is so much more to do. So let us work together to develop a Roadmap for Women's Rights. Let's keep moving forward. If not now, then when?

Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, la démocratie est notre trésor commun. Elle est le cadre au sein duquel nos différences et nos désaccords peuvent s'exprimer. Le cadre est aussi vital que fragile. Très longtemps, nous l'avons considéré comme acquis. Nous sommes devenus des démocrates de confort. Mais aujourd'hui, nos démocraties sont menacées. La Russie mène une guerre sans relâche sur le sol européen, en Ukraine, depuis plus de deux ans. Partout dans l'Union et au sein même de nos institutions, nos services et des journalistes, dont je veux saluer ici le travail, révèlent des cas d'espionnage, de cyberattaques, de corruption, de campagnes de désinformation menées par des acteurs étrangers, notamment russes et chinois. Jamais, depuis des décennies, le niveau de menaces et d'attaques hybrides n'a été aussi élevé.

Au sein de la Commission, nous avons pleinement conscience de cette situation et agissons en responsabilité. Depuis de nombreuses années, un énorme travail d'analyse est réalisé et de premiers outils efficaces ont été mis en œuvre, en bonne coopération avec les États membres. Mais nous devons aller plus loin. Nous devons empêcher les acteurs étrangers hostiles d'interférer dans nos processus démocratiques, de les miner et enfin de les détruire. Pour cela, nous devons prendre des mesures fortes au niveau européen.

Si vous m'accordez aujourd'hui votre confiance, la Commission proposera un bouclier européen de la démocratie. L'Union a besoin...

*(Applaudissements)*

L'Union a besoin de sa propre structure dédiée à la lutte contre les manipulations de l'information et les ingérences étrangères. Cette structure regroupera toute l'expertise (et assurera la liaison et la coordination avec les agences nationales existantes. Les capacités de renseignement, de détection, d'action, mais aussi de sanction doivent être renforcées. Le bouclier va prendre en compte les recommandations émanant des travaux menés ici par les commissions spéciales sur les ingérences étrangères pour mieux protéger nos démocraties. Il est urgent de doter l'Union européenne d'outils performants de cyberdéfense, d'imposer la transparence des financements étrangers dans notre vie publique comme une règle commune, mais aussi de garantir un cadre informationnel fiable. Et pour cela, l'Union doit soutenir le journalisme indépendant.

*(Applaudissements)*

L'Union doit continuer à faire respecter les règles aux géants du numérique et encourager toujours davantage les programmes d'éducation aux médias. La démocratie européenne peut être plus participative et plus vivante. La société civile peut mieux aider et défendre. Je sais pouvoir compter sur votre soutien pour faire advenir ce grand plan de défense de la démocratie européenne.

Honourable Members, we will also step up our work on defending all parts of our democracy. We will protect free media and civil society. The rule of law and the fight against corruption will be at the heart of our work.

We will strengthen our tools and we will step up our enforcement. We will ensure our Rule of Law Reports focus on the Single Market dimension to help protect companies. And we will keep a very clear principle in our budget: respecting the rule of law is a must for EU funds, in this budget and in future.

Honourable Members, progress is constant work we have to do. We need an ambitious reform agenda to ensure the functioning of a larger Union and to increase democratic legitimacy. While reforms were necessary before, with enlargement they become indispensable. So we must use this as a catalyst for change in terms of our capacity to act, our policies and our budget.

We will, of course, focus on what we can already do, and this is a lot. But we should be more ambitious. I believe we need Treaty change where it can improve our Union. And I want to work on that with this House.

This will be part of a closer partnership between the Commission and Parliament. I have listened to your demands and concerns. I continue to support your right of initiative and we will increase our cooperation on Article 225 resolutions to ensure we will follow up.

We need to revise the Framework Agreement to ensure more transparency, more accountability and more presence in the Parliament. When all institutions work together and move together, Europe moves forward.

Honourable Members, to finish, at the start of his second mandate Jacques Delors said:

«Notre communauté est non seulement le fruit de l'Histoire et de la nécessité, mais aussi de la volonté.»

This is the fundamental choice that we face. History keeps on knocking at our doors. The need for Europe will be stronger than ever. Our determination has to match. That is what has brought our continent together – not the inscrutable forces of fate, but the power of people striving for more.

Like the three prisoners on Ventotene island in the 1940s, who laid out a vision of a united continent. Like the post-war generation, who built peace on coal and steel. People who stood unarmed in the face of Soviet tanks, who put carnations into rifles and tore down a wall with their bare hands. People who still risk their life today for this dream called Europe.

Generation after generation have made Europe, have chosen a strong Europe. And now that responsibility is upon us. The last five years, we have shown what we can do when we work together. So let's do it again. Let us make the choice of strength. Let us make the choice of leadership. Let us make the choice of Europe.

Thank you very much, and long live Europe!

*(Sustained applause and standing ovation)*

3-018-0000

**Manfred Weber**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President Metsola, President von der Leyen, Presidency, colleagues, one month ago, 180 million Europeans went to the ballot boxes. Never before have so many Europeans voted for the European Parliament. We in this House mirror the political landscape of Europe. We as EPP won the elections, we are the far biggest group in this House, and we have half of the members of the European Council in our family. But we know that European success has never been a one-party show. We are bridge builders. We love the

compromise. And since Adenauer, De Gasperi, Schuman, all of them were Christian Democrats, we are convinced Europeans.

We showed already this idea of unity, I mean the vote for our president, Roberta Metsola. She is a great president and you can understand that we as EPP, we are proud to see her managing and representing our Parliament. I thank you all for the great support she got, she truly deserves it.

Today we must do the next step, to vote for Ursula von der Leyen as President of the European Commission. Allow me to present some considerations before we vote. The EPP nominated Ursula von der Leyen as our candidate for the post four months ago in Bucharest. She was campaigning, she argued, she defended our programme. She and we as a party, we won the elections. And today she is also candidate of the European Council. We had in this Chamber so many debates about attacks against European democracy. I tell you, if you want to defend democracy, vote today for Ursula von der Leyen. We know her, she respects our Parliament. She was always present when we had discussions. She knows that her power is democratically based on the mandate we give her here. And she knows she is politically also accountable to us. We know her. She is ready to lead the Green Deal, fundamental and necessary legislation to show the world that we can and must stop climate change. COVID, no first and second class Europeans, solidarity with the NextGenerationEU funds. And Ukraine, dear friends, she was leading the unconditional support and the clear commitment that one day Ukrainians will sit here with us as colleagues in this European Parliament. Thank you Ursula for this clear leadership.

We know her. She is the first female president of the European Commission. We as EPP are proud to present this week two strong female candidates for the presidential jobs. We can talk a lot about gender equality for women. I tell you, now is a moment to implement it in practice by voting for Ursula von der Leyen.

We have to overcome the fears of people. We have to answer the questions and we have to fulfil their dreams for tomorrow. Next to the strong personalities, the programme, dear colleagues, counts and allow me to underline three EPP priorities. First, we listen to the voters, to the workers in the steel and car manufacturing sectors, the craftsmen, the farmers, and that's why we are happy that Ursula von der Leyen is proposing fair competitiveness and also prosperity as a first chapter of her guidelines. Second, we listen to the people in Ukraine. Putin is a war criminal and we must stop him. Increased support for Ukraine and a European defence pillar, that is what is needed. And Ursula von der Leyen is proposing this. And thirdly, we listen to the people who are afraid about too many illegal migrants. We opened the door for around 3 million Ukrainian refugees. So Europe showed that we stick to the Geneva Convention and to the right of asylum. But still, there are too many people illegally crossing our borders and we have to stop this. We should be deciding about who is entering and not the smugglers. And Ursula von der Leyen is presenting exactly the other solutions for us. Her programme, dear colleagues, is the right programme for the next years.

Today there is a lot at stake. Europeans want a democratic, not a radical Europe. They want us to work together and to build compromise, not to divide people like Orbán, Le Pen and Mélenchon do. Europeans want a united, not a divided Europe. Our friends in America are in deep waters. Putin brings war and wants to divide Europe. Today we have to send a strong signal of a united and determined Europe. Many of you, dear colleagues, know my personal history. I urge you, vote for Ursula von der Leyen. It's the right choice. The EPP will certainly do so.

3-019-0000

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, señora Von der Leyen, bienvenida al Parlamento. Hoy regresamos a la casa de la democracia europea gracias a la

confianza de los ciudadanos y las ciudadanas. A partir de hoy, estamos obligados a seguir construyendo la Unión que eligieron con el poder de los votos, con el poder de la democracia.

Frente a la aspiración de la extrema derecha de volver a la Europa de las naciones que trajo las dos catástrofes mundiales, el 9 de junio ganó la Europa de la paz y el progreso que las fuerzas europeístas hemos construido en los últimos setenta años. El compromiso de la familia socialdemócrata es firme: seremos el muro de contención de la extrema derecha en toda la Unión Europea.

Señora Von der Leyen, ante el auge de la extrema derecha, estamos obligados y obligadas a hacer un examen de conciencia. Hace mucho tiempo que desde la socialdemocracia advertimos que asumir las ideas de la extrema derecha solo conduciría a dar credibilidad a las fuerzas que quieren acabar con el modelo de progreso y de libertad. También hace mucho tiempo que alertamos de que hay demasiados ciudadanos en la pobreza, sin empleo, sin salarios dignos y sin viviendas asequibles.

Señora Von der Leyen, la socialdemocracia es una fuerza imprescindible para garantizar la gobernabilidad de la Unión Europea en los próximos cinco años. Nuestro apoyo a su presidencia estará condicionado a la obligación de ofrecer un proyecto de Europa que acabe con las desigualdades y garantice la igualdad de oportunidades. Nunca renunciaremos a una Unión a la vanguardia en la lucha contra el cambio climático. Demostraremos que es posible una Unión que innove, que compita y que crezca al mismo tiempo que devuelve la dignidad a los trabajadores con nuevos derechos y fortalece los servicios públicos. Una Unión con un pilar social fuerte que garantice ingresos mínimos vitales, el derecho a desconectar, el teletrabajo y una estrategia antipobreza.

Un comisario responsable de vivienda es una buena noticia y es imprescindible, porque el acceso a la vivienda es una necesidad vital para nuestra ciudadanía. Por nuestro firme compromiso con la vivienda, nuestro Grupo impulsará aquí, en esta Cámara, una comisión especial para analizar todos los retos de la vivienda en Europa.

Ninguna fuerza podrá detenernos en nuestra aspiración irrenunciable a alcanzar la Unión de la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres, en una Unión que ponga fin a toda injusticia con la Carta Europea de Derechos de las Mujeres, la revisión de la transparencia salarial y también la incorporación de la violencia de género a la lista de delitos a escala de la Unión.

Cumpliremos con nuestras promesas en una Unión con un presupuesto fuerte, en una Unión que sea capaz de afrontar todos estos retos. Y, ante todo, defenderemos la Unión de la paz, los derechos humanos y la democracia: una Unión que exporte su modelo de paz y que no se resigne a la lacra de la guerra, ni en Ucrania ni en Gaza. Una Unión valiente que confisque los 200 000 millones de euros de bienes públicos rusos inmovilizados para defender a Ucrania y también que lidere una conferencia internacional de paz que haga posible el nacimiento del Estado palestino.

Señora Von der Leyen, usted debe saber cuál es el lado correcto de la historia. Enfréntese a las fuerzas reaccionarias que defienden una agenda medioambiental insostenible, que degradan a las mujeres y a la comunidad LGTBI, que deshumanizan a los migrantes y refugiados y que agreden a quienes piensan diferente. Esté a la altura de los valores europeos y avancemos juntos y juntas en la construcción de la única Europa posible: la Europa de la justicia social.

3-020-0000

**Jordan Bardella**, *au nom du groupe PfE.* – Madame la Présidente, Madame von der Leyen, le scrutin des élections européennes de juin dernier a délivré ses leçons et nul ne peut les ignorer: en

renforçant les partis patriotes sur tout le continent, en désavouant les centristes, la gauche et les verts, qui subissent des reflux importants, les peuples d'Europe ont fait entendre leur aspiration à la protection, à la défense de leur identité et, par-dessus tout, à la démocratie.

Ils ont dit leur refus d'une écologie punitive, prétexte pour s'en prendre à leurs traditions, à nos agriculteurs, à leur niveau de vie. Ils ont dit leur refus de supporter une inflation de normes, toujours plus contraignantes, au moment même où vous légitimez le grand déménagement du monde et une naïveté commerciale qui fait de nous une proie pour les grandes puissances de ce monde. Ils ont exprimé le refus de l'immigration de masse et leur volonté de protéger nos frontières.

Ce cri du cœur ne peut rester sans réponse. Les Européens veulent demeurer eux-mêmes. Poursuivre comme si de rien n'était sur la voie du pacte vert ou de l'immigration imposée par le pacte migratoire serait ignorer la nouvelle donne sortie des urnes. À l'heure du retour de la guerre à nos portes et de l'agression russe, à l'heure du risque de décrochage économique, à l'heure du défi climatique, migratoire, de celui posé par les nouvelles technologies et l'intelligence artificielle, notre avenir passera par la souveraineté et la quête d'une indispensable autonomie stratégique pour l'Europe et pour nos nations. Pour l'Europe, mais aussi pour la France.

J'appelle les eurodéputés de ce Parlement à faire que le mandat de Madame von der Leyen à la tête de la Commission reste unique. En cohérence et en responsabilité, les Patriotes pour l'Europe s'opposeront, Madame, à votre reconduction.

3-021-0000

**Nicola Procaccini**, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signora Presidente, signora Presidente von der Leyen, onorevoli colleghi, voglio deludere subito chi si aspetta un'indicazione di voto da parte dell'ECR: il nostro gruppo parlamentare è composto da partiti che non rinunciano alle loro prerogative nazionali e ognuno si esprimerà sulla base del proprio interesse nazionale.

Noi siamo conservatori perché difendiamo i valori che hanno forgiato l'Europa, oltre che la civiltà occidentale. Ma siamo conservatori anche perché, a differenza di altri, difendiamo i trattati istitutivi dell'Unione europea, dove è scritto che la scelta della presidenza della Commissione, tenuto conto del risultato delle elezioni europee, appartiene ai governi nazionali e la sua ratifica al Parlamento europeo.

Presidente von der Leyen, quattro giorni fa la testata giornalistica Politico ha scritto che il suo destino non è nelle mani del Partito popolare europeo, né dei Conservatori europei e neanche di Fratelli d'Italia, ma è nelle mani dei grandi sconfitti alle elezioni di poche settimane fa: i Verdi innanzitutto, i socialisti come Timmermans, ma anche i liberali trascinati a fondo dalla *débâcle* del partito di Macron. Comprenderà che qualcosa sta andando storto.

Non abbiamo nulla di personale contro di lei, intendiamoci. Per quasi tutto il suo mandato Lei è stata costretta a rincorrere le istanze delle sinistre, perché il Consiglio europeo, la Commissione e il Parlamento di cinque anni fa erano ostaggio di una maggioranza di sinistra. Oggi non più!

Oggi, grazie al risultato delle elezioni europee ma grazie soprattutto al risultato nelle elezioni nazionali tenutesi in tutti gli Stati dell'Unione europea, i nostri concittadini hanno in maggioranza sposato le idee di buon senso del centrodestra. Credo che Lei debba tenerne conto.

Noi resteremo ciò che siamo: persone misurate nei toni, ma ferme nei principi. Come quel giovane universitario della destra italiana, divenuto simbolo trasversale di giustizia e coraggio che Lei, Presidente Metsola, ha giustamente citato martedì e di cui domani ricorrerà il 32° anniversario

dalla sua vigliacca uccisione: Paolo Borsellino. Parafrasando una delle sue affermazioni più conosciute: è bello vivere per ciò in cui si crede.

3-022-0000

**Valérie Hayer**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la candidate, je vous rassure, il reste bien d'autres pro-européens dans cet hémicycle. Les Européens se sont exprimés clairement le 9 juin en faisant porter au sein de cet hémicycle une claire majorité pro-européenne, n'en déplaise à ceux qui veulent faire croire le contraire, et n'en déplaise à ceux qui ne veulent pas reconnaître le résultat des urnes.

Madame Von der Leyen, la liberté, c'est ce qui a fondé l'Europe et c'est ce qui guide tous les engagements de ma famille politique. À travers elle, ce sont nos valeurs fondamentales qui se jouent. Liberté d'être qui l'on veut, liberté d'aimer qui l'on veut, liberté de travailler, liberté d'entreprendre, liberté de vivre dans un environnement sain. La liberté, c'est ce qui constitue notre Europe, notre avenir. Notre feuille de route pour les cinq prochaines années est claire. Nos attentes, celles de Renew Europe, ont pour seul but de garantir aux Européens leur liberté. Quatre points sont essentiels.

Premièrement, nos valeurs européennes, et notamment l'état de droit. Nous savons tous qu'il y a aujourd'hui en Europe des dirigeants qui ne respectent plus nos principes démocratiques de base, au premier rang desquels, disons-le, Viktor Orban. Vous avez, Madame Von der Leyen, le pouvoir de faire avancer l'article 7. Vous avez aussi le pouvoir de renforcer le mécanisme de conditionnalité. L'heure n'est plus à l'hésitation. Mais nos valeurs ne s'arrêtent pas aux seules institutions. Nous le voyons à travers l'Europe, la tentation de la marche arrière sur les droits fondamentaux est réelle. Alors je vous demande de faire tout votre possible pour inscrire le droit à l'IVG dans la charte européenne des droits fondamentaux.

*(Applaudissements et huées)*

Deuxième priorité, l'économie ...

3-023-0000

**President.** – *(addressing Diana Iovanovici-Șoșoacă)*

This is the third time you've done this!

I ask that the Member is taken out of the room.

Let me repeat: I ask that the Member is taken out of the room *now*!

Do I have to say it again?

*(shouting from Diana Iovanovici-Șoșoacă)*

I would ask you also not to shout at the ushers.

*(more shouting from Diana Iovanovici-Șoșoacă)*

How many colleagues need to come and escort you out of the room? I think you've spoken – enough!

*(Diana Iovanovici-Șoșoacă was escorted from the Chamber)*



3-024-0000

**Valérie Hayer**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, preuve, s'il en était besoin, qu'il est fondamental et urgent de défendre le droit à l'IVG partout en Europe. Deuxième priorité...

*(Applaudissements et exclamations)*

Deuxième priorité: l'économie. Nous attendons de vous, Madame Von der Leyen, d'agir pour la prospérité du continent, à travers un triple choc: choc de simplification, choc d'investissement, choc d'innovation. Simplifions la vie de nos entrepreneurs et de nos PME, accélérons nos investissements et la construction de projets. Et pour cela, il nous faut une véritable loi européenne d'accélération pour la délivrance des permis. Accélérons aussi l'Union des marchés de capitaux pour décupler les investissements et les possibilités d'épargne. Donnons-nous les moyens de faire revenir nos usines. Faisons de notre Europe une terre d'excellence et d'innovation, une terre d'industrie de pointe qui serve notre autonomie stratégique. Et, au sommet de nos priorités industrielles, il y a, vous l'avez évoqué également, la défense.

J'en viens à mon troisième point. L'Europe doit pouvoir se défendre elle-même. Ce n'est plus un exercice de pensée, c'est une urgence vitale. Nous devons renforcer le Fonds européen de défense et cela se joue demain, Madame la Présidente, avec la présentation du prochain cadre financier pluriannuel. Nous devons investir pour faire naître un vrai marché européen de la défense. Les États-Unis comptent un seul type de char, les Européens dix-sept. Comment peut-on prétendre être efficaces en étant si fragmentés? Il ne s'agit évidemment pas que de nous. Nous avons promis au peuple ukrainien, qui repousse l'invasion russe, que nous serions à ses côtés, *as long as it takes*, vous l'avez dit, Madame Von der Leyen, mais il faut aller plus loin: nous devons l'être sans attendre, *as soon as possible*. Enfin, Madame, une autre menace plane sur notre avenir. Le dérèglement climatique. Alors nous vous le demandons clairement: ne reculez pas sur le pacte vert. Ne reculez pas. Sortons des énergies fossiles, lançons un pacte d'adaptation au climat et accompagnons tous les Européens, les ménages, les entreprises, avec le renforcement du Fonds pour une transition juste. Et je n'oublie pas, évidemment, le monde agricole qui a été traversé par une crise majeure ces derniers mois. On a répondu avec des mesures d'urgence qui étaient nécessaires. On doit avancer désormais avec les mesures structurelles sur le prix et sur la concurrence loyale, comme vous l'avez évoqué. Voilà ce que nous attendons de vous, Madame.

Le chantier qui est devant nous est colossal, mais nous sommes déterminés à le mener et nous le ferons, parce qu'ensemble, depuis cinq ans, vous avez, nous avons tenu la barre. Ensemble, nous avons protégé les Européens face à la pandémie et lancé un plan de relance inédit. Ensemble, nous avons fait entrer notre économie dans le XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, adopté le pacte asile immigration et mis l'Europe sur la voie de la décarbonation. Nous vous avons entendu ce matin, Madame Von der Leyen, votre feuille de route rejoint les ambitions de ma famille politique. Mon groupe politique sera toujours un partenaire de travail exigeant, mais fiable. Nos demandes sont claires, notre volonté aussi. Nous n'aurons qu'un seul cap, l'intérêt supérieur des Européens. Et j'ai confiance dans le fait que cet engagement, nous le partageons.

3-025-0000

**Terry Reintke**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear candidate for the Commission presidency, dear colleagues, we are at a decisive moment for the future of the European Union. Today's vote will be one important step in setting the course for the next five years in Europe.

We all know that the challenges ahead of us are huge, and this places an enormous responsibility on our shoulders. We see right now that climate change already today affects us all. This summer shows it once again: parts of Europe are withering in the heat, while in other regions entire

livelihoods are being destroyed in floods. Not continuing on the path towards climate neutrality right now, taking detours or even pausing would be the completely wrong thing to do. Colleagues, we cannot backtrack on the Green Deal.

*(Applause)*

We need to go the next step. We need a climate adaptation law to make us more resilient and, for example, protect our critical water supplies. The Green Deal is about nothing less than our survival on this planet, and we should treat it with the needed seriousness.

Colleagues, the green transition is the greatest challenge of our generation. In order to maintain our prosperity, we need to massively invest in greening our industries. Those who say that it is either about tackling climate change or about fostering our competitiveness are simply wrong. We need to do both at the same time and with it create millions of green jobs in the European Union.

*(Applause)*

We have seen thousands of farmers taking to the streets because they can no longer make a living from their hard work. These farmers need to get a decent revenue. At the same time, we need to make EU agriculture more resilient to climate change and biodiversity loss. We need to strengthen animal welfare in the European Union, and we have to finally ensure that small farmers get their fair share of EU agricultural subsidies. Farmers deserve better than the current rules in the common agricultural policy. Colleagues, let us reform the CAP in this mandate.

*(Applause)*

This European Union needs to be a social union. The effects of the pandemic, our long-standing energy dependency on fossil fuels, the brutal war in Ukraine, the cost of living crisis, hit many people very hard. We cannot leave them alone. Everybody has to be able to make a decent living. We need to provide dignity for all European citizens – because it is right, but also because history has shown that rising social inequality is a threat to our societies and to democracy itself. So for the working people in Europe, we have to send a very clear message today. Exploitation can never be a business model in Europe. Decent income and fair working conditions are our duty to the working people on this beautiful continent.

*(Applause)*

There is one fundament, colleagues, of this Union that cannot be negotiated on – our common European values. Too many governments in the European Union right now are attacking this foundation of the rule of law and fundamental rights, and they are even using EU funds to strengthen their authoritarian grip on society. Honestly, the last Commission has too often waited for far too long to do something about this. This has to change. Every single EU citizen, no matter in which Member State, deserves their rights, for the rule of law and fundamental rights to be defended.

This has to be a Commission for everyone in Europe. Because whether you are black, Muslim, Jewish, Roma, queer or disabled, Europe is your home, and this Union is built on exactly this promise of equality.

*(Applause)*

Colleagues, we live in a changing world. European foreign, defence and security policy has been far too fragmented in the last decades ever too often. It weakens us all, especially with Putin's servant right now at the Council Presidency. We have to make sure that we are changing this and build a strong, united, ready-to-act European Union by ending unanimity votes in the Council. Let's take away the veto right, so that we are all stronger together.

We have a shared responsibility ahead of us. We see that there is a lot at stake, and if you ask me 'is Ursula von der Leyen a green candidate to be Commission President?' or 'is this a green programme that she has provided us with the political guidelines?', I can tell you, no! We have negotiated hard, we have made compromises over these past weeks. For me what is crucial is that the majority that holds today is a majority of pro-European, democratic groups in this House, because we need to keep the far right from getting into power, from having an impact on policymaking in this European Union. We know that we are stronger when we work together as pro-Europeans. Let us keep this promise to our citizens and constructively work together and build a better European future for all.

3-026-0000

**Manon Aubry**, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, merci. Madame von der Leyen, votre discours illustre tout le mépris que vous avez pour les gens dans la galère. Je vous ai bien écoutée: en plus d'une demi-heure, vous n'avez pas mentionné une seule fois le mot «pauvreté», le mot «chômage», mais il y en a eu pour la «compétitivité», la «prospérité», pour cajoler les entreprises. Madame von der Leyen, je sais que vous gagnez plus de 30 000 euros par mois, mais savez-vous qu'un Européen sur trois doit sauter des repas? Que des millions d'Européens vont une fois de plus se priver de vacances parce que, le dix du mois, ils sont déjà dans le rouge? Madame von der Leyen, sortez de votre tour d'ivoire et faites enfin face à la réalité. Parce qu'il n'y a pas vraiment de quoi être satisfait de votre mandat écoulé et encore moins de raisons de vous en accorder un nouveau.

Est-ce que, comme nous vous le demandions, vous avez taxé les multinationales qui se gavent et les milliardaires, ces multinationales qui augmentent les prix de notre panier de course? Non, vous les avez cajolées. Est-ce que vous avez agi à la hauteur de l'urgence climatique? Non. Nous avons eu droit à des mesurette sans ambition et au *greenwashing* de l'écologie de marché. Est-ce que vous avez protégé nos agriculteurs et notre industrie face à la concurrence internationale? Non. Vous avez multiplié les accords de libre-échange. Est-ce que vous avez sauvé nos services publics? Non. Là aussi, vous avez renforcé les règles d'austérité qui les saccagent. Est-ce que vous avez agi pour la transparence face à la toute-puissance des lobbys? Non. Là aussi, plutôt que de faire primer enfin l'éthique sur le fric – vous venez d'ailleurs de vous faire condamner, Madame, par la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne pour l'opacité des contrats pour les vaccins contre le Covid. Aujourd'hui, Madame von der Leyen, vous ne devriez même pas vous présenter face à nous, mais davantage face à un juge. Madame Van der Leyen, est-ce que vous avez fait entendre la voix de la paix? Vous dites qu'il faut mettre fin au bain de sang dans la bande de Gaza. Mais, la réalité, c'est que vous, Madame von der Leyen, vous vous êtes affichée aux côtés de Benjamin Netanyahu, celui qui a du sang sur les mains et qui commet un génocide dans la bande de Gaza. C'est votre responsabilité, Madame von der Leyen, parce que vous refusez de prendre les sanctions qui sont nécessaires, comme un embargo sur l'envoi d'armes. Est-ce que, enfin, vous avez défendu les droits humains des exilés? Non. Là aussi, plutôt qu'une Europe de la solidarité, vous avez créé une Europe des barbelés.

Voilà votre véritable bilan, Madame von der Leyen. Il est catastrophique et sa conséquence directe, c'est la montée sans précédent de l'extrême droite. Et nous devrions recommencer pour cinq ans de plus? La victoire de la gauche unie du Nouveau Front populaire, en France, montre qu'un autre chemin est possible. Parce que, non, Madame von der Leyen, on ne combat pas l'extrême droite en

reprenant ses idées: on défait le fascisme si on refuse de céder, même d'un pouce, face à leur projet autoritaire et réactionnaire.

Madame von der Leyen, nous savons aujourd'hui que votre réélection sera uniquement due à des petits arrangements opaques entre amis. Mais les citoyens européens n'en peuvent plus de ces vieilles méthodes et veulent de la clarté. Notre groupe refusera toutes ces combines et défendra une alternative claire pour le partage des richesses, l'action climatique, les droits fondamentaux, les droits des femmes et la paix. Nous voterons bien sûr, comme nous l'avons fait dans les cinq dernières années, tous les textes qui iront dans cette direction. Nous saluons la nomination d'un commissaire au logement, mais nous ne nous satisferons pas de paroles. Nous voulons des actes et nous refuserons, vous l'avez compris – j'en termine –, de participer à la mascarade...

*(la Présidente invite l'oratrice à conclure)*

... de votre grande coalition mortifère et mon groupe de la gauche votera donc contre votre réélection. Votre Europe n'est pas la nôtre, Madame von der Leyen. Alors, contre votre Europe de l'austérité et du marché, comptez sur nous pour défendre l'Europe de l'humanité et de la solidarité.

3-027-0000

**Ewa Zajączkowska-Hernik**, w imieniu grupy ESN. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni europosłowie! Pani Urszulo! Najwyższy czas, by ktoś wprost Pani powiedział to, co o Pani myśli zdecydowana większość Europejczyków. Wybranie Pani na stanowisko przewodniczącej Komisji Europejskiej w poprzedniej kadencji było ogromnym błędem i niektórzy do dzisiaj mają kaca po tej decyzji. Jest Pani twarzą europejskiego zielonego ładu, który niszczy europejską gospodarkę i rolnictwo, który prowadzi do tego, że z Europy robi się gospodarczy skansen.

Jest Pani twarzą wszystkich unijnych klimatycznych wariactw, które prowadzą do tego, że my, Europejczycy, stajemy się coraz biedniejsi. Wreszcie jest Pani twarzą paktu migracyjnego i zwracam się do Pani jak kobieta do kobiety, jak matka do matki: Jak Pani nie wstyd promować coś takiego jak pakt migracyjny, który prowadzi do tego, że miliony kobiet w Europie i dzieci czuje się zagrożonych na ulicach swoich własnych miast? Odpowiada Pani za każdy gwałt, za każdą napaść, za każdą tragedię spowodowaną napływem nielegalnych imigrantów. Bo to Pani tych ludzi zaprasza tutaj, na teren Europy.

I za to, co Pani robi, powinna Pani trafić do więzienia, a nie do Komisji Europejskiej. Pani obecność na stanowisku szefowej Komisji Europejskiej to upadek, dalszy upadek Unii Europejskiej. I wie Pani, co myślimy o Pani europejskim zielonym ładzie? O, to. Wie Pani, co myślimy o pakcie imigracyjnym? O, to. Nawet Pani nie patrzy w moją stronę. Wstyd! Chcemy Europy wolnych i suwerennych narodów, a nie chorej lewackiej ideologii. A od Polski ręce precz. I wszystkim żołnierzom, którzy w tym momencie bronią wschodniej granicy Unii Europejskiej, powinna się Pani kłaniać w pas. *(Przewodnicząca odebrała mówczyni głos)*

3-028-0000

**Ursula von der Leyen**, candidate for President of the Commission. – Madam President, honourable Members, thank you very much for a very lively debate, which shows the vitality of our European democracy.

In recent months, our political families have laid out their different programmes for Europe, and I think it was a heated but fair electoral campaign. And for the second time in a row, the turnout in European elections went up, reversing decades of decline. The people of Europe have shown that they care and that they want to make their voice heard. This is a good sign for European democracy.

But we must also be very clear-eyed about the dangers that our democracy faces. Our societies are polarised more than at any time since the end of the Cold War.

And let me be very clear: we will always defend freedom, but freedom does not mean having the right to take it all. It is not the one who screams the loudest or is the most disrespectful that has the right of might. It is the rule of law and respect that unites us.

(Applause)

And thank you for the show of wide support in this House of democracy, for the respect for each other as the foundation of democracy. This respect is something that we can only build together across all political divides and party lines. Because this is how we sort out differences in our democracies: not with screaming and yelling and disrespect and violence, but with votes. Not by feeding divisions, but by bridging them with dialogue.

Over the last month, I have listened to all the democratic forces in this Parliament in the spirit of dialogue and respect. And this is reflected in the political guidelines that I have just presented. Now it is time for the democratic forces to come together and to move Europe forward, because there is so much more that unites us than divides us. This is the essence of Europe. That is the story of Europe. We are united in diversity and in adversity.

Let me conclude with the last public words that my friend David Sassoli addressed to Europeans just days before he passed away: '*La speranza, siamo noi!*' We, the people of Europe, are our best hope in a dangerous world. And today, Europe's hope rests in your hands – the democratic forces.

Thank you, and long live Europe!

3-029-0000

**Jeroen Lenaers (PPE).** – Madam President, Ms von der Leyen, my message here today is fairly simple: in a world in turmoil, Europe needs to be strong, united and independent. We need to wake up and we need to grow up urgently.

Strategic autonomy is not a theoretical exercise. It is a precondition for delivering on our citizens' expectations, because they have sent us a clear message at these elections and we must answer.

That means, first and foremost, investing in our security, keeping all of us safe, but also keeping life for Europeans affordable, when it comes to issues like housing, food and energy, without depending on dictators abroad.

Strengthening Europe's competitiveness, protecting our values and fighting for democracy and rule of law. Managed migration and protecting our borders. Continuing our work towards climate neutrality in a smart and inclusive way.

But also, very importantly, in a specific area like medicine. Millions of Europeans depend on important medications and this dependence is simply unsustainable. We must be able to produce the medicines we need within our own borders. We can no longer afford to be dependent on other powers in any strategic sector. Dependency only brings vulnerability.

So the task ahead is clear. It's not an easy task, but at least it's clear. The strategy is there. What we now need is stability and strong leadership. And leadership and stability that you, President von der Leyen, have shown over the past five years. So we put our trust today in you to lead Europe on this path to maturity. And you can count on our support along the way.

3-030-0000

**Camilla Laureti (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, signora von der Leyen, onorevoli colleghi, l'agenda strategica 2024-2029 chiede con grande chiarezza di agire riguardo ai temi della democrazia e dello Stato di diritto. E non c'è solo Orbán, che prova a indebolire il progetto europeo.

Noi siamo stati chiari sin da subito: siamo aperti a discutere con Lei il programma della prossima Commissione, ma non siamo aperti ad alcun tipo di accordo con i sovranisti. Cercare i loro voti avrebbe un prezzo molto alto per l'integrazione europea e questo vale oggi, ma vale anche per il futuro.

Nell'agenda strategica si presta attenzione al tema dell'industria e della competitività – nuove tecnologie, nuovi lavori, nuovi mercati per essere leader della transizione verde e digitale.

Noi, come Socialisti e Democratici, Le abbiamo chiesto un impegno per un *green industrial act* ma, accanto a questo, nuova capacità di investimento pubblica. Per restare competitiva, l'Europa deve proseguire sulla strada degli investimenti comuni tracciata dal NextGenerationEU. Gli investimenti pubblici sono fondamentali, altrimenti non sarà una transizione giusta per imprese e lavoratori e neanche per gli agricoltori.

L'attuazione del pilastro sociale richiede di andare avanti sull'attuazione della direttiva sul salario minimo e su un'iniziativa europea per abolire gli stage gratuiti. Il nostro gruppo ha anche detto no all'esternalizzazione delle frontiere: sui migranti serve che ogni paese faccia la propria parte sull'accoglienza, altrimenti continueranno a crescere i traffici di esseri umani.

Oggi noi vogliamo impegni su date, numeri e iniziative concrete e le stesse le chiederemo anche ai Commissari designati nelle audizioni dopo l'estate. Queste risposte non le dà solo oggi a noi, ma a tutti i cittadini e le cittadine che le aspettano da troppo tempo.

3-031-0000

**Kinga Gál (Pfe).** – Elnök Asszony! Ma Európa gyengébb, mint öt éve volt. Döntéseket fogok felsorolni, amelyekkel a Bizottság elnöke szembement az európai polgárok érdekeivel. Nem tesz konkrét lépéseket a békéért, miközben Európa egyre közelebb sodródik a háborúhoz. Áterőltetett egy rossz migrációs paktumot, ahelyett, hogy megvédené a külső határokat. Nem védte meg gyermekeinket a genderideológia erőltetésével. Méregzöld green deal politikájával ártott az európai gazdáknak, gyengítette Európa versenyképességét. Korupciógyanús vakcinaszereződéseket kötött, felerősítette a brüsszeli bürokrácia túlterjeszkedését, gyengítette, és ahogy hallottuk, tervezi tovább gyengíteni a tagállamok szuverenitását.

Politikai zsarolásra használta a jogállamiság elvét és a Magyarországnak járó uniós pénzeket. A kettős mérce alkalmazását fő szabállyá tette demokratikusan választott kormányok ellen. Kampánya részeként nyomásgyakorlásra használta fel az uniós intézményeket, a magyar elnökség bojkottjával. Mindez ártott az európai együttműködésnek. Mindezekért mi, patrióták Európa érdekében nem fogjuk von der Leyent támogatni a mai szavazáson. Változás kell végre.

3-032-0000

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Możemy zaklinać rzeczywistość, ale w jakim stanie jest Unia, każdy widzi. Europa pogrąża się w kryzysie, maleje zaufanie do unijnych instytucji, obywatelom żyje się coraz gorzej. Koszty utrzymania rosną i co gorsza dalej będą rosły, bo lewicowo-liberalny establishment woli pozostawać w soteriologicznej ułudzie, że zbawi planetę forsowaną przez siebie polityką klimatyczną, ale w rzeczywistości jej efektem będzie gospodarcze samobójstwo. Firmy uciekają z naszego kontynentu, zdesperowani rolnicy wychodzą na ulice, unijna gospodarka traci przewagi konkurencyjne, przestajemy się liczyć jako gracz światowego formatu.

Szanowna pani von der Leyen, była pani bardzo słabą przewodniczącą, by nie powiedzieć najgorszą. Jako ECR poparliśmy pięć lat temu pani kandydaturę, ale nie byliśmy jej entuzjastami. Podjęliśmy tę decyzję, wybierając mniejsze zło, bo wtedy konkurował z panią sfanatyzowany Frans Timmermans. Pamiętam ówczesne spotkania z panią, podczas którego miała nas pani, tak jak dzisiaj, różnymi obietnicami, ale już dzisiaj nie damy się nabrać. Pani sposób zarządzania był fatalny. Podejmowanie decyzji w wąskim gronie niemieckich doradców, arogancja, hipokryzja, brak współpracy z komisarzami, wybujałe ambicje oraz namiętne zabiegi wokół własnego wizerunku – oto styl pani pracy.

Prawdomówność również do niego nie należała. Długo oszukiwała pani Polaków co do środków z Krajowego Planu Odbudowy. *Pacta sunt servanda*. W obecności polskiego premiera, polskiego prezydenta obiecywała pani odblokowanie środków, a później się pani z tego wycofywała.

Przejrzystość również nie była pani mocną stroną. Pamiętamy cudowne zaginięcie wiadomości tekstowych wymienianych z szefem Pfizera.

Odrębnym tematem jest to, jak traktowała pani moją ojczyznę – Polskę. Stanowisko szefa Komisji wymaga elementarnej przyzwoitości, której na imię „bezstronność”. Tymczasem była pani gorsząco stronnica, bez żenady wspierała ówczesną opozycję, działała na rzecz zmiany rządu w Polsce, blokując choćby środki z KPO czy uruchamiając art. 7. To była skandaliczna, niedopuszczalna ingerencja w sprawy innego państwa. Zaś to, co ostatnio robiła Komisja w obliczu brutalnego łamania prawa przez rządy Tuska, pokazuje, że kwestia braku tzw. praworządności za czasów Prawa i Sprawiedliwości była jedną wielką sięgającą szczytów hipokryzji hucpą.

Wszak to obecny rząd przejął siłą media publiczne. To teraz podejmowane są siłowe działania w sądach i prokuraturach, toczą się śledztwa na zamówienie władzy i trwają przygotowania do procesów politycznych. Wobec aresztowanych, w tym również kobiet, stosuje się tortury, by wymusić składanie fałszywych zeznań. Swoją drogą, gdzie są dzisiaj te wszystkie feministki, które tak głośno krzyczały o prawach kobiet? Pomimo że dzisiaj zamyka pani procedurę z art. 7, żaden akt prawny w Polsce nie został zmieniony, został zmieniony tylko premier – na pani koleżkę, czyli Donalda Tuska.

3-033-0000

**Gerben-Jan Gerbrandy (Renew).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, thank you. Democracy, at its core, is about trust. And today, Mrs von der Leyen seeks our trust to wield power in Europe's name. On behalf of Renew Europe, let me be fair and honest. This is not an easy choice. Mrs von der Leyen, you have given us reason to trust you when you heeded the call of millions of Europeans and started acting on the climate crisis, but you have tested our trust when you turned your back on nature. European citizens, including farmers, need protection against extreme weather and the mass extinction of life on our planet. Will you uphold the Green Deal, including all its original ambition to protect the natural world? And to be honest, your guidelines are strong on climate, but again, weak on biodiversity.

You are a pro-European democrat and your party, which you lead, has won the European elections. We are ready to give you a second chance, but not a *carte blanche*. Mrs von der Leyen, will you not only talk like a democrat, but act like one as well? And our president, Roberta Metsola, just showed that only a firm hand works with extremists. European citizens need your protection against national leaders tearing the fabric of our values apart. Will you finally stand up to them? And if so, you will have our votes and our trust.

3-034-0000

**Li Andersson (The Left).** – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa Ursula von der Leyen, EU-vaalien tulosten pitäisi olla todellinen herätys kaikille ihmisoikeuksiin ja demokratiaan sitoutuneille päättäjille EU:ssa. Nyt on korkea aika löytää oikeita ratkaisuja niihin huoliin ja ongelmiin, joiden kanssa ihmiset kamppailevat ympäri Eurooppaa.

Hintojen noustessa yhä harvemmalla riittävät tulot, ja talouskurin paluu Eurooppaan kurittaa erityisesti pienituloisia. Juuri nyt pitää asettaa panostukset reiluihin työehtoihin ja sosiaaliseen oikeudenmukaisuuteen eurooppalaisen päätöksenteon keskiöön. Köyhyyden torjunta ja kohtuuhintaisen asumisen edistäminen ovat erittäin tärkeitä tavoitteita, mutta strategiat, seminaarit ja kauniit sanat eivät riitä. EU:n pitää käyttää myös lainsäädäntövaltaansa.

Siksi kysyn teiltä, mihin jäivät konkreettiset toimet työhyvinvoinnin edistämiseksi, yritysvastuun varmistamiseksi ja reilujen työehtojen varmistamiseksi kaikille eurooppalaisille. Juuri tällaisten aloitteiden pitää olla sosiaalisesti oikeudenmukaisen politiikan keskiössä.

3-035-0000

**Sarah Knafo (ESN).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, aujourd'hui, quels que soient vos nationalités ou vos partis, vous allez dire aux peuples européens qui vous êtes vraiment. Êtes-vous au service de ces peuples ou êtes-vous leur bourreau? Des millions d'Européens réclament la liberté. Allez-vous les en priver cinq ans de plus? Ou voulez-vous leur annoncer que vous croyez en eux, en leur intelligence, en leur créativité, en leur avenir? À Madame von der Leyen, je demande: «Que vous ont fait les Européens pour que vous les traitiez avec tant de mépris?» Madame von der Leyen, vous n'avez aucune promesse, mais vous avez un bilan. Pensons-nous vraiment régler nos problèmes avec ceux qui les ont créés?

Nous voterons donc trois fois non. Non, car nous votons pour ceux qui défendent la liberté, jamais pour ceux qui la piétinent. Non, car nous votons pour ceux qui garantissent la prospérité et jamais pour ceux qui précipitent le déclin. Non, car nous votons pour ceux qui protègent les Européens, jamais pour ceux qui les exposent à l'immigration et à l'islamisation. Ce sera donc non, non et non!

Ne soyez pas politicien, soyez Européen. Nous sommes la civilisation de la liberté. Prouvez-le.

3-036-0000

**Judita Laššáková (NI).** – Vážená pani predsedníčka, vážený prítomní, pani Ursula von der Leyen. V roku 2019 ste sa stali komisárkou a ja som Vám držala palce. Boli ste vyústením boja žien za politické práva. V mojich očiach dokonca nasledovníčka Emmeline Pankhurstovej. Očakávala som, že príležitosť využijete na maximum. Keď si pomyslím, akých úspechov dosiahla Eleanor Roosevelt, ktorá bola „iba“ manželkou. Dnes ste však pre mňa veľkým sklamaním. A to nie kvôli tomu rozhodnutiu Všeobecného súdu Európskej únie. Pre mňa je sklamaním Komisia pod Vaším vedením. Na Slovensku sa advokát Ľubomír Krivočenko počas COVID-u udusil vo väzbe. Štát mal vyše 30 plúcnych ventilácií, ale on nedostal ani jednu. A mrzí ma to kvôli tomu, lebo Vy ste v prvom rade lekárka. Ak štát pozbaví niekoho osobnej slobody, musí zabezpečiť, aby väzba bola na nevyhnutný čas, a chrániť život. Alebo sme v EÚ prijali trest smrti ako formu trestu a iba ja to neviem? Advokát Krivočenko nebol jediný, kto v rokoch 2020 až 2023 umrel vinou štátu. Ani raz Komisia pod Vaším vedením neupozornila na porušovanie ľudských práv a slobôd na Slovensku, ani raz. Krivenie práva dnešnou opozíciou v máji 2024 vyústilo do atentátu na Roberta Fica. Pani von der Leyen, ani ja, ani moji kolegovia nemôžeme za Vás zahlasovať. Bola by to neúcta voči tým ženám, ktoré sa pričínili o rozvoj a ochranu ľudských práv.



3-037-0000

**Dolors Montserrat (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, señora presidenta Von der Leyen, señorías, el Partido Popular Europeo ha ganado las elecciones y por eso nos corresponde liderar las instituciones europeas con la presidenta Ursula von der Leyen.

Los desafíos son cada vez más grandes. Hay ciudadanos que sencillamente ya no confían en la Unión Europea. Si ignoramos esto, estaremos cometiendo un error fatal. Por ello Europa debe avanzar y tenemos que ser nosotros quienes impulsemos ese cambio. Necesitamos completar el mercado único. Necesitamos una estrategia europea de competitividad que reduzca la burocracia a las empresas y, en particular, a las pymes y a los autónomos. Debemos mejorar la innovación tecnológica, poniendo el foco en la creación de empleo de calidad, y debemos cuidar de sectores claves estratégicos como son la agricultura, la pesca y la ganadería. Y, por supuesto, debemos fortalecer nuestros sistemas sanitarios. En definitiva, debemos poner a las personas y a las familias en el centro de nuestros esfuerzos.

Pero tan importante es fortalecer nuestra economía como redoblar la defensa de los valores europeos, de la libertad y del Estado de Derecho. Por eso es inadmisible que Gobiernos nacionales amnistíen a prófugos corruptos a cambio de mantenerse en el poder. Por eso es preocupante —es intolerable— que Gobiernos nacionales señalen a jueces por investigar su presunta corrupción y que amenacen con silenciar a la prensa crítica que informa al respecto.

Que todo esto esté ocurriendo hoy es una anomalía democrática que Europa no se puede permitir. El futuro de Europa, el éxito de la Unión Europea, dependerá de lo que hagamos con la economía, pero sobre todo de cómo defendamos nuestra democracia.

Hagámoslo juntos. Es nuestra obligación como demócratas europeos. Por ello tiene nuestra confianza.

3-038-0000

**René Repasi (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Frau von der Leyen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist die nobelste Aufgabe der Europäischen Kommission, den Schutz Europas vor seinen inneren und seinen äußeren Feinden und Gegnern zu organisieren. Wir dürfen die Feinde von innen nicht unterschätzen, kommen sie im Gewande der offenen Ablehnung – da haben wir heute ein paar Prachtexemplare hier gesehen – oder im Schafspelz derjenigen, die im Rat so kooperativ erscheinen, aber zu Hause ihr Land umbauen. Frau von der Leyen, wir von der S&D-Fraktion reichen Ihnen die Hand, um mit uns zusammen die Gegner Europas rechts der EVP zu bekämpfen, und zwar durch eine Politik gegen die Ungleichheit.

Die Wahl heute beinhaltet eine Verantwortung, die heute beginnt und erst in fünf Jahren endet, nämlich, dass die proeuropäischen und demokratischen Kräfte zusammenrücken. Sie und die EVP müssen der Versuchung widerstehen, mit den Kräften rechts von der EVP einfach Mehrheiten zu basteln. Sie stehen in der Verantwortung, heute jedes Zugeständnis gegenüber Rechtsextremen abzulehnen und das auch künftig so zu halten. Frau von der Leyen, die Unterstützer in Europa sitzen in diesem Haus und nicht im Rat. Sie sitzen hier links von der EVP und nicht rechts von ihr. Daran werden wir Sie heute messen, daran werden wir Sie und Ihre EVP in fünf Jahren messen.

3-039-0000

**Klara Dostalova (PřE).** – Paní předsedající, jsme na půdě Evropského parlamentu. Všichni do jednoho, jak tady sedíme, jsme byli demokraticky zvoleni a zastupujeme zde miliony voličů rozdílných názorů.

Paní předsedkyně během svého předchozího mandátu nasadila Evropské unii železnou kazajku opatření, která dusí naši konkurenceschopnost a zvyšuje náklady na život obyčejným lidem. To

všechno ve jménu evropského klimatu. Ale žádný takový pojem neexistuje. Existuje pouze globální klima. Důsledkem této politiky je zvyšování závislosti Evropy na třetích zemích a její obrovská přeregulovanost.

Evropané chtějí silnou, bezpečnou a konkurenceschopnou Evropu. Cílem Evropské komise by mělo být hledání společných cest napříč politickým spektrem ve všech členských státech. Namísto toho jsme svědky šachové hry, ve které jste se svévolně rozhodla, že figurky vašeho oponenta přestanou platit.

Evropané potřebují pevnou půdu pod nohama, ne tekuté písky nejistoty. Namlouváte nám, že jediné vaše cesta je ta správná, a každý, kdo s vámi nesouhlasí, je automaticky protievropský. To je zjednodušená a velmi nebezpečná logika, která podkopává základy, na kterých stojí naše Unie. Kam se podělo naše společné heslo „Jednotná v rozmanitosti“? Evropská unie byla postavena na principech tolerance, dialogu a respektu. Volby jasně ukázaly, že občané chtějí změnu, ale vy se místo toho doprošujete hlasu těch, kteří se chovají, jako by žádné volby nebyly. Prosím, respektujeme voliče a jejich volbu.

3-040-0000

**Charlie Weimers (ECR).** – Fru talman! Fru von der Leyen. Väljarna i Europa skickade en tydlig signal den nionde juni. De röstade fram en mitten-högermajoritet i det här huset. Men, Ursula von der Leyen, ni och er borgerliga partigrupp EPP har valt att förhandla vänsterut, och vi såg resultatet i ert tal i dag.

Kärnkraften nämndes inte med ett enda ord i talet, efter fem år av ensidigt fokus på väderberoende kraft. Behovet av att utvisa illegala migranter nämndes inte med ett ord i dag, trots att vi vet att vänstern stoppade återvändandedirektivet från att beslutas som en del av migrationspakten under förra mandatperioden.

Subsidiaritetsprincipen respekteras inte. Ni vill syssla med bostadspolitik och hälsopolitik. Ni föreslår fördragsändringar som ni vet att vänstern kommer att använda för maktöverföringar. Det är en grön vänsteragenda som vi hörde i dag, med politisk detaljstyrning, och då kan inte vi rösta annat än nej till er i dag.

3-041-0000

**João Cotrim De Figueiredo (Renew).** – Madam President, dear Roberta, Frau von der Leyen, distinguished guests, fellow MEPs, today we are not choosing only a President of the European Commission, its political guidelines. I think we are actually choosing a destination and a path to that destination. We are choosing where we want Europe to be in five years' time, and we are choosing what measures will take us there.

Because in five years' time, we will be held to account by our voters, and we will have to tell them if we chose the right destination: if Europe will once again be the beacon of freedom in the world, if Europe will be again a haven of peace and security or the land of opportunity and prosperity.

They will ask us if we chose the right path. Did we hear the legitimate concerns of our citizens? Did we make up the difficult choices that we have to make, and the difficult reforms that we have to make to meet these concerns? And did we recognise, above all, that sustainable economic growth is the first priority in order to provide resources to meet all other challenges?

These political times give us – all of us – an historical responsibility to provide decisive political leadership that will ensure we keep on the path to the right destination.

Frau von der Leyen, my question to you is if you are conscious of this responsibility and if you are prepared to discharge it together with this Parliament, because from Renew, from the liberals, you know what to expect: loyal, constructive but demanding cooperation to make sure that Europe keeps on the right path and reaches the right destination. Let's get it done.

3-042-0000

**Lynn Boylan (The Left).** – *A Uachtaráin*, the rule of law is the glue that binds our union together. Those are your words, Madam von der Leyen. So why is it that, in your eyes, some people are more equal in law than others? Why is it that human rights are applicable in some conflicts but not others? Why are the lives of Palestinians not worthy of the same human rights, the same international law, the same humanity? We are witnessing the most documented genocide in history, and still there are no consequences for Israel. When you declared Europe stands with Israel, when you stood shoulder to shoulder with Netanyahu, you greenlighted this genocide. The double standards, the hypocrisy with how you reacted to the conflict in Ukraine compared to Gaza has done untold damage on the world stage to the European Union. There has been no sanctions, no suspension of trade. In fact, EU money and arms continue to flow to Israel. 40 000 civilians slaughtered, children burned alive in their tents and still no consequences. Colleagues today – say no to genocide and say no to von der Leyen!

3-043-0000

**Christine Anderson (ESN).** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau von der Leyen, Sie sind eine Schande für jede Demokratie. Ihre fünf Jahre waren mehr als genug. *Green Deal*, *Fit for 55* – diese ganzen Programme, sie richten das Leben der Bürger in der EU in Grund und Boden. Deindustrialisierung, Preisexplosion, Abschaffung von Freiheit, Demokratie, Zensur und Schikane der Bürger. Das ist Ihre Politik, Frau von der Leyen. Schämen Sie sich! Schämen Sie sich!

Mit Ihrem Pfizer-Duzfreund handelten Sie einen milliardenschweren Vertrag aus für ein Produkt, das im besten Fall nutzlos, im schlimmsten Fall schädlich, in nicht wenigen Fällen gar tödlich endete. Noch einmal: Sie sollten sich was schämen!

Erst vorgestern urteilte der EuGH, Sie hätten die Inhalte der Impfstoffverträge nicht geheim halten dürfen. Gegen Sie laufen mehrere Ermittlungsverfahren wegen Korruption. Hätten Sie auch nur einen Funken Anstand im Leib, dann würden Sie erst gar nicht mehr kandidieren. Aber: Anstand – bei Ihnen Fehlanzeige. Frau von der Leyen, Sie sind Kommissionspräsidentin und nicht Korruptionspräsidentin. Sie gehören nicht wiedergewählt, sondern in Schimpf und Schande aus diesem Parlament und aus dem Amt gejagt.

*(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)*

3-044-0000

**Andrzej Halicki (PPE).** – Szanowni Państwo! Wybrani w naszych krajach reprezentujemy 27 społeczeństw, ale myślę, że tak jak ja w Polsce, tak i Wy, z wyborcami rozmawiając, mieliście ciągle to samo pytanie: Jak zbudować większe bezpieczeństwo? Jak zagwarantować większe bezpieczeństwo? To bezpieczeństwo fizyczne, ochrona granic – cieszę się – większy Frontex, wspólny rynek zbrojeniowy. Musimy mieć więcej wspólnej polityki, bo Europa naprawdę jest w niebezpieczeństwie, mamy wojnę na naszym kontynencie. Bezpieczeństwo energetyczne, gospodarcze – unia energetyczna. Bezpieczeństwo zdrowotne – covid pokazał, jak wielkie to jest wyzwanie, jak wielkie zadanie i wielkie oczekiwania społeczne. Bezpieczeństwo społeczne, bo reformy muszą być mądre i akceptowane. Bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe – ochrona rolnictwa europejskiego. To są zadania na najbliższe 5 lat. Bezpieczeństwo będzie codziennie na najwyższym poziomie wymieniane jako priorytet, jako zadanie, jako oczekiwanie.

I chciałbym, żebyśmy w tym zadaniu byli zjednoczeni, bo wrogowie bezpieczniejszej i silnej Europy nie śpią. Oni są obecni także na tej sali. Bądźmy zdeterminowani, by Europa była

bezpieczniejsza dzięki naszej dobrej współpracy. Trzeba się słuchać nawzajem. Jesteśmy różni, ale pamiętajmy, że żyjemy w czasach niespokojnych. Dezinformacja też jest elementem tej wojny. Cyberbezpieczeństwo – kolejne zadanie związane z bezpieczeństwem. Apeluje: Bądźmy razem, budujmy Europę silną, bezpieczniejszą – wygramy z naszymi wrogami, którzy nie śpią.

3-045-0000

**Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, Poutine attaque nos démocraties, Trump risque de redevenir président des États-Unis, et partout en Europe, partout, nous voyons leurs alliés d'extrême droite progresser. Nous vivons un moment de bascule et notre responsabilité collective est immense.

Nous, sociaux-démocrates européens, nous serons là. Nous serons là pour barrer la route aux ennemis de la démocratie, pour bâtir une Europe puissante qui cesse de dépendre de la Chine ou des pétromonarchies du Golfe. Une Europe qui défend le pacte vert et accélère la transition écologique. Une Europe qui planifie sa réindustrialisation, une Europe qui met en place un grand plan pour le logement, une Europe qui promeut l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes et qui défend les droits des minorités. Une Europe, enfin, écologique, solidaire et démocratique.

Pour bâtir cette Europe-là, nous, nous serons là et nous serons intransigeants, ne tolérant ni faiblesse ni compromission. Et nous veillerons à ce que les moyens, les investissements, les actes suivent les mots. Nous serons, dans cette enceinte, les artisans et les combattants de cette grande puissance démocratique, écologique, européenne dont nous avons tant besoin.

3-046-0000

**Harald Vilimsky (Pfe).** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau von der Leyen, es gibt im politischen Leben einer jeden Person einen Punkt, wo man sagt: „Es reicht, es ist vorbei.“ Bei Ihnen ist dieser Punkt mehr als erreicht. Ich kann nur an Sie appellieren: Nehmen Sie den Hut.

Ich mache Ihnen das an drei Beispielen fest. Nummer eins: die Corona-Irrsinnigkeit, die Sie – federführend – mit zu verantworten haben, wo 1,8 Milliarden Impfdosen um 35 Milliarden Euro gekauft wurden und mit der heute die Gerichte beschäftigt sind und mit der heute die Medizin beschäftigt ist. Ich freue mich, dass jemand wie Gerald Hauser als mein neuer Kollege im Europäischen Parlament die Aufklärungsarbeit hier federführend vorantreiben wird.

Nummer zwei: Das ist die Geschichte Ukraine-Russland, wo wir an die 14 Sanktionspakete gemacht haben, mit denen wir uns nur selbst getroffen haben, wo wir das Sterben perpetuiert haben und wo die einzige Person – Viktor Orbán, der heute für Ungarn die Ratspräsidentschaft einnimmt –, die sich für Frieden ausspricht, die Selenskyj und Putin besucht, um zu sondieren, wie das Sterben beendet werden kann, von Ihnen sabotiert wird, boykottiert wird und benachteiligt wird.

Ich kann nur sagen: Frau von der Leyen, nehmen Sie den Hut – die Zeit ist vorbei – und geben Sie jemandem die Chance, Europa in eine gute Zukunft zu führen. Sie haben Europa an den Rand des Abgrunds geführt.

3-047-0000

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Madam President, Madam Candidate, 'I am a woman. I am a mother, I am European, nobody is going to take this away from me.' These are words from Giorgia Meloni. Words that touched my heart. I feel the same as a European by choice. As a woman, as a mother and as a Member of this Parliament, I feel you too, Madam von der Leyen. Like many of us, I cannot unsee the Sofagate and the fact that one of the three most powerful women inside the EU had to struggle for a chair. Women in politics are still challenged and over-scrutinised, requested permanently to be perfect. If they show ambition, they are arrogant. If they stand for themselves, they are extremists. If they follow and let go of who they are, they are ignored.

Of course, Madam von der Leyen, you are not perfect. But who is? None of us. However, the price of imperfection is much higher when you are a woman. Barroso and Juncker received a clear discount. If you make it today, I count on you to deliver on nuclear energy and defence ecosystem for Europe, on the protection of our European businesses against certain aspects of the Green Deal, you must deliver. On the geopolitical Commission you promised, you must deliver. On migration policy, one step forward is not enough, you must deliver more. On women's rights, rape crimes cannot stay out of scope, you must deliver. On the bleeding Middle East, the forgotten Sahel region, the protection of our European values and the fight against radical Islam and antisemitism, you must sustain. Will you? One way to find out.

3-048-0000

**Tomas Tobé (PPE).** – Madam President, colleagues, today is a choice between political stability or division. Between leadership or political chaos.

Today, I'm urging all colleagues of this House to vote in favour of Madam von der Leyen as President of the Commission because, seriously, we face grave challenges ahead. There is a war on our continent. There are great uncertainties about the possibility of a new administration in the US, and at home we still have to face issues such as migration, climate and competitiveness.

To overcome these challenges, we need political stability. Any other outcome of the vote today would mean the opposite. It would be a gift for Putin and for Orbán. We cannot waste any time. We have to get to work.

From the EPP Group, I would especially like to highlight that we are pleased to see that we will finally deliver on a common European response in the fight against organised crime. This must be a top priority in the coming five years. Most importantly, we have to continue to stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes, and on that I know that Ukraine, Sweden and the EPP know that we can count on you, Ursula.

3-049-0000

**Victor Negrescu (S&D).** – Madam President, colleagues, we are today in front of a key vote for the next European Commission but, I also must say, for how we would like to see the future of Europe.

After seeing what happened today in the plenary, our Romanian PSD delegation calls for responsibility, while also underlining the priorities we have for the future Commission. We strongly believe more needs to be done in enabling this year the full accession of Romania to the Schengen Area.

We also want to emphasise the need for better policies, allowing Europe to remain an economic leader, competitive, with a strong industry, dynamic SMEs and an adequate budget for the challenges we face. And we believe we can actively contribute to that.

Last but not least, we need more support for farmers, rural areas and local investment. Equal pay for equal work also means fair subsidies for our farmers, while the cohesion policy needs to remain at the core of regional development.

We want a Commission that is in contact with citizens and providing solutions to their need for better living conditions, and we believe we can work with you in doing that.

3-050-0000

**Jorge Buxadé Villalba (Pfe).** – Señora presidente, señora candidata, en sus cinco años, han entrado en España más de 230 000 inmigrantes ilegales. No han venido por casualidad, sino

porque los llaman. El problema lo han provocado y acelerado, y su única solución es esparcirlo por toda Europa para que no se note.

En sus cinco años, ha impulsado y ejecutado el Pacto Verde: expolio de trabajadores, dinero para multinacionales y miseria para las clases medias. Con la excusa de proteger el medio ambiente han ejecutado un plan de despidos masivo, mientras se asfixia nuestro campo y se obliga a los agricultores a manifestarse por miseria.

Solo el año pasado, Bruselas dio más de 600 millones de euros al campo marroquí, que nos ha traído tomate que supera las exportaciones españolas y 47 alertas sanitarias. En sus cinco años, ustedes han puesto en riesgo la seguridad y la soberanía alimentaria de España.

Por último, ha sido cómplice de todos los atropellos de Pedro Sánchez contra la libertad de los españoles, la independencia judicial y el Estado de Derecho a cambio de sus votos en el Consejo. Hasta en lo de la corrupción y la falta de transparencia parecen hermanos gemelos.

No tenemos ni un solo motivo para votarla, pero es evidente que populares, socialistas y verdes la van a sostener hasta el hundimiento.

3-051-0000

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Madam President, President von der Leyen, dear colleagues, the world is looking at us today. This is why I say ‘let us rise to our task today’. Today is a day to put differences aside. Today is a day to be united and aware of our responsibility. Today we need to defend Europe from those who take their orders from Moscow and Beijing.

With Ursula von der Leyen, we have a candidate ready to serve Europe, and we have a programme which reflects the priorities of all those who believe in a strong and united European Union. With Ursula von der Leyen, Europe is today safer within its borders than we were five years ago. We do not depend on Russia for our energy any more. We are stronger and more independent. We are greener, more digital and more competitive. We are more modern and we will continue to invest more in research and innovation, as we have heard today.

To continue delivering for the citizens of Europe, we need to strengthen our Union and its tools. One of the most important tools that we have is the budget of the European Union. I would like to highlight the strategic importance of the upcoming Commission proposal for the budget of the European Union post-2027. This should preserve the basic architecture and the logic of the budget and take fully into account Parliament’s view. The budget is our main investment tool. It has to be protected and strengthened.

To ensure predictability, we need own resources for the Union, and, President von der Leyen, we fully support your approach. Whoever wants European funds has to respect European values. This is why, dear colleagues, I say today that if we ask people to believe in Europe, we need to show as parliamentarians that we believe in Europe, in our democracy, in our rules and values, and to vote for our Commission President.

3-052-0000

**Heléne Fritzson (S&D).** – Fru talman! Fru von der Leyen. Att få stopp på Putins krig och öka stödet till Ukraina och öka ambitionerna i kampen mot klimathotet, det är avgörande för att vi ska kunna samlas i ett brett samarbete i EU. Men då krävs det att vi stänger dörren mot högerextrema och ryssvänliga partier.

Vi välkomnar ditt löfte om att vi ska uppnå EU:s klimatmål. Men det räcker inte med 90 % till 2040. Vi socialdemokrater kan visa vägen så att EU blir världens första klimatneutrala kontinent.

Vi välkomnar också en ny jämställdhetsstrategi, en kommissionär för jämställdhet och en roadmap. Men aborträtten behöver stärkas och säkras i EU. Den måste skrivas in i EU:s rättighetsstadga.

Vi behöver ett brett samarbete för ett sammanhållet EU.

3-053-0000

**Paolo Borchia (PFE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, alla signora von der Leyen, come prima cosa, chiedo di risparmiarci di sentirci dire che Lei sarà il Presidente di tutti, se lo sarà, visto che non ha ritenuto di parlare con alcuni gruppi politici che rappresentano milioni di elettori.

Poi vedo che, finita la campagna elettorale, sono caduti nel dimenticatoio i buoni propositi sulla revisione del *green deal*, un *green deal* che non sta in piedi. Qualcuno Le aveva pure creduto, ma l'accordo con i Verdi ci riporta ai tempi in cui Timmermans la faceva da padrone.

A prescindere da come andrà, Le si prospetta una strada in salita guardando la variopinta maggioranza che La sosterrà, con un finto centrodestra che ha chiesto i voti veri degli elettori di centrodestra per poi andare a formare una maggioranza di comodo con gli stessi partiti di sinistra puniti dagli stessi elettori. È geniale!

Senza ambiguità la Lega dice no al bis di Ursula von der Leyen. Nulla di personale – poi magari personalmente sarei stato più cauto nell'utilizzo degli SMS – ma fare bene il presidente della Commissione europea è un'altra cosa.

3-054-0000

**Lídia Pereira (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, Caras e Caros Colegas, a boa governação é o melhor antídoto contra os extremismos.

É bom não esquecer os últimos cinco anos. Cinco anos de dificuldades, cinco anos marcados pelo vírus, pelo medo, pelas dificuldades provocadas pelo aumento do custo de vida dos europeus, pela guerra. Mas com diálogo, com compromisso e muito trabalho, estamos a ultrapassar estes desafios.

Cooperámos, como nunca, na área da saúde. Apoiámo-nos mutuamente na reconstrução das nossas economias. Estamos a fazer um caminho cada vez mais conjunto na defesa e, na Comissão, a cara desta boa governação é a de Ursula von der Leyen.

A governação que se preocupa em dar resposta aos problemas reais da vida dos europeus, aos problemas do custo de vida, dos bens essenciais, dos transportes, da alimentação, do muito importante direito à habitação, da democracia, da segurança, da defesa. Esta é a governação que precisamos, é esta a governação que Ursula von der Leyen tem colocado em prática, sempre com a coerência de se manter firme à sua palavra, escolhendo a moderação, negociando sempre, mas nunca abdicando dos seus princípios e convicções.

Temos nas nossas mãos a responsabilidade de continuar com uma agenda ambiciosa de reformas que ajudem a resolver os problemas que enfrentamos. Porque, e voltando ao início, o melhor antídoto contra os extremismos é mesmo a boa governação.

Continuemos, pois, aqui, no Parlamento e na Comissão, a fazer da boa governação a nossa marca e o nosso legado para as futuras gerações.

3-055-0000

**Marta Temido (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Von der Leyen, nos últimos dias todos trabalhámos muito para garantir que o pacote de indicações para os altos cargos das instituições europeias e os nossos compromissos eleitorais com os europeus seriam cumpridos.

Esta manhã ficámos a conhecer o seu programa político para o próximo mandato.

Saudamos os passos que foram dados para a aproximação à nossa agenda: emprego de qualidade, habitação digna para todos, transição verde e digital justas, novos recursos próprios. Reconhecemos aqui as nossas bandeiras, mas os europeus têm expetativas para os próximos cinco anos.

Ao pacto ecológico precisamos de juntar mais pacto social, aos canais regulares e seguros de imigração precisamos de juntar mais humanismo e integração, ao apoio à defesa de uma paz justa para a Ucrânia, como de uma solução de dois Estados para Israel e Palestina, precisamos de conferir o mesmo empenho de promoção dos direitos humanos à escala global.

Não falharemos o nosso compromisso e apoiaremos uma Comissão assente neste programa. Mas este desafio começa aqui, hoje, e ao longo dos próximos anos contará com o nosso escrutínio atento.

Este tem de ser mesmo o mandato da Europa de solidariedade. O nosso voto é um mandato de esperança. O seu é um mandato também de responsabilidade para connosco.

3-056-0000

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

3-057-0000

**Łukasz Kohut (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca, bardzo się cieszę, że zdecydowała się pani kandydować po raz drugi na stanowisko szefowej Komisji Europejskiej. W tej kadencji będziemy zapewne odmieniać słowo „bezpieczeństwo” przez wszystkie przypadki, a naszym najważniejszym zadaniem będzie zapewnienie pokoju i zabezpieczenie nieba nad domami Europejek i Europejczyków.

Chciałbym jednak zwrócić uwagę na inne aspekty tej kadencji. Nie mam żadnych wątpliwości, że musimy wydłużyć czas wydatkowania środków z funduszu NextGenerationEU. Samorządowcy nie tylko z Polski zgłaszają nam taką potrzebę i myślę, że wydłużenie o dwa lata wydatkowania tych środków byłoby idealnym rozwiązaniem.

Po drugie, ochrona mniejszości etnicznych i języków regionalnych – inicjatywa Minority SafePack, która w ostatniej kadencji została zablokowana przez Komisję – czas wrócić do tego projektu, bo dalej w Europie są społeczności, jak choćby moja – śląska, które potrzebują ochrony ze strony Unii Europejskiej.

Po trzecie w końcu, notyfikacja umowy społecznej – transformacja tak, ale w rozsądnych ramach, pamiętając o człowieku i europejskim przemyśle.

3-058-0000

**Matjaž Nemec (S&D).** – Spoštovana predsednica! Zadnjih pet let ni bilo lahkkih. Mandat je bil zaznamovan s krizami, vojno na evropskih tleh, covidom, kot tudi naravnimi nesrečami. Evropska komisija se je hitro odzvala. Odzvali ste se tudi na zgodovinske poplave v Sloveniji, za kar se vam v imenu državljanov zahvaljujem. Tega ne bomo pozabili.



Po drugi strani ste padli na testu vladavine prava. Tukaj govorim tudi o schengnu, ki ga nikdar ne omenjate v svojih govorih. Nezakoniti nadzor na notranjih mejah traja že skoraj devet let. Kljub sodbi Evropskega sodišča niste nikoli ukrepali. Torej, ali bo Evropska unija uveljavila svoja lastna pravila? Kdaj boste ukrepali, spoštovani?

Prav tako bode v oči vaša ignoranca do mednarodnega prava in človečnosti, ko govorimo o Gazi. Ljudje v Gazi še vedno stradajo. Izrael še naprej napada begunska središča, šole, poslopja, Združene narode, Rdeči križ. Umorjenih je že skoraj devetintrideset tisoč Palestincev. To je genocid, spoštovani !

Ali boste uvedli sankcije proti Izraelu? Kaj bi bilo, če bi vaši otroci bili v Gazi? Omenili ste finančno pomoč Palestinski oblasti. Kako boste torej zagotovili, da bo ta zadostna, vzdržna in politično brezpogojna?

3-059-0000

**Silvia Sardone (PFE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Presidente von der Leyen, non l'ho votata cinque anni fa e oggi, ascoltandola, ribadisco che non la voterò e lo dico con convinzione e orgoglio! Sono stata scelta dai cittadini per portare un cambiamento in Europa, non per sostenere chi è stata protagonista di cinque anni di disastri.

Ha fatto un discorso usando solo verbi al futuro: faremo, faremo. La informo che è già Presidente della Commissione da cinque anni e i cittadini l'hanno già giudicata con le elezioni. Gli stessi cittadini che chiedono un'Europa meno ideologica e più vicina alle loro necessità.

Nel suo discorso ripropone le stesse identiche politiche degli ultimi cinque anni: politiche disastrose, a partire dal *new green deal*, con scelte che mettono in crisi intere filiere produttive. I cittadini europei hanno chiesto una svolta e voi come rispondete? Con le stesse facce e con le stesse politiche. Una logica dell'arroccamento, dei bunker, incarnata dalla sua ricandidatura.

Avete fallito. Lei, Ursula von der Leyen, ha fallito. Non siete la risposta ai problemi dell'Europa, voi ne siete la causa.

3-060-0000

**Anna Zalewska (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz, mówiła Pani nieprawdę. Twierdzi Pani, że jest dobrze i będzie jeszcze lepiej. Nie. Jest źle, będzie jeszcze gorzej. Unia Europejska jest w kryzysie gospodarczym i to nie tylko efekt pandemii i wojny, ale również ideologicznych pomysłów Komisji Europejskiej, która bez jakichkolwiek wyliczeń decyduje o wskaźnikach, procentach i ambicjach. Mówi Pani o 90% obniżenia emisji do 2040 r. Mimo że Europejska Agencja Środowiska informuje Panią, że cele na 2030 r. są niemożliwe do zrealizowania, zwiększane są koszty życia obywateli, Europejczyków.

Nie zasługuje Pani na to, żeby być przewodniczącą, a po wyroku sądu powinna się Pani podać do dymisji dzisiaj i zrezygnować z kandydowania.

3-061-0000

**Yvan Verougstraete (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, les faits sont là. Vous avez été la première présidente de la Commission européenne de l'histoire à être réellement environnementaliste. Vous avez été la première à vous soucier réellement de la transition climatique pour l'avenir de nos enfants et de nos petits-enfants, et pour cela je vous remercie et nous devrions tous vous remercier.

Dès le début de votre mandat, comme vous vous y étiez engagée, vous avez mis en place de gigantesques chantiers environnementaux. Je songe bien sûr au pacte vert, à la stratégie «De la ferme à la fourchette», aux objectifs de réduction du CO<sub>2</sub> et des pesticides, aux politiques de

protection de la biodiversité et j'en passe. Mais les crises géopolitiques et agricoles sont passées par là et les ambitions ont été revues à la baisse. De plus, la question climatique a été largement absente de la campagne électorale.

Alors ma question est simple, Madame von der Leyen: serez-vous aussi ambitieuse qu'il y a cinq ans? Que comptez-vous mettre en place pour résorber le retard concédé afin de permettre aux générations futures de vivre sur une planète viable?

3-062-0000

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

3-063-0000

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *candidate for President of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I want to thank you for this debate. I also want to thank you for the very rich dialogue we had in the last two weeks.

I want to address all those who are pro-European, pro-Ukrainian and pro-rule of law. We may certainly not agree on everything, but we should all agree that Europe is stronger when we bridge our differences and when we join forces.

Whether you have been a Member of Parliament for long or this has perhaps been the first debate in this Hemicycle, the people of Europe have chosen you to be their voice. They have entrusted you with their hopes, their daily fights, their aspirations, and you have brought them here in this House that holds together our Union, our home. I have listened to you today and, of course, also in the last weeks since the elections we had many, many encounters.

Now, I gave a long speech, a very long speech – I know it was a lot – and if I tried to answer in detail all the questions, I would have to do at least this speech again, and longer. But why don't we give each other a bit more time to discuss that? And what I've done is I've put all these topics in the political guidelines. So there you can find many of the answers to the questions that you have posed to me. If you give me your trust, I would be honoured to turn all these actions into reality together with you.

Therefore, thank you very much for the rich debate. I hope to have your trust and confidence for the next years.

Long live Europe!

3-064-0000

**President**. – The debate is closed. We resume for the vote at 13:00.

3-064-2500

**Mariusz Kamiński (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – Nie dziwi mnie fakt, iż większość Pani wystąpienia skierowana była do lewej strony sali, co jest spójne z wdrażaną przez Panią w ostatnich 5 latach agendą, zarówno, jeśli chodzi o obciążenia dla europejskich przedsiębiorstw i obywateli, jak i kontynuację wizji federalizacyjnej. Mówiąc o agresji przeciwko Ukrainie, prawach człowieka oraz bezpieczeństwie na granicach zewnętrznych, ani słowem nie wspomniała Pani o reżimie Łukaszenki. Zarówno współudział Mińska w wojnie napastniczej, uczynienie z naszego sąsiada więzienia dla tych, którzy marzą o wolności, a także operacja służb Łukaszenki bezpośrednio wymierzona w bezpieczeństwo naszych granic, powinny spotkać się ze zdecydowaną reakcją osoby ponownie aspirującej do tak ważnej funkcji. Milczenie w tej sprawie powinno budzić szczególny niepokój. Tym bardziej, iż rola Mińska we wspieraniu rosyjskiej agresji jest wielowymiarowa. Przemilczenie wsparcia dla Białorusinów, którzy od czterech lat spotykają się z niespotykaną od czasów stalinowskich falą represji, jest wielkim błędem. Opisywanie sytuacji na

wschodniej granicy, wymieniając jedynie Rosję i sytuację na granicy z Finlandią, w sytuacji trwającej wojny hybrydowej na granicy polsko-białoruskiej, której ofiarą stał się polski żołnierz, jest niedopuszczalne. Proponowane przez Panią rozwiązania dalszej federalizacji nie obronią naszych granic. To Polscy żołnierze, funkcjonariusze, są gotowi z narażeniem życia i zdrowia bronić polskich granic, a nie urzędnicy w Brukseli.

3-064-3750

**Rihards Kols (ECR)**, *in writing*. – While Ursula von der Leyen achieved much during her term, today's challenges demand a forward-thinking strategy, not a repeat of what was. I cannot support Ursula von der Leyen for a second term primarily because she has not addressed the issues that are critical to our defence and resilience, such as financing the Baltic border (EU's external border), enhancing EU's international competitiveness, and bolstering military capacity. Von der Leyen has also failed to clearly define her stance on a potential review of the EU's Green Deal or provide a plan for promoting private investment guarantee instruments. Promises have been broken - instead of the promised counter-policy to the open-door migration policy, five years on, we have a broken migration pact, hastily pushed through before election, saddling Member States with migrant quotas – a system already proven, definitively, not to work, agreed upon via qualified majority. We've practically gone back in time, returning to the challenges of the largest migration crisis EU has ever had in 2015. In this critical period, we need a leader with clear policies, firm commitments, and a vision that aligns with our immediate needs and long-term goals. Unfortunately, von der Leyen's track record does not inspire confidence.

3-064-5000

**Alexander Sell (ESN)**, *schriftlich*. – Vetterwirtschaft, Deindustrialisierung, Inflation und Kriegstreiberei. Das ist die Bilanz von 5 Jahren Ursula von der Leyen an der Spitze der EU. Europa ist in diesen 5 Jahren immer ärmer, gefährlicher und unfreier geworden. Die Verantwortung für diesen Niedergang trägt Ursula von der Leyen. Weil sie die inflationäre Politik der Europäischen Zentralbank unterstützt, ist unser Geld immer weniger wert. Weil sie die Außengrenzen nicht schließen will, eskaliert die Gewalt auf unseren Straßen. Weil sie die freie Meinungsbildung verhindern möchte, haben immer mehr Europäer Angst ihre Meinung offen zu sagen. Trotz dieser katastrophalen Bilanz hat sich Ursula von der Leyen heute für weitere 5 Jahre zur Kommissionspräsidentin wählen lassen. Und das obwohl der Europäische Gerichtshof sie gestern verurteilt hat. Weil sie sich weigert ihre Deals mit amerikanischen Pharmakonzernen offen zu legen. Schaden: insgesamt 71 Mrd Euro. Die deutschen Steuerzahler werden für diese Politik bluten müssen. Weil Ursula von der Leyen Milliarden von Euro für Impfdeals, Corona-Hilfspakete und Waffenlieferungen verschwendet hat, braucht die Kommission dringend neues Geld. Das soll jetzt über neue Schulden kommen. Wer Europa liebt, hat deshalb heute gegen Frau von der Leyen gestimmt. Wer Deutschland liebt, muss die Vergemeinschaftung der Schulden in Europa unbedingt verhindern.

3-064-6250

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR)**, *in writing*. – Russia is continuing its hybrid operations around Europe. On the Finnish border, Russia has instrumentalized migrants as a weapon and has pushed them over our border.

To stop this kind of reckless act, Finland closed the entire border with Russia. As a legal tool, we started to develop our legislation.

The new legislation just got accepted and it gives us the possibility in a threatening situation to stop taking in all the asylum applications.

We are aware that this kind of legislation is contradictory to outdated international treaties. But under the urgent Russian threat, this kind of legislation must be done.

I sincerely hope that the re-elected Commission President is ready to support the Finnish solution, and is ready to broaden it to all border states with the Commission's approval.

3-064-6875

**Henna Virkkunen (PPE), kirjallinen.** – Kannatan lämpimästi Ursula von der Leyenin valintaa jatkokaudelle EU-komission puheenjohtajaksi. Hän on hoitanut tehtävänsä jämäkästi läpi poikkeuksellisen COVID19-pandemian ja Venäjän hyökkäyssodan värittämän vaalikauden. Hänen johdolla on saatu vietyä maaliin useita haastavia lakipaketteja muun muassa vihreään ja digitaaliseen siirtymään, unionin strategiseen omavaraisuuteen, oikeusvaltion turvaamiseen, maahanmuuttokysymyksiin sekä puolustusyhteistyöhön liittyen. Von der Leyenin listasi linjapuheessa tulevan kauden prioriteettinsa, ykköskärkenä aivan oikein Euroopan kilpailukyvyyn parantaminen. Myös ehdotetut keinot ovat erinomaisia: byrokratian vähentäminen, pk-yrityksien tukeminen, TKI-budjetin kasvattaminen sekä panostukset vihreään siirtymään, digitalisaatioon ja osaamiseen. Toiseksi pääprioriteetiksi hän nosti täysin oikeutetusti Ukrainan tukemisen ja unionin turvallisuuden. Suomen kannalta oli erittäin arvokasta, että hän mainitsi erikseen hyvänä esimerkkinä suomalaisten ajaman kokonaisturvallisuuden mallin sekä painotti Itärajan turvaamista ja Venäjän hybridioperaatioiden torjumista. On kaikkien jäsenmaiden etu, että näihin kysymyksiin haetaan EU-tason ratkaisuja. Kaikkiaan Eurooppa-neuvoston kesäkuussa esittämä huippuvirkojen paketti on tasapainoinen kokonaisuus, jonka vahvistaminen olisi tärkeää unionin toiminnan vakauden ja ennustettavuuden kannalta. Toivon kaikkien Euroopan yhtenäisyyttä puolustavien parlamentin jäsenten äänestävän vastuullisesti ja tukevan von der Leyenin uudelleenvalintaa.

3-064-7500

(The sitting was suspended at 11:28)

## 4. Resumption of the sitting

3-066-0000

(The sitting resumed at 13:00)

## 5. Election of the President of the Commission (request to adjourn the vote)

3-068-0000

**President.** – The next item is the election of the President of the Commission (2024/2011(INS)).

Pursuant to Rule 206(4), The Left Group has moved that the election of the President of the Commission be adjourned.

3-069-0000

**Martin Schirdewan, im Namen der Fraktion The Left.** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau von der Leyen hat ja heute Morgen in ihrer Rede ausführlich über Transparenz und Rechenschaftspflicht geredet. Nun hat der Europäische Gerichtshof gestern erst geurteilt, dass diese Kommission unrechtmäßig der Öffentlichkeit die vollständigen COVID-Verträge vorenthalten hat, die sie mit den großen Pharmaunternehmen abgeschlossen hat.

Hier geht es um die Essenz demokratischer Politik. Transparenz ist eine Voraussetzung für Vertrauen in die Demokratie, und das Europäische Parlament – also wir – muss seine Kontrollfunktion gegenüber der Kommission auch anständig ausüben können. Deshalb wollen wir Klarheit darüber, dass europäische Steuergelder für die Allgemeinheit und nicht für die Interessen der großen Pharmakonzerne verwendet worden sind. Deswegen bittet meine Fraktion die hier anwesenden Abgeordneten, der Kommissionspräsidentin die Zeit einzuräumen, die

Verträge vollständig offenlegen zu können – Transparenz herzustellen –, und deshalb beantragen wir, dass die Abstimmung auf den September verschoben wird.

3-070-0000

**Jeroen Lenaers (PPE).** – Madam President, let's not misuse the court for political purposes. There was a court ruling yesterday in a case that was brought against the Commission as an institution, not against any individual, and the court ruling actually followed the logic of the Commission in many of the claims.

So, do not pretend this is a legal issue. This is purely a political motion, and it makes sense because we have a political decision to make today and it is our right to vote today. It is even our responsibility to vote today and I am convinced that the majority of this House would like to take that responsibility right now. So let's get to it.

3-071-0000

**President.** – I put the motion to the vote by roll call.

*(Parliament rejected the motion)*

## 6. Election of the President of the Commission

3-073-0000

**President.** – The European Council has proposed the candidature of Ursula von der Leyen for President of the Commission.

I remind you that, under Rule 128(2) of Parliament's Rules of Procedure, in accordance with Article 17(7) of the Treaty on European Union, Parliament shall elect the President of the Commission by a majority of its component Members. The vote shall be taken by secret ballot.

Instructions for the election of the President of the Commission have been distributed to all of you electronically, and are also available on your desks. The tellers are the same as for the elections of the President and Vice-Presidents of Parliament, with the exception of two tellers who were not available and whom we replaced this morning. I would therefore ask all the tellers to take their places now by the ballot boxes. They will vote at the end of the ballot.

I ask the ushers to start distributing the ballot papers and the envelopes, and before you vote I will give you some instructions.

The arrangements for the election are as follows: to vote in favour, please tick the box next to the 'plus' sign. To vote against, please tick the box next to the 'minus' sign. To abstain, please leave the ballot blank. If you wish to correct your vote, ask an usher for a new ballot paper and give the usher the old one, which will then be destroyed. If you mark your ballot paper in any other way, or if you tick more than one box, your ballot will be void. Fold the ballot into four and place it in the envelope.

You are invited to vote at the ballot box corresponding to the first letter of your name. There are also voting booths situated at the entrance to the Chamber. When voting, make sure you show your badge or identity document.

So I declare the vote open.

*(The vote was taken and the sitting was suspended at 13:30 for the votes to be counted)*

## 7. Resumption of the sitting

3-075-0000

*(The sitting resumed at 14:12)*

## 8. Election of the President of the Commission (announcement of results)

3-077-0000

**President.** – Before I announce the result of the election I would like to thank the tellers for their service and commitment throughout the whole process. Thank you, dear colleagues.

Here is the result of the vote.

- Members voting: 707
- Majority of component members: 360
- Votes in favour: 401
- Votes against: 284
- Abstentions: 15
- Void: 7

According to these results, the candidate for President of the European Commission proposed by the European Council is therefore elected by the European Parliament. I would like to congratulate Ursula von der Leyen on her re-election, and I wish her the very best for the exercise of her mandate.

*(Applause)*

And now, in accordance with Rule 128(3) of the Rules of Procedure, I will inform the Council accordingly, asking it and the President-elect of the Commission to propose, by common accord, the nominees for the various posts of Commissioners. I will now sign the letter notifying Parliament's decision.

*(The sitting was suspended at 14:15)*

## 9. Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes

## 10. Closure of the sitting

3-080-0000

*(The sitting closed at 22.32)*